EDITOR'S DIGEST



By ROBERT DURR

YOUR NEGRO PRESS ANNIVERSARY

One hundred and fifty years ago, the first Negro newspaper appeared in the United States. Today there are upwards of 350 Negro periodicals in this country.

The Negro press has fought for a richer and fuller life for the Negro race and for the preservation and extension of democracy for all people as no other Negro instrument of racial expression. The fight has been tremendously exorbitant.

A Negro newspaper has only two sources of revenue—circulation and advertising. For the most part 99 per cent of the readers of a Negro newspaper are Negroes. The Negro newspaper suffers discrimination by most of the large advertisers and almost 75 per cent of the advertisers who sell millions of dollar worth of merchandise to Negroes daily, don't want the Negro to own a free press—hence they boycott Negro newspapers.

When you buy even five cents worth of anything from anybody dealing in almost anything, you pay for the large ads which appear in daily newspapers. This means that 99 per cent of your advertising dollar pays for an ad which appears in a white owned newspaper, which will not employ Negroes in editorial, executive or mechanical jobs.

In several cities in the United States, Negroes buy over thirty thousand dollars worth of white newspapers each week. On some of these newspapers stenographers, columnists, lino-typists, pressmen and executives, receive salaries which run from twenty-four to twenty-five thousand dollars per year and more—jobs which Negroes can not simply because of the fact that they are Negroes.

Many of the big newspapers who receive as much as thirty thousand dollars per week from Negro readers alone, have feature writers whose business it is to make the Negro appear as a whole race of Rochesters, silly Sambos, Hambones and handkerchief heads; paints him as a monstrosity who makes silly cracks in police court, is afraid of ghosts, as being henpecked, a big nasty burly criminal or a watermelon eating crapshooter. Petty crimes among Negroes are always given a nice fat headline, while a Negro who does a good deed has to come darn near "setting" the world on fire" before he can get half as much space as a two-bit Negro clown. Believe it or not, there is a purpose in all this—the purpose is to make the Negro appear ridiculous, no matter what he does. And the Negro pays in many instances, in many cities, thirty thousand dollars per week for that! No wonder he is called "boy" until he is fifty years of age and "auntie," "parson" or "old darkey" until he kicks the bucket.

There is no ground for respecting any Negro who does not subscribe and pay his subscription for at least three or even more Negro newspapers, to every white newspaper he subscribes for.

No Negro is fair to himself or his race, who does not have his name on the mailing list of some Negro newspaper which is owned, operated, edited and controlled by and for Negroes. The hometown or homestate Negro newspaper should be on your **must list.**

This week, I received a five dollar bill from a Mrs. Jane Jones of Eufaula, Ala., who said, "Here is five dollars, use it in any way you wish to build a bigger and better **WEEKLY REVIEW.** I wish I had a thousand to invest in this way." This five dollars for one of our Victory Notes, came from one of those average Negro women—the kind who have contributed 95 per cent of that which has gone from Negroes and into building Negro schools, insurance companies, churches, education of thousands of Negro children—the kind who are not content to subscribe for pay for a Negro newspaper before any other, but who has helped Negro publishers all over the nation, to build up the 350 Negro periodicals the race boasts of today, made possible the employment of hundreds and hundreds of Negro men, women, girls and boys, and for them to have full opportunity to secure any job they are capable of filling from office boy to publisher—a thing which is not true on any of the white newspapers which receive as high as thirty thousand dollars per week or less from circulation among Negroes alone, to say nothing of many thousands more from Negroes via the advertising route, which fills the purses of those who occupy jobs Negroes can never have, no matter how brilliant they may be or how much money they spend with those who refuse to advertise in Negro newspapers; thusly refusing to make it possible for Negroes to get the jobs, they furnish the pay envelope for, when they buy such papers or patronize their anti-Negro advertisers. A man's first duty is to his own—failure to voluntarily recognize this is infidelity. It's bad christianity.

It is our ambition to give our readers a newspaper second to none in the United States. This requires modern equipment, many capable employees in all departments which in turn can only be had for good pay, and this in turn means a need for thousands and thousands of dollars of working capital. We are not in position to go to banks and borrow this money as we probably would be, if we were white.

A lot of the merchants with whom you spend millions of dollars each year, will not give a Negro newspaper advertising copy based upon the percentage of the population is served, even though that percentage runs over 50 per cent. The reason is that ours is primarily a Negro newspaper. Others respect and support Negro newspapers which Negroes themselves, respect and support.

If we secure the support we must have, if we are to give **you** a newspaper second to none, we must depend upon you, you and you for that support by subscriptions, buying from those who advertise in this newspaper and following the

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.

Oratorical Contest For Negroes Offered By News-Age-Herald

In addition to the oratorical contest conducted with white high schools of Alabama, The Birmingham News-Age-Herald is this year conducting a similar contest for the Negro high schools located in Jefferson County.

This includes high schools in the city and county school systems.

Paul L. Ware, principal of the Warrior Negro high school, Carol W. Hayes, supervisor of Negro schools for Birmingham, and others will form the committee for handling the school angle of the competition.

Artemus Calloway, who directs the contest for white schools, will also direct the contest between Negro schools.

Cash prizes will be awarded to winners in the finals of this contest, and arrangements are being worked out by the school committee for the awarding of scholarships by Negro colleges of the state.

This particular contest is, for the time being, limited to Jefferson County.

The basic subject is "Education For Democracy," the same as that for the contest with white schools.

Birmingham, Ala. News
September 13, 1942

Negro High Schools Show Lively Interest In Oratorical Contest

Nine Institutions Are Already Enrolled And Others Are To Follow

The Birmingham News-Age-Herald oratorical contest for Negro high schools of Jefferson County is now well underway, and reports indicate there is keen interest throughout the county.

At a meeting held at Parker High School, Birmingham, Friday night, and which was attended by city and county supervisors of Negro schools, principals and teachers, the details of the competition were explained by Artemus Calloway, News-Age-Herald oratorical contest director.

Nine high schools enrolled in the contest, and it was stated that all others will enroll within a short time.

The schools which enrolled are A. H. Parker High, Birmingham, W. B. Johnson, principal, contest conducted by T. L. Hale; Ullman High, Birmingham, George C. Bell, principal, contest handled by a faculty committee; Powderly High, R. M. Crawford, principal, with the contest handled by Mrs. Willie A. Askew; Westfield Senior High, Phillip E. Warren, principal, contest directed by M. Fennoy; Hooper City High, Sayreton, Mrs. Nona W. Powell principal, contest conducted by William E. Peterson; Rosedale High School, B. M. Montgomery, principal, director will be appointed; Dunbar High School, Bessemer, J. T. Gaines, principal, Miss Lois Taylor in charge of contest; Warrior Negro High School, Paul L. Ware, principal, contest director to be appointed; Praco High School, Otis J. Holmes, principal, contest will be handled by Mrs. Emily Mallard.

In addition to principals and teachers attending Friday night's meeting, Carroll W. Hayes, supervisor of Negro schools, Birmingham; Mrs. Odessa McKinney and E. Paul Jones, supervisors, Jefferson County schools, also attended.

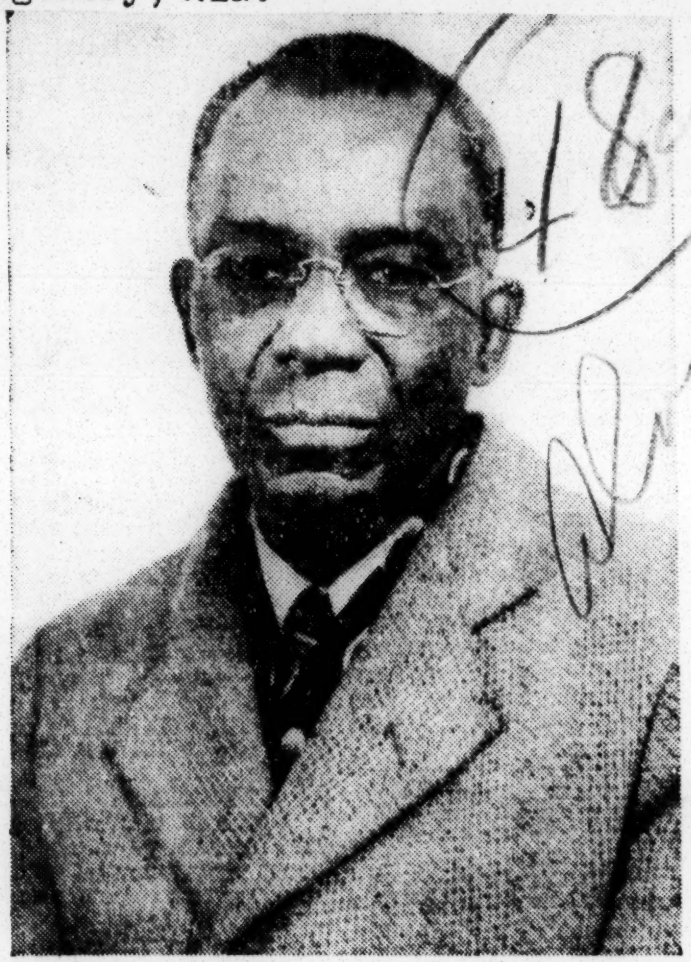
The basic subject for the contest is "Education For Democracy." Final school eliminations will be held on or before Feb. 19, 1943, and finals for the county will be held on or before March 5.

Judges for the county finals will be presidents or faculty members of Negro colleges of Alabama.

The Birmingham News-Age-Herald will award cash prizes to the county finalists and Paul L. Ware, who headed the movement to have this contest conducted, and who presided at Friday night's meeting, is confident that scholarships will be awarded by Negro colleges.

Contestants will be high school students who will be under 20, Feb. 1, 1943.

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.



FEB 1 - 1942

Mitchell Leverett (above), the first editor of The Montgomery Advertiser's colored edition, will speak at 6:30 p.m. today on the Negro History program, annual event at Bethel Baptist Church. The Rev. H. H. Hubbard is pastor.



Which recalls that Leverett had a long connection with The Advertiser. He was janitor back in 1906 and 1907. From 1927 to 1929 he edited the colored page. During the interim he was for several years in the circulation department of The Troy Messenger.

The maturing former editor is particularly proud of evidence that he began his career as a farmer, as witness the receipt for a bale of cotton sold in 1902 as above. The small inset shows something of how he looked back in the days when he was still tilling the soil. FEB 15 1942

A large audience is expected to hear this former representative Montgomerian.

Troy, Ala., Aug 29, 1902

M Mitchell Leverett

...Sold to... L. JACKSON,

FEB 15 1942 COTTON BUYER.

Bales Cotton as per Statement.

505 - 8/16
8
4040
31
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4072

FEB 1 1942

Birmingham, Ala. News
March 8, 1942

What Negroes Are Doing

BY OSCAR W. ADAMS

After weeks of conferring and organizing, the plan for the Birmingham Negro Community Hospital movement will be formally brought to public attention at 8 p.m. Tuesday when a mass meeting will be held in the auditorium of the Parker High School, and will mark the launching of the campaign to raise $300,000 for building and equipping an up-to-date 100-bed hospital for the Negro people of Birmingham and Jefferson County.

The movement is being pushed by the Rev. Amos H. Carnegie, founder and executive secretary of the National Association for the Hospitalization of Negroes, who conceived the idea of a national hospitalization plan for Negroes, supported through "A Penny-A-Week" contribution from Negroes throughout the nation.

Negro people of Birmingham and Jefferson County have become interested in the idea and an organization has been perfected, and many prominent citizens of the race are leaders in the effort. The local officers are:

A. G. Gaston, president of Smith & Gaston Funeral Directors and of the Booker T. Washington Burial Insurance Company, chairman; Charles J. Greene, district manager, Atlanta Life Insurance Company, vice chairman; Oscar W. Adams, grand chancellor of Alabama and supreme chancellor Knights of Pythias, and secretary-treasurer of the Church Extension Department of the A. M. E. Zion Church, treasurer; Mrs. L. S. Gaillard, prominent Birmingham clubwoman and civic worker, recording secretary; Mrs. Eugenia L. Biddings, social and civic worker, assistant recording secretary. The Rev. Dr. M. Thornton, pastor of St. James Baptist Church, and Bishop B. G. Shaw, of the Third Episcopal District, A. M. E. Zion Church, are among supporters of the movement and members of the executive committee.

Plans for the mass meeting include addresses by outstanding leaders of the white and Negro races, and musical selections by the famed Parker High School choir and the NYA Chorus.

Further information regarding the raising of funds for the building, equipping and maintenance of the hospital shows that a penny a week for 20 years is $10.40. Everyone who pays $10 in advance becomes a life member of the organization. Everyone who pays $5 in advance becomes a 10-year member, and everyone who pays $1 in advance becomes a one-year member.

Every leader of every type among the Negro people of Birmingham and Jefferson county is being asked to share in the leadership of the campaign. Pastors are asked to become captains of their congregations; physicians and dentists are being asked to spread the tidings among their patients; presidents of clubs which compose the Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, and the Federation of Social Clubs, nurses, business men and women, beauticians, principals of Negro schools, funeral directors, et cetera, are asked to do likewise.

The public is invited to attend the mass meeting.

The Talladega Club of Birmingham presented Dr. Buel G. Gallagher, president of Talladega College, to a large number of friends and alumni last Sunday afternoon at the First Congregational Church, in celebration of the 75th anniversary of the founding of Talladega College.

Dr. Gallagher was introduced by Atty. Arthur D. Shores.

In his address, Dr. Gallagher stated that he could not agree with John Temple Graves, II, when he asks that the "status quo," as affecting Negroes be maintained during this period in our national life. He pointed out that Gov. Talmadge, of Georgia, has been more foresighted in this respect, as a few days ago he appointed a Negro to a committee to formulate blackout plans for Georgia.

He expressed delight that President Roosevelt had seen fit to establish a board to see that Negroes were not discriminated against in defense plants. This board, according to Dr. Gallagher, has a long way to go if the conditions as found in Talladega County are typical of those throughout the nation. It was pointed out that plants in Talladega County were in need of large numbers of women workers, but would not hire Negro women.

Talladega College is doing everything possible to help students to be graduated before going into military training, and a student hereafter will be able to finish in three years. School for the present year will close on April 27, and a Summer session will start April 28 and will close July 4.

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The problems to be discussed in the conference include:

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Mrs. Rebecca Jackson Pugh, chairman of the program committee, is in charge of the program which will be celebrated here March 13, and include musical numbers, a speaker and refreshments.

A number of people ask what is "Nationwide Observance"? Back in 1927 someone had the idea that the unity of business and professional girls the world over needed to be dramatized. Thus was born "Nationwide Observance," a time when business and professional clubs throughout this country and other lands met together around the common theme to exchange greetings and discuss an act on common concerns.

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The Pythian Council for Birmingham and Jefferson County giving program for the Knights of Pythias, and all the lodges and will hold its meeting on the sixth floor of the Pythian Temple at 310 courts of the Birmingham district North 18th Street at 4 p.m. Sunday, are expected to take part.

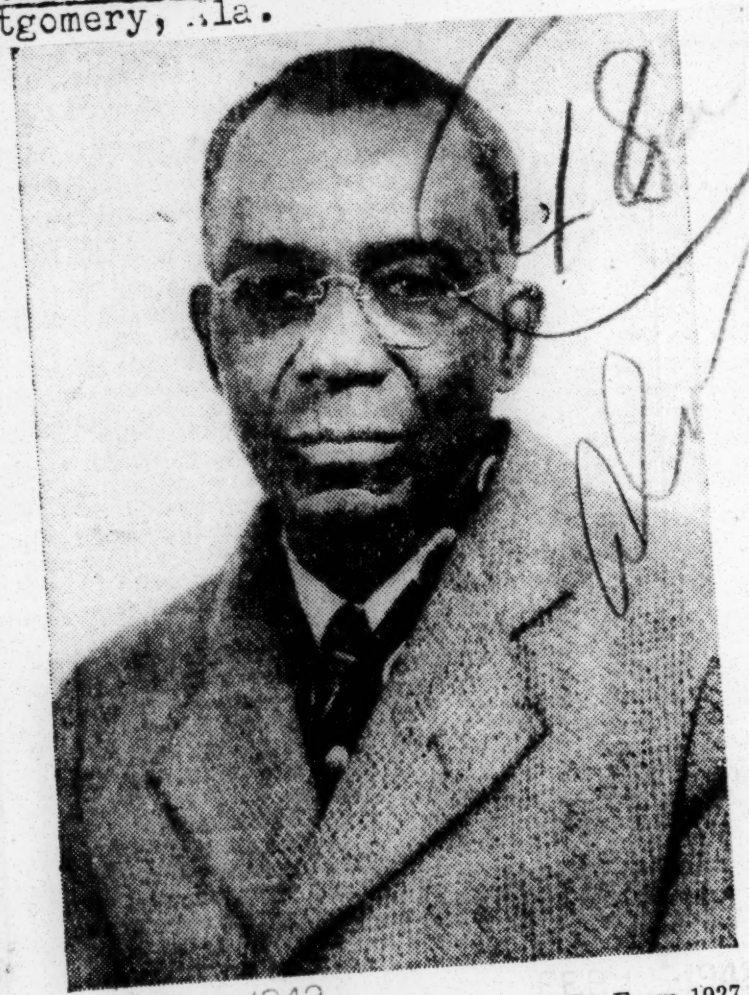
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48a-1942

ALABAMA

White Dailies Should Feature Negro Writers

"The Weekly Review" Birmingham, Ala.
Nov. 21, 1942

The editor of this newspeper early last week wrote Mr. Chappell, President of the Birmingham News-Age Herald expressing the feeling that with so many folk who are not Negroes, expressing so many opinion on the Negro at the bar of public opinion plus the total absence on any consistent hearing on this vital question by the Negro himself, that he felt that The News-Age Herald the South's Greatest Newspapers, would be rendering a great service if it employed some capable, fairminded Negro writer to give expression daily through those newspapers on what the Negro really is thinking to the end that better understanding and appreciation may obtain all around in as much as right thinking on vital problems having to do with the two races living together in peace and harmony, was more vital than at this time when the whole world is aflame.

Editor Durr made it plain to Mr. Chappell that while he felt that hundreds if others shared his opinion on this point that he was out fingering for a j o b because there are so many others in Birmingham and all over the state who could do a better job than he along the line suggested, but that he thought that it is unfair to the Negro to have a whole flock of white writers and politicians stating their views on the Negro through the press, without the Negro having a real chance to be heard.

It is the feeling of the Weekly Review, the daily newspapers of the South owes the Negro this because of the tremendous sums of money these newspapers get for advertising on the basis of the population they serve of which a great percentage is Negro.

Second Negro Newsman Is War Correspondent

WASHINGTON.—(ANP) — After months of delay, the second Negro newsman obtained his certification from the war department as a war correspondent when Ollie Stewart, writer for the Afro-American, received official notification of his certification on Monday.

Stewart, who has traveled widely, does not know where he will be nor when he will be called. He has been told, however, that he will be notified through his home office at an early date where and when to report. The Pittsburgh Courier man, Edgar Rouseau, who is said to have sailed from an eastern seaport town some three or four months ago, has not yet been heard from, but his stories are anticipated at an early date.

Peoples Voice
New York, N. Y.

Denver Hosting Newspaper Guild

Special

DENVER, Colo. —Delegates to the American Newspaper Guild convention here this week, representing 18,000 newspaper workers, Negro and white, from everywhere, discussed the policy of the organization toward the war and the peace to follow. Included among the delegates was Carl Dunbar Lawrence, New York Amsterdam Star-News staff member, chairman of the Star News Guild Unit and member of the New York Guild Local's executive committee.

A precedent was set at the outset of the convention Monday when Lawrence was named temporary chairman of the convention's important war activities committee. Very active since his arrival here despite an illness caused, say doctors by his being unused to the local climate and altitude, the New York newsman is also spearheading a program for guild organization among Negro newspapers in general upon which the convention is expected to act Thursday.

On the race question the general sentiment of delegates here is that the future of the Negro is definitely tied up with that of organized labor. Considerable favorable comment has also been heard concerning PV, its general policy and its attitude toward the labor question.

While attending the session at the Albany Hotel, Lawrence is the guest of Mrs. Nan Douglas, sister of U. S. Minister to Liberia Lester Walton.

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

PICKENS:

The Associated Negro Press

By WILLIAM PICKENS
(ANP Feature Writer)

Over 22 years ago, two young black men of big ambitions and a little newspaper and advertising experience, were bringing into being an Associated Negro Press. They aimed to do for several hundred Negro weekly newspaper what the Associated Press does for thousands of daily papers; to coordinate and increase the efficiency of news-gathering and to facilitate the wider distribution of feature articles and special writings. That would also greatly enlarge advertising scope.

MAR 2 - 1942

At that time there were several well-edited and widely-read Negro weeklies; but each was an individualist, operating without cooperation and therefore at considerable extra expense in trying to beat its rivals by scooping the news,....in trying to buy off the best editors and writers of the other papers,... and in conpeting for the advertisement of growing Negro business enterprises. That system was natural, even naive; but very uneconomical, even wasteful. These young men set about the task of showing the editors and owners of this unorganized mass of newspapers how coordination and cooperation would gain much for most of them and lose nothing for any of them. There would be some economics for the larger papers which could keep going independently, even if at excessive expense; but for hundreds of smaller papers, an Associatd Negro Press Would be rescue and salvation.

COMMON INTEREST

Then there was the side of common interest with the average reader of these papers; the American Negro citizen. It would be a definite gain to him if he could get for his one subscription to his local or favorite Negro paper, both a wider range of news and more reliable reports,....and often more expert editorial opinions. It would be a greater gain to Negro business, which could then advertise through a chain of from 80 to 200 papers, instead of having to dicker for rates, favors and forms with each one separately.

MAR 2 - 1942

And an Associated Negro Press would be a gain to the American Negro as a handicapped minority struggling for human recognition and for full citizenship rights. That is a view for statesmen, out beyond the prospect of those who seek personal gains. Here it might be well to quote what we wrote 22 years ago in the "First Annual" published by the infant ANP:

"The truth will never be told about a disadvantaged minority by the general press of any country, whether that minority be racial, political or religious....Negroes in Georgia, Socialists in New York or Jews in Russia. If such a minority does not express itself through organs of its own ,it will not be expressed.

OUR OWN HOPE

"The Associated Negro Press, therefore, belongs in interest to every colored person of the country. It is our only hope of shoveling ourselves out from under the avalanches of lies that are annually let loose upon us.

"Every Negro who is financially able and refuses to take at least one of his local Negro papers and one of the big national Negro periodicals, is a slacker in the ranks."

The fundamental truth has not changed, but if we were writing that statement today (1942), we might say Jews in Germany or Communists in Occupied France. It is still true however, that a minority must either express itself or be inadequately expressed by others, because of their hostility and mailice or their ignorance and indifference. An associated press, therefore, is public property, belonging to those who interests it primarily and principally serves.

Whenever a new thing, however a good thing, seeks establishment among a limited and frustrated people, that thing is at first likely to meet with much opposition from those whom it aims to help. There are any illustrations of that truth in human history. Twenty-two years, ago, a few Negro editors saw a need for a service to get news for them from other cities and other states, but today they are receiving such news from all America, from all continents and from many islands in the seas. And feature writers send them articles from all parts of the world.

The Associated Negro Press is a great public institution that belongs to all of us. That is why many of us have donated to it our services for 22 years, for it is not really a generosity but an indirect way of serving our own best interests. The medium called money does not have to intervene in such self-srvice. The Associated Negro Press is here to stay as long as there is an America and a race psychosis in America.

The Plaindealer
Kansas City, Kan.

CHALLENGES ELMER DAVIS TO NAME NEGRO EXECUTIVES

SUGGESTS CHANG IN SERVICE

NOV 27, 1942

CHICAGO, Nev. 27.—(ANP)—Charging that the Office of War Information is feeding Negro newspapers "large doses of pure propaganda designed to lull colored people to sleep and make them forget the discrimination and mistreatment accorded Negro soldiers and civilians, instead of grappling realistically with the problems involved, "Claude A. Barnett, director of the Associated Negro Press, last week wrote Elmer Davis, OWI director, that his organization handling Negro material needed "close study and supervision."

In a statement made at the time he wrote the letter, Mr. Barnett declared that no other element in the entire American population is subjected to the barrage of "paternalistic pap which OWI is spewing into the channels of Negro thought." He added that thinking Negroes recognized it immediately for what it was.

The letter sent to Mr. Davis was in reply to a lengthy OWI release to newspapers carrying a communication from Mr. Davis who contended ANP was in error in its story stating that OWI had only four Negro employes out of a list running into the thousands and a budget of millions.

Mr. Barnett's letter admitted that the ANP correspondent's story was incorrect in that it did not point out that the total of four employes referred only to those in positions of responsibility. If messengers, etc., in OWI were counted, Mr. Barnett conceded the total of Negro employes might reach a score or more.

Since Mr. Davis' letter declared there were Negroes working in OWI as "information specialists, organizational analysts, field representatives, in the news bureau, bureau of intelligence, bureau of special operations, bureau of publication and graphics, etc.," he was challenged by the ANP director to list the number of Negroes in each, their names and locations, duties and salaries as compared with whites in similar posts.

Mr. Barnett's missive also said: "Your letter says that no distinction as to race is made within OWI. Will you not explain why the letter N in used on the release which you sent to newspapers carrying your letter to me, and on news releases generally which are received by your office?

"Were you to ask for an opinion, I would say that it appears to us here that the Office of War Information might well concern itself with clarifying and explaining some of the many disadvantages and discriminations, reports on which abound in the Negro newspapers. Instead there is an increasing flood from OWI of material which one can only term undisguised propaganda, designed evidently to gloss over widespread dissatisfactions which might be more effectively disposed of it the truth were recognized and dealt with realistically. I think the type and quality of your output deserves some study.

NOV 27 1942

"If OWI grappled fairly with the problems of discrimination and mistreatment which tend to lower Negro morale and told the simple truth about them, at the same time seeking to instruct the Tory elements whose attributes are at the bottom of that type of unpatriotic action, it would be rendering a service."

In his statement, Mr. Barnett was quick to absolve Mr. Davis of intentional unfairness and said he had admiration solely for both the OWI director and his first assistant, Milton S. Eisenhower. However, he declared he felt Mr. Davis was "unfortunate" in his selection of people to handle his Negro material.

Rumors are that the real power behind the throne in OWI with reference to Negro affairs is a white man, Milton P. Starr, owner of a vast chain of Dixie theatres catering to Negroes. It is said that Mr. Starr has been set up as the country as a whole of which the final authority in determining the Negro is an integral part. what Negroes throughout the nation wish and think.

Mr. Barnett's letter ended by reminding Mr. Davis that the whole purpose of ANP was to serve the Negro newspapers which hold membership in it with worthwhile information, and to serve

Claude A. Barnett Of ANP Criticises Gov't Propaganda

The Nashville Globe

Head Of ANP Makes Hot Reply To Letter Of Elmer Davis; Release Hints Milton P. Starr, Theater Chain Owner, Directs Hand-outs To Negro Newspapers

Nov. 27, 1942

Chicago, Nov. 26—(ANP)—Charging that the Office of War Information is feeding Negro newspapers "large doses of pure propaganda designed to lull colored people to sleep and make them forget the discrimination and mistreatment accorded Negro soldiers and civilians, instead of grappling realistically with the problems involved, "Claude A. Barnett, director of the Associated Negro Press, last week wrote Elmer Davis, OWI director, that his organization handling Negro material needed "close study and supervision."

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Nov. 27, 1942

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48a-1942

DELTA PHI DELTA

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

To Address Newsmen



MOSS HYLES KENDRIX, director, National Negro Newspaper Week, who will address the publishers' conference in Chicago, June 5 and 6, in behalf of the Delta Phi Delta (journalist association) project. Mr. Kendrix is a member of the Georgia NYA staff in Atlanta.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

SPOKESMAN



Moss Hyles Kendrix, director, National Negro Newspaper Week, who will appear before the Negro Publishers Conference to convene in Chicago June 5-6. Mr. Kendrix will speak in behalf of Negro Press Week which is a national project of Delta Phi Delta Journalists' Association.

48a-1942

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

Federal Officials Fear Unfavorable Race Press

JAN 21 1942

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(ANP)—Confronted with the iniquities of their own doing, higherups in the government hate any display of publicity when it shows them as discriminating against Negroes on jobs Fighting ally of all mention of newspapers, one departmental head, recently given several clippings from Associated Negro Press stories, called in the young man in question and gloomily declared he was sorry that this had gotten to the newspapers.

The fear of the spotlight of publicity has brought more results for Negroes in various governmental departments, it is said, than most of the other methods applied. And when discriminatory stories are reproduced in the government press bulletins, the guilty parties then realize the position in which they have placed themselves.

In this case, the publicity had to do with the failure of a departmental head to promote a Negro to a position he was entitled to take without question.

The Northwest Enterprise
Seattle, Washington

The Northwest Enterprise Re-Organizes

JAN 30 1942

Several months ago a group of Seattle citizens met and considered the problem of continued publication of the paper and were able to keep up the publication until a more recent date. Then, fate played a cruel part in the program as was expressed by the injury of the Editor-publisher, Mr. E. I. Robinson, and his resultant incapacitation.

JAN 30 1942

The group of citizens met again and gave careful consideration to the matter of permanent organization and the establishment of adequate control and supervision of the paper.

A Board of Managers was organized, consisting of the following persons: P. I. Frazier, pres.; B. E. Squires, secretary; Mrs. Nellie Wilson, Mr. E. R. Chainey, and Rev. John R. Harris.

This group, to be known as the Board of Management of the Northwest Enterprise has as its duties the following activities: the establishment of a sound financial basis and program for the paper, establishment of a sound advertising policy and in general the management of the staff and personnel and operation program of the Northwest Enterprise.

The Board in considering the need of an increased staff in connection with the paper, gave thought to the creation of the position of Business Manager of the paper and considered itself extremely fortunate in being able to secure the services of Rev. F. W. Penick, former pastor of the Mt. Zion Baptist Church, to fill this position. Rev. Penick, because of his business ability and background of community services, is very well equipped to fill the position of Business Manager of the Enterprise.

JAN 30 1942

Already he has met with the Board and plans have been made for an enlargement of the paper, as soon as such is possible, and he has also developed a program of increased circulation and subscription of and to the paper.

The entire program is one which merits the endorsement and support of every race citizen in the northwest and calls for unstinted backing and support of all who feel the program of "improved conditions of worikng and living are basic in the lists of essential necessities of the group here in this section of America."

May we solicit your support and endorsement of this new program of racial advancement here in the Northwest?

D.C.

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

BYRON PRICE TELLS STAND TO DEFENDER

Answers Time Magazine Claims Two Stories Were Held Back

DEC 19 1942

EXCLUSIVE

By HARRY McALPIN
(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON.— Many stories and rumors have been circulating about the censorship of news pertaining to Negroes by the Office of Censorship in recent weeks. The Chicago Defender has sought and obtained the truth directly from that office.

The correspondent talked at length this week with Byron Price, director of the Office of Censorship and other officials, and pointed out the importance to Negro morale of knowing the reason and the facts behind such censorship Both were readily and frankly given.

The Office of Censorship, admitting that it does censor racial and religious news, stated that it has only one purpose in doing so—to prevent feeding propaganda material to the enemy. Only material that divulges military secrets or points up racial bias or conflict is deleted.

DEC 19 1942

Keeping News From Enemy

In this connection, one official said, "If we could talk with the British or any other of the United Nations as man to man in family fashion, we would not care what went out. But we know when we cable or broadcast to them, we're also talking to the enemy."

To drive home this point, the office pointed out that it does not attempt to stop a full and free discussion of racial problems domestically through the press.

Accepting the point that Office of Censorship could not remove the discriminations and injustices that form the basis for articles that would be propaganda material for the enemy, and also that it would not serve the United Nations' cause to send such material beyond our borders, the Defender asked why commendatory articles concerning the Negro were censored.

Time Magazine, not long ago, carried a report that the story of Capt. Hugh Mulzac, a Negro, being given command of the Liberty ship Booker T. Washington was suppressed in foreign releases. The same was reported concerning the story telling that the WAACs would have two Negro companies. These reports were reprinted in many Negro papers.

DEC 19 1942

Charges "False"

Documentary evidence was brought out from the files of the Office of Censorship which definitely prove these charges were false.

The records reveal that when Capt. Mulzac was named to command the Booker T. Washington, the story was passed by the censors carrying information that the captain was a Negro, but deleting his name, as is the regulation concerning all commanding officers of vessels. But when the special circumstances surrounding this case were discovered, the name of the commanding officer was also passed as an exception to the general rule. Only a few of the first stories suffered the deletion.

When the Booker T. Washington was launched, the records show the story was passed by the censors, including the fact that Marian Anderson and Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune officiated at the ceremonies. The only deletion was the location of the shipyard.

DEC 19 1942

The same documentary evidence showed the WAAC story was passed without deletion.

Poll Tax Cuts

And as for the charge recently made by some foreign correspondents that stories of the poll-tax filibuster were surpressed, the Office of Censorship stated that these stories were passed, but the comments of the correspondents containing inflamatory references to racial problems were deleted.

But the Defender wanted to clear up the whole picture—so it asked about the censorship of material coming from abroad. It wanted to know why the story written by Brendan Bracken, information minister of Britain, on "The Color Bar Must Go," was not permitted to be sent to the Defender as written; why so little has come through about the discriminations against Negro troops in Britain.

That is not the job of the U.S. Office of Censorship, the Defender learned. The only opportunity to censor material coming from abroad would be on the receiving end, and the office pointed out that there would be little use in following this procedure because the material released to America would have been released also, very likely, to South America and other lands, and our censorship would not be keeping it from the enemy. Stories coming from abroad are censored by the foreign governments where they originate and or by the army or navy censors.

Throughout the interview it was stressed by the Office of Censorship that stories are not suppressed or deleted simpl because they are about Negroes, but only when they would furnish harmful material for enemy propaganda—and then only when they are being sent outside our borders.

This explanation of its policy given to the Defender is the first one made for publication by the Office of Censorship, despite the severe criticism to which it has been subjected as a result of false reports and rumors.

48a-1942

Use The White Press!

Weekly Review

BETWEEN THE LINES
(By Dean Gordon B. Hancock for Birmingham, Ala.)

Pearl Harborism Among Negroes III; Why Not Protest in White Press?

When I arrived in Richmond 20 years ago, my enthusiasm for the cause of Negro betterment knew no bounds. After three years of study in the East and contacts with the fuller life offered there; and after turning down two fine opportunities to remain there, there was a sense of sacrificial responsibility to help right the wrongs of my less fortunate people. I proceeded to chart my way in my new environment and began by registering my protests against anything that contravened the rights of Negroes. I was aware of the fact that being "nasty" was no part of protest, and that straight argument on strong points was not spectacular and would not bring a kind of "popularity," but it would get definite results in the long run.

I found that little use was being made of the white press of this state and city. All of the Negro's protest was being registered in the Richmond Planet which was the immortal John Mitchell was editing. I turned to the white press and whenever I had any protest to make I made it through the white papers. My first protest was against a column called "Good Morning Judge" where Negroes who came before the police court were burlesqued. The editor pounced upon me in an editorial and called me a "schooled" Negro, intimating that I was "schooled" but not educated. Very shortly a cultured white woman took my part and very soon "Good Morning Judge" disappeared. "Hambone Meditations" went the same way.

My point here is, Negroes make the great mistake of making their protests through Negro papers which are read primarily by Negroes and are silent in the white papers where their protests might be carried to those for whom they are intended. I see no point in making brilliant protests for Negroes to read except insofar as we want to be heroized by Negroes. If we want our protest to get results why do we not send them to the white press that is always open to any sensible and intelligent discussion of any current question? It has come about that here in Richmond Negroes are more and more making use of the white press and there are some indications that we are getting somewhere, albeit all too slowly.

We have arrived at a stage in our social and economic development, when the Negro himself needs teaching. It is true that the white man needs to know how we feel about some matters; and what is more interesting many of them want to know. Why not let him know through the press he certainly reads rather than through the press that he reads only uncertainly? Whenever I have a protest to make to the white man, I said it to the white press. But what we need most today is a Negro press to educate the Negroes themselves. We need leadership now as never before. We are somehow afflicted with the notion that when we make a protest to the white man through a Negro press, that we have struck the point. We have not. We are further afflicted with a kindred notion that proving the white man a devil proves that Negroes are angels. We are not. We are still further afflicted with the notion that when our protest has been registered our work is done. It is not.

The white man needs to be set right on matters pertaining to the Negroes; but Negroes need to know that protest without a program comes to naught; that protest is but a small fraction of what it takes to advance the race; that Negroes have a responsibility in the situation as well as the whites; that intelligent use of opportunities is just as essential as the opportunities themselves; that in the world of tomorrow it is the efficient man rather than the logical man who is going to live; that the group without vocational training is going to perish in spite of their protests.

One of the things that doomed Pearl Harbor was the utter complacency of the officers in charge. They had a good time while the defenses were unmanned. They assumed that their own heroic opinion o fAmerica was shared by the Japanese. Being an American was fine; but, being prepared would have been finer. It does not matter how fine Negroes are and how equal to the white man they prove themselves, unless they have a program for their own advancement they are going to perish. There is no future for a race that majors in protest and minors in a program. At Pearl Harbor they majored in good times and jealousy and minored in preparedness. Our present program is based upon hope and not upon reality. WE NEED A PROGRAM.

Amsterdam News
New York, N. Y.

"Blue-book" Merchants Back Star-News' Crusade to Rid Harlem of Gyps in Trade

FEB 28 19

By GEORGE W. HARRIS

A round robin of salvos greeted the proposal made on Tuesday to leading business men of Harlem that the gyps in Harlem trade should be exposed. All agreed that outside of the benefit they would derive by being rid of unfair competition, it would be a good thing for the community. The Uptown Chamber of Commerce, the Association of Trade and Commerce and the Housewives League are cooperating in the campaign. Among those willing to be quoted in advance are:

Manager Jack Blumstein, of Blumstein's 125th St. department store: "I congratulate you. We will cooperate 100 percent in your effort to rid this great community of any merchant or institution guilty of unfair practices. The overwhelming majority of the Harlem business men are reputable. Occasional errors will be made by all business men, but good business houses quickly and cheerfully rectify them. We are with you and against all others."



Mr. Blumstein

Small Says, 'Go Limit'

Edward Small, of Small's Paradise, said: "You can't make it too strong. Thousands of dollars go out of this community via the gyp route. Every racket and every hustler in every line finds a soft spot in Harlem. I am glad that big business men of Harlem are cooperating along with little business men. Count on me in every way."

FEB 28 1942

Busch Gives Approval

Manager Jack Rose of the 125th St. Credit Jewelry Store, said: "Of every trick of the trade is a tragic and terrible fact. Every human necessity—shelter, food, clothing, health and amusements—of the 400,000 congested masses in this great section of New York City is a field that has long been exploited to the limit. In fact it has been taxed by trade and circumstance beyond the limit the traffic would bear. Accordingly, it has gone overwhelmingly on public relief.

FEB 28 1942

Harlem, here, is the area between 110th Street and Avenue "A" to 165th Street and St. Nicholas Avenue down to 110th Street and Manhattan Avenue. This teeming population pays a disproportionate share of its disproportionately small income for the necessities of life. The conditions grinding the life out of Harlem obtain in varying degrees in colored sections throughout greater New York. To expose these conditions, this series is written. No effort will be made to tell them by statistical charts. Nor will the surveys of social service agencies be utilized. These all tell the same story and confirm the conclusions we have here given.

Purpose to Help Harlem

Our purpose is to acquaint and inform and warn the residents of Harlem of the countless ways in which they are victimized. Our knowledge of these economic conditions is based on the testimony of substantial merchants and practical authorities in every field covered. Should their statements against the gyp practices in all lines of merchandise and commodities be doubted as that of jealous rivals, then the facts and figures given their husbands and families by the housewives in and out of the leagues, should suffice. Should the names of the reputable concerns furnishing the bulk of

course, you know Busch is with you in your effort to rid the community of the few offenders who seek to exploit Harlem and who give legitimate stores selling standard merchandise a bad name. We all want to promote the good and expose the bad. More power to you.



Mr. Rose

FEB 28 19

Ludwig Baumann Joins In

George Curtis, manager of Ludwig Baumann's 125th St. Store, said: "You can count on us to join you in your efforts to give Harlem protection against the minority of stores on the street who do not sell good goods at economical prices. We have a standard policy for all our stores. We don't have two prices. We applaud your efforts, which should help Harlem as well as ourselves."



Mr. Curtis

Lauded by Shoe Man

Clarence King, of King's shoe store, said: "I heartily approve of your campaign to clean up the community of these slickers who victimize Harlemites out of tens of thousands of dollars a year. You can bet your life Harlem needs just such help as the Amsterdam Star-News has long rendered."

The outline of the gyp crusade program follows:

That Harlem is robbed of millions of dollars every year through the exposures in this series be given, there would be no doubt of their truthfulness. So common, however, are the vicious practices

to be here related that all will be able to check up on them as a matter of self-protection. The offenders in many cases will be so closely identified that any reader will be able to verify these violations for himself.

Will Expose for Prosecution

The aim of this series is to serve Harlem and colored New York in all the five boroughs and to drive these economic enemies of the community out into the open in full view of the prosecuting authorities. Its further aim is to aid the honest and square dealing business men and women in the colored sections by driving their unworthy competitors out of business. No punches will be pulled. No exploiter big or little will be spared. The aid of every individual and institution interested sincerely in stopping the robbing of Harlem masses, in protecting their health and raising their morale is solicited.

Slum Houses Lucrative

The attention of the tenement house department will be called to the omnipresent violations of the Multiple Dwellings Law in this connection. Too, conditions breeding disease and crime in the basements, courts and hallways will be pictured that the Department of Sanitation may take official cognizance. The violations with impunity of residence zone restrictions in almost every block in Harlem, too, will be told. Wherever sprinkler system and fire retarding evasions of the law come to the attention of the Star-News, showing apparent graft and collusion upon the part of city inspectors and landlords of slum firetraps, they will be called to the attention of the Fire Department and all other city departments concerned. Nathan Straus said in resigning his office last week, that slum property business was one of the largest and most profitable businesses in the country today. If that is true and the great housing expert was driven from office under the dire threat by his foes of more and worse slums, then Harlem must be the gold mine and paradise of slum landlords.

High Rent Question

Through the eyes of housing experts, the question of relatively excessively high rents, will be revealed. Just so, too, will the gross failure of many landlords to paint their houses and repair their plumbing and plaster, their walls and ceilings, get due consideration. Inspection of unnumbered private houses, where large rooms have secretly and illegally been made into two or more rooms by highly inflammable beaver board partitions will be respectfully requested. The curse of housing segregation will be told in this forthcoming first chapter of the series. The high crimes committed by the great insurance companies against the public welfare in barring colored tenants from their mammoth projects will be trenchantly portrayed looking to an inquiry by the officials of New York City and State.

Gyps in All Trades Review

With equal thoroughness and with an equal aim to remedy, this series will present the agencies menacing the health of Harlem for a profit. The outside quacks advertising cheap cures for social deseases, the drug stores who harbor prostitutes as a sideline and distribute patent medicine cure-all as a specialty, will get their chance in this series. So, too, will those pharmacists who practice medicine in their back rooms without a license and incidentally are dispensers of dope, shall not be omitted. Those who cheat Harlem in the matters of health are about its worst offenders.

Food profiteering has recently been officially banned by constituted authorities. In its subtlest and most vicious form, food profiteers have long reaped a rich harvest in this community. Not only substandard staple groceries but vile produce have been palmed off on Harlem accompanied by short-weight and short-change until now these practices are accepted as regular features of the food and meat merchant. Much of this has sometimes been charged against some of the chain stores with branches in this section. Apparently the small stores and the pushcart pedlers, both outlaw and licensed, do not have a monopoly of these vices. The offending restaurants and their nauseating artifices will be revealed by this candid camera.

Kansas City Call
Kansas City, Mo.

Claude Barnett Talks on CBS Network Saturday, March 7

MAR 6 - 1942

CHICAGO.— Claude A. Barnett, director of the Associated Negro Press and husband of Etta Moten, will speak over a nation-wide CBS hookup Saturday, March 7, from 9:15 to 9:30 p.m., central war time.

The broadcast will climax the observance of National Negro Newspaper week March 1-7. The Columbia Broadcasting System is donating the time and facilities as a contribution to the observance.

MAR 6 - 1942

The week began with a radio talk Sunday, March 1, by P. L. Prattis of Pittsburgh over the "Wings Over Jordan" program.

Globe and Independent
Nashville, Tenn.

TAKE THE TENNESSEAN ALSO THE CHICAGO SUN

MAR 13 1942

Mr. Silliman Evans publishes two daily newspapers. One is the NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN of Nashville, Tenn. The other is the CHICAGO SUN of Chicago, Illinois.

At this writing we are skimming over issues of both newspapers for Saturday, March 7. During this skimming we find several contrasts in the two newspapers and list them as follows:

THE TENNESSEAN, with twelve pages, in listing its charge for its services to its subscribers, states that the paper sells for "5 cents on street, newsstands and trains."

THE CHICAGO SUN, with twenty-eight pages, says, "two cents in Chicago and suburbs, elsewhere three cents."

In scanning the CHICAGO SUN, to see the attitude it takes toward its Negro readers, 250,000 of whom (actual and potential) live in Chicago and suburbs, we find one important news story. That story appears under the following headline:

MAR 13 1942

U. S. UPHOLDS NEGRO RIGHTS IN DETROIT PROJECT

Housing Director Puts Peace Appeal on Patriotic Basis

Then followed a commendable story dealing with the Sojourner Truth Housing Project in Detroit. The story was heartening to Negroes and to all fair-minded white people, telling as it did of the Government's decision to allow Negroes to occupy a housing project, built originally for Negroes and named for a noted Negro woman

Now take the Tennessean, of Saturday, March 7.

Page 1 has a story, which begins with the sentence: "William O. (Bill) James, convicted Negro numbers racketeer." Thus both James and the Negro race are smeared in the story.

We make the observation that in the rounding up of persons accused of participating in the numbers game, persons of other races than Negroes have been hailed into court. No mention of the race to which they belonged has been mentioned. Innocent members of other conspicuous minority groups have not been made to suffer from an unethical mentioning of their race in connection with the crime of an individual member of that race.

The TENNESSEAN of Saturday, March 7, had another headline as follows:

MAR 13 1942

DISMISSAL ASKED OF NEGRO'S CLAIM

The above headline dealt with a SCHOOL TEACHER. The headline would have stressed "SCHOOL TEACHER" had the person been a member of any other race or minority group than a member of the Negro race, if the Tennessean had as much regard for the patronage Negroes give it as it has for that of other races.

Another headline atrocity in the same issue of the TENNESSEAN of MARCH 7, was:

NEGRESS GETS 5 YEARS ON CHARGE OF ASSAULT

MAR 13 1942

If we were a betting individual we would "lay a dollar" that The CHICAGO SUN is in no sense as big a beneficiary of Negro patronage as is the NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN. We would wager, also, that there is far more crime being committed by individual Negroes in the territory which the CHICAGO SUN covers than within the territory the TENNESSEAN covers.

The above citations and observations are made merely to point out that under the regime of Mr. Silliman Evans two kinds of journalism are being used. That in CHICAGO it adheres to the rules of enlightenment as faithfully as it adheres to the schedule of charges to subscribers for metropolitan newspapers. The other is "Deep Dixie" journalism, which is faithful to the code of newspapers of our area—that of smearing the Negro race as an inferior people, engaged for the most part in criminal activities.

But don't misunderstand us as contending that the TENNESSEAN and the SUN are wholly antagonistic, one to the other, in their philosophies. Both appear to agree that this man Hitler ought to be liquidated for indulging in racial intolerance.

Chicago Bee
Chicago, Illinois

WHITE PRESS JOINING IN HOUSING FIGHT

FEB 7 - 1942

WASHINGTON, Feb. 5 — (ANP)—Due largely to the repeated pointing out by the ANP of the discrepancies and the discriminations in the housing program, the ousting of top flight officials and the behind the scenes juggling exposed in previous articles from this bureau, white newspapers are beginning to take up the cudgels in behalf of the injustice meted out to Negroes.

FEB 7 - 1942

Recently the New York Post and the Philadelphia Inquirer have carried stories on the situation, editorializing on the injustices prevailing in the situation which makes Negroes the chief sufferers in a campaign to take away decent housing.

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

BETWEEN THE LINES

By GORDON B. HANCOCK

FEB 22 1942

Pearl Harborism Among Negro III

FEB 22 1942

WHEN I ARRIVED in Richmond 20 years ago, my enthusiasm for the cause of Negro betterment knew no bounds. After three years of study in the east and contacts with the fuller life offered there; and after turning down two fine opportunities to remain there, there was a sense of sacrificial responsibility to help right the wrongs of my less fortunate people.

I proceeded to chart my way in my new environment and began by registering my protests against anything that contravened the rights of Negroes. I was aware of the fact that being "nasty" was no part of protest, and that straight argument on strong points was not spectacular and would not bring a kind of "popularity," but it would get definite results in the long run.

WHITE PRESS NOT USED

I found that little use was being made of the white press of this state and city. All of the Negro's protest was being registered in the Richmond Planet which the immortal John Mitchell was editing. I turned to the white press and whenever I had any protest to make I made it through the white papers. My first protest was against a column called "Good Morning Judge" where Negroes who came before the police court were burlesqued.

FEB 22 1942

The editor pounced upon me in an editorial and called me a "schooled" Negro, intimating that I was "schooled" but not educated. Very shortly a cultured white white woman took my part and very soon "Good Morning Judge" disappeared. "Hambone Meditations" went the same way.

My point here is, Negroes make the great mistake of making their protests through Negro papers which are read primarily by Negroes and are silent in the white papers where their protests might be carried to those for whom they are intended. I see no poin in making brilliant protests for Negroes to read except in so far as we want to be heroized by Negroes. If we want our protest to get results why do we not send them to the white press that is always open to any sensible and intelligent discussion of any current question?

The Plaindealer
Kansas City, Kan.

Nations Newspapermen Hold Regional Meeting In Kansas City

FEB 27 1942

FEB 27 1942

The regional meeting of the Southwest Region of the National Publishers Association which convened here Saturday, February 21, brought together publishers, journalists and newspaper representatives from various states in this section. Registration began at 8:30 a. m. Saturday at the office of the Kansas City Call and the meeting opened at 9 o'clock. Different phases of newspaper work were taken up and discussed with leaders in each phase leading the panel discussions. The panels and discussion leaders were as follows:

FEB 27 1942

News panel: Miss Lucile Bluford, Donald Jones and J. Don Davis; advertising panel, D. H. Davis, Frank Stanley, Cecil Bowman, C. W. Rice and L. I. Brockenbury; circulation panel, C. C. DeJoie, Jr.,

on concerns thriving from the Negro market but which ignore the press as a medium of reaching Negro people. Increasing circulation of Negro newspapers and at the same time equalizing the cost in keeping with increases in prices of paper, labor and other items of expense in connection with the publishing of a newspaper. Dr. Wm. O. Walker, publisher of the Cleveland Call-Post and national president of the organization, emphasized the fact that it is time for the Negro press to have a strong union as well as other lines of business in order to protect its interest, its investment and its craftmanship. He stressed the point that the Negro press was no longer an experimental practice but was a big business in which Negro publishers have millions of dollars invested, and that it was to their best interest to build up a strong organization in which there will be cooperation between publishers to work out various problems that affect newspapers.

FEB 27 1942

The idea of cooperative news and mat service among the newspapers in the regional district was adopted by the body. The main purpose of the regional meeting was to bind together the publishers of Negro newspapers who speak to the masses of Negroes from week to week on a definite program of increasing the circulation, on a definite policy toward the employment of Negroes in defense industries and defense training and a definite policy of breaking down various social, economic and political barriers that stand in the way of Negro progress.

FEB 27 1942

Those registering for the meeting were; William O. Walker, national president and publisher of the Cleveland Call-Post, Cleveland, Ohio; Roscoe Dunjee, editor of the Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City, Okla.; Joseph Carper, advertising solicitor of the Houston Informer, Houston, Texas; E. L. Goodwin, Oklahoma Eagle, Tulsa, Oklahoma; L. I. Brockenbury, Dallas Express, Dallas, Texas; J. Don Davis, managing editor of the Houston Informer; Thelma Burlack Bonzer, acting director, school of journalism, Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri; Rashey Moten, school of journalism, Lincoln University; Elliott J. Barnett, school of journalism, Lincoln University; Rosemary Martin, librarian, Lincoln University; L. Bernezetta Little, secretary, Oklahoma Eagle; Cecil Newman, Minneapolis Spokesman; E. C. DeJoie, Louisiana Weekly, New Orleans; E. Elliston, advertising department, Louisiana Weekly; Donald Jones, New Orleans Sentinel, New Orleans, La.; Miss Lucile Bluford, city editor, Kansas City Call; C. A. Franklin, editor, Kansas City Call; J. A. Hamlett, Jr., editor, Kansas City Plaindealer; D. H. Davis, Kansas City Call; Mrs. Geneva Brown, St. Louis Call, St. Louis, Missouri; Sam McKibben, Kansas City Call.

The motivating character of the E. L. Goodwin, Mrs. Geneva Brown; editorial policy panel, C. A. Franklin, Roscoe Dunjee, L. J. Rhone; photography and engraving panel, C. F. Richardson, Mrs. Josephine Bellinger, Sam McKibben.

In the news and editorial panels, relative to the war situation, the meeting went on record as maintaining a policy of encouragement to Negroes to be loyal to the American government because this is his country as much as it is the white man's and to maintain the unblemished record that Negroes have in previous wars. But at the same time the Negro press must be militant in the fight for the practice of democracy here at home.

FEB 27 1942

Another interesting discussion was in the advertising panel led by Dowdal Davis, in which ways and means were discussed whereby a more centralized pressure from the standpoint of circulation of the Negro press can be brought to bear

Amsterdam News
New York, N. Y.

More Power to Colored Press

FEB 28 1942

From the days of John Russworm 115 years ago down through the galaxy of great race leaders like Frederick Douglas, T. Thomas Fortune, William Munroe Trotter, Robert S. Abbott, Robert L. Vann and Harry C. Smith, the colored press has beat the drum for racial progress. Always its true tempo has been: Forward March! With exceptions so rare that they cannot be recalled or recorded, the colored editors have stood straight for every right of their race. More often unappreciated than revered, more often bankrupt than prosperous, throughout the generations they have battled on as men and Americans. They have burned the midnight oil, and almost without exception, they have known the early pangs of hunger in order that they might carry the message to their people. They have rarely if ever bent the pregnant hinges of the knee that thrift might follow fawning. Independent and militant, though poor, they have been the heralds of their race's rise from slavery and degradation.

FEB 28 1942

The progress of the profession has been such as to challenge the respect and attention of the nation. Whether or not the race now recognizes it, the colored press today is its last remaining bulwark against proscription and exploitation.

From March 1 to March 7, the 115th Anniversary of the colored press is to be fittingly observed. The clergy, the school teacher and the public spirited men and women of every walk of life should take due notice.

Today the Amsterdam Star-News doffs its hat in tribute to its contemporaries, large and small, of today and yesteryear. More power to the colored press!

Argus
St. Louis, Missour:

The Negro Press In The U. S.

FEB 27 1942

WARREN G. HARDING, back in 1920, when still a member of the Senate, was cognizant of the great powers of the Negro press as is exhibited in his words:

"It would be a very sorry contradiction to the policy of the developing of democracy if the colored people of the country should not find marked advancement in the fluid state of world civilization, and it is very pleasing to note the growth of colored publicity service, which means that educational advancement and intelligent enlightenment shall always speak of the progress of any people.

"Publicity is going to be the greatest weapon of all in furthering the cause of the Colored People of the U. S."

This statement was contained in a letter to the Associated Press, Chicago. Today the truth of Mr. Harding's statement rings true, and the Negro Press is constantly fighting the cause of its people; bringing out their true qualities, their successes, their advancements and their shortcomings. The Negro Press today is THE weapon of its people.

Yes, we agree that Mr. Harding was right, but there are still some white people, and strange as it seems, some members of our own group, ignorant of the numerous publications devoted exclusively to the interests of colored people, edited by Negroes.

FEB 27 1942

But with this celebration of the 115th anniversary of the Negro newspaper in America, we hope that there shall be a great awakening to these publications, not only to the white man but to a vast number of our own people who have considered their existence and progress lightly or as a matter of course.

Not at all surprising, to own and operate its plant is the great ambition of Negro periodicals and by 1922 at least 36 papers were doing just that, and since that time others have been added to the roll.

EARLY PAPERS

In 1827 Samuel Cornish and John B. Russwurm put their names to the first Negro periodical called "Freedom's Journal". It's name was changed to the "Rights of All" but in 1830 it died. The Negro press, taking its start from a situation of conflict, carries through its entire history this motive, "the fight for liberation."

FEB 27 1942

Even the days of slavery boasts of publications which, for the most part (even in their titles) reflected a desire for freedom. Then came "Douglass' North Star" to which we refer with great pride. It was later changed to Frederick Douglass' Paper and was published on one large sheet by the great abolitionist at a cost of $80.00 a week and boasted an average circulation of 3000. This number grew to 4000 through the help of a Mrs. Julia Griffiths Crofts who was kind enough to "lend the helping hand" when Douglass was heavily in debt and had mortgaged his home to meet current expenses.

Papers today suffer almost the same difficulties — meeting the great overhead, keeping up with the times, paying state and federal taxes. Many of them are "strained" to do this, but they "strain" and move forward in their duty of telling the world about America's Tenth Man.

By 1922 eighty-four newspapers had gone out of existence since their listing in the Negro Year Book (1918-19). In 1910 (enumeration of periodicals by the Atlanta University Negro Conference) 288 Negro periodicals were listed and 163 were absent from that list in 1921. On the same list (1910) 105 periodicals listed were still doing business twenty years ago, fifty nine of which had achieved the success of a career back to 1900 or farther. Eight were dated earlier than 1880, seven being religious papers.

FEB 27 1942

The St. Louis Argus (a corporation) at that time had a capital stock of $20,000, was (and is) published weekly in its own shop and topped a circulation of 22,500.

The Bulletin owned its own plant, gave employment to nine men and women daily. Its circulation was over six thousand. It started from the ground with little encouragement and no capital.

The circulation of the Chicago Defender was so great that 40 tons of print paper were used for each edition. The plant had four linotype machines, there was a modern stereotype department and the paper was printed on a 32-page and color machine, printing, folding and counting the papers all in one operation at a speed of 35,000 copies per hour. Of course, the growth of these publications as well as others, and the addition of many new ones, has been noted trough the years.

News for our papers come from many sources including news syndicates, reporters, correspondents, organizations, institutions, etc.

FEB 27 1942

Publications by our group are still the champions of our rights. They may not always be the best reading, oft our heads might bow in shame at unnecessary crime (but the same is the case of other races), they don't always come out on time, but they are usually brim full of news and the editors try to wield the best of influence in their editorial comment and policies. They usually furnish the "whistle" for the race to keep up its courage. They contend for that which is right for the race and their voice is usually heard whether everybody says so or not.

FEB 27 1942

We go to our own papers for the news and for our guidance in thinking. As for the prosperity these publications, there is abundant evidence. Of their influence the evidence is no less. The Negro sems to have discovered his fourth estate, to realize the extraordinary power of his press. And so we look forward to each of these editions with a "sermon" mightier than the pulpit with the challenge to do or die.

FEB 27 1942

As the bell tolls on this 115th anniversary we say that we have come a long way and have contributed to our progress with the existence of 210 newsppers.

—SISTER SUSAN

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

Clark NAACP Youth Chapter Hears Nicholson

FEB 14 1942

Speaker Praises Work of The Negro Newspaper

FEB 14 1942

The Clark College Youth Chapter of the NAACP sponsored its annual program in observance of Negro History Week, Feb. 11, in the college auditorium.

This program is looked forward to by the students and serves as a means of awakening race pride and increasing the interest of the students in the efforts of the N.. AACP. Special features of the program were music by Mr. H. Eugence Creig and the presentation of a two-year subscription of the Crisis Magazine to the college library by the student chapter of the NAACP.

FEB 14 1942

The speaker of the occasion was Dr. Joseph W. Nicholson, who is president of the Alabama State Teachers' Association and a member of the national board of directors of the NAACP. Dr. Nicholson spoke from the subject, "The Negro Newspaper." He paid high respect to the Negro newspaper and appealed to Negroes to support it. A brief history of the newspaper was given at which time Robert S. Abbott, founder of the Chicago Defender, and Claude Barnett, founder of the Associated Negro Press were highly honored. "Mr. Abbott went to work waiting tables part time and running a small printing office to make money enough to open his enterprise. Within five years he was able to start the Chicago Defender as a weekly message from the Midwest. The paper was accepted after three months of disappointment, with great interest, and has grown extensively ever since" "Mr. Claude Barnett had a similar experience in establishing the Associated Negro Press," said the speaker. "It was not an easy job. He did it in the midst of hardships. I could speak of many such cases this morning, cases of men who have sacrificed greatly, worked hard in the midst of criticism and suffering disappointment, usually while working at another job, that we as Negroes might have a newspaper to call our own and present our side of the news."

Dr. Nicholson said that the Negro newspaper was a media of communication between and among Negroes, Clubs, Groups personal notes, and religious organizations, it is also a propaganda sheet and does a great deal to mold public sentiment. Special emphasis was placed upon the services rendered by the Negro paper in crying out against injustices inflicted upon Negroes.

"The Atlanta World has done a great job at this kind of thing," declared the speaker," "Not long ago I was especially impressed with the job it did in helping to bring about better conditions for a group of Negro workmen. This paper has done a great job for our people and thank God for it—our only Negro daily newspaper: I am proud of its founder and the men who carry it on for us today. The Atlanta World is one of our best informing and educated pieces of literature and is a blessing to Atlanta. No Negro home in Atlanta should feel satisfied without a copy of it daily.

"Dr. Nicholson ended his forceful address in an appeal to the students to take example after these great men who established Negro newspapers to determine to do something worth while in spite of the many difficulties that Negro students have to face, and to never stop the fight until all have done something for the advancement of Colored people."

FEB 14 1942

48a-1942
Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

DuBois Writes On The Press

MAR 10 1942

From the pen of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, chairman, Department of Sociology, Atlanta University; Editor - in - Chief, Projected Encyclopaedia of the Negro; Editor, Phylon, Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture; Former Editor, Crisis.

About 1882 when I was a school boy in Massachusetts I became local correspondent for the New York Globe which was the first colored paper that I had ever seen. I used to sell about ten copies to the small group of colored people in my home, Great Barrington, and wrote from time to time little news notes which T. Thomas Fortune published to my intense gratification and delight. I continued as agent and correspondent of the paper when it became the New York Age and until I left my home to go to college.

MAR 10 1942

From that time until this I have followed with great interest the development of the Negro press and especially its enormous expansion in circulation and interest during the last fifteen years. When I established the Crisis in 1910, I could make it a "news monthly," because the colored papers of that day carried so little real news. Their interest was in editorials and in local correspondence. Afterward at a meeting in Baltimore I took occasion to criticize the Negro press for its lack of interprise in the systematic gathering of news concerning the Negro. The speech aroused a great deal of sharp criticism, but it was true.

It is no longer true, however, today. The news gathering of the Negro press is upon an extraordinary and ever increasing plane. The next step, however, is already indicated, and that is more careful selection and thoughtful emphasis in the presentation of news. The old insistence of the Hearst newspaper on crime and scandal has naturally had large vogue with our weekly papers and without doubt has helped sell them. I think, however, that now the time has come when at least some of the papers should so temper, explain and shift the news that we would have a better presentation of news according to its real and lasting value; and especially there should be a more careful follow-up of real interest stories which become lost after their initial flare-up in the daily news.

The issuing of newspapers more frequently than once a week has not been very successful as yet among Negroes. Nevertheless, we have here in Atlanta, the Daily WORLD which is quite indispensable for those who would follow local news. A daily Negro newspaper in certain localities is a possibility today. High power presses running an evening newspaper from New York could reach a Negro population from Boston to Washington and easily have a large subscription list and paying advertisements. It would, however, call for capital and skill. Here, however, is a future for some real journalist.

MAR 10 1942

—W. E. B. DuBOIS

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

Race Cannot Be Ignored, Daily Publishers Told

College Prexy Reviews War Situation

APR 4 - 1942

DURHAM, N. C.—(ANP)— In a letter addressed to some of the leading newspapers of the country, President James E. Shepard of Norrth Carolina College for Negroes gave a review of the circumstances facing the Negro during this time of crisis and asked that the papers use their influence as Christian Americans to improve the situation. Dr. Shepard, whose views commend respect among both races, said in part:

"I have recently made visits to many of the large cities on the Atlantic coast. I find in them a large number of hopeless and dispairing people. I find that there is very little enthusiasm among the people of my group concerning the present war. It is altogether a different situation from the last World war. There was enthusiasm then. The soldiers went into the war with the idea that they were going into the same to fight for a democracy which would guarantee to them a chance to live and to work, and to be regarded as men. Few of these hopes have been realized to any great degree, so that there is real bitterness, disappointment and loss of the hope on the part of many of those who should think otherwise. Those who say that everything is all right do not fully understood the whole situation.

APR 1942

DISCRIMINATION

"There is discrimintation in the employment of our skilled workers. Even if all or a large proportion of our workers were not skilled at the present time if given the chance and provided the means of training, they could soon be trained to a state of efficiency which would be the pride of all. On every hand Negroes have desired to work, first from a patriotic viewpoint, and then for the wages which a skilled worker would receive in order that he might better provide for a family, educate his children, and provide a few comforts of life. Any total defense which does not concern itself with the welfare of its total population is a misnomer and the contradiction of terms.

"I understand that in most sections of the south that the labor unions are keeping Negroes not only from being employed as skilled workers, but from being taught how to master trades. There have been some startling cases of this discrimination against proposed Negro workers by some trade unions This is especially true in the south.

"I have never condoned crime but I have never found a single excuse for lynchings in America. All of the courts are in the hands of the white man and supposed justice is administered by him. The recently horrible lynching in Missouri has stirred up a feeling of bitterness and hatred which could hardly be imagined. I believe, however, in the light of past experiences that the Negro is instinctively and incurably American and that the wrongs done him as a citizen and as a service man will not make more malleable his morale.

"If this war has shown us anything, it has revealed that foes of ours know dangerously much about our interior life, and know best of all the wrongs against minorities. If Christian ministers must defend the unchristian wores of their communities, let it not be said that they continue with governmental sanction.

"We must consider this alternative. We shall have to use our democracy or we shall lose our democracy. Thirteen million Americans cannot be ignored."

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

Top Magazines Discuss Negro

APR 17 1942

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(ANP)—Keen interest in the recent discovery by "big time" white publications of the Negro in America is evidenced by the number of top-notch magazines which have been bombarding government agencies seeking information on the problems which the Negro faces in the United States.

Representatives of "Time," "Life" "Fortune," "News Week" among those widely read, have been seen in and out of offices where they know this information is obtainable and shortly they will be breaking out with "exclusive" stories which the Negro press has been carrying all along.

In addition to these well known publications; such magazines as are read by executives and employers are also breaking into print on the Negro problem. Some of these include "Modern Industry," "Mill and Factory," and "Supervision" which circulate among the big business men of the country.

"Reader's Digest" also is seeking information on the Negro and soon will do a story on what he is doing and what his position is in the country at present.

Pittsburgh Courier

INCIDENTALLY, where is the Army Press Bureau going to place some intelligent Negro-editor on its staff and send out some news about Negro soldiers abroad? Their Negro publicity has been most stupid. The Navy Press Bureau has sent out none at all. When are these people going to realize that the way to build Negro morale is to give Negroes some news that will win interest and stimulate pride?

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

A UNIFIED PRESS

The struggle of the Negro masses to attain democratic parity with the whites on those basic principles that give meaning to American citizenship, would be advanced to fruitful ends were the Negro press, which controls a considerable body of public opinion, willing to consolidate its energy, unify its aims and concentrate on a practical strategy for a sustained frontal attack on issues, institutions and personalities which are blocking the progress of the race.

APR 18 1942

We should pool our resources and determine within ourselves the issues to be pushed forward and the approach to be used as a practi[illegible] means to a realization of our objectives. Too many, far too many of our newspapers are working at cross purposes. There are so many editorial contradictions that it is difficult for a reader who is not a member of the Negro race to ascertain through the pages of the Negro press what the masses of our people really want. The question therefore arises often in the minds of our critics as to whether we represent the true sentiments of the Negro masses when there is such wide divergence of opinion on basic issues. Such a condition is injurious to the prestige of Negro journalism and to the cause which it seeks to espouse.

It is evident that our people do not ask for democracy and segregation all in one breath. It is also clear that black Americans are insisting that they be integrated fully into all the phases of the national life now and not after the war. But some of our papers take the same position they took 23 years ago—namely, that we should set aside our demands for democratic rights and forget our pleas against segregation, lynching and economic denials until the war is over. Fortunately however, the enlightened section of the Negro press does not follow that line of reasoning.

We need a program of action on which all of us can act with unanimity and force. This should not be difficult of accomplishment if we can put aside petty intrigues and unprofitable competition.

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

Rural Journalist In Interesting Comments On Place Of Extension Work In State Of Georgia

APR 14 1942

By PERCY H. STONE

"Helping Negro ruralists in Georgia to depart from antiquated methods of rural activities and backward traditions, largely due to their environments and other outstanding factors over which they had no control, Negro agricultural extension workers in this state are making a substantial contribution to the progress of an advanced civilization," says George F. King. He was the second Negro as traveling correspondent for news syndicates in this country and feature writer for an European feature syndicate. Mr. King, formerly connected with Tuskegee Institute, is the first Negro Rural Journalist and instructor of this subject in an agricultural institution He is now making his headquarters at Georgia State College and is accentuating the work of Negro rural workers in the southern states. He is author of "King's Agricultural Digest," published while he was at Tuskegee. He writes thus on a vital phase of Negro extension work in George:

In many ways Negro Extension workers in Georgia are helping to enrich the state and nation by their effective achievements in the rural areas of the state. Lives of a mass of rural Negroes are being transformed—a remarkable demonstration of what can be accomplished under capable Negro leadership Again the sources for these statements exhibit an invigorating truth—that the time is at hand that the majority of Negro ruralists want this type of leadership.

The annual reports of Mr P.H. Stone and his supervising agents vigorously reveal the outstanding fact that because of the efficient and untiring efforts on the part of Negro agents in Georgia — rural Negroes are a potent factor in Home and National Defense.

The following excerpts from the last summary of the work of Negro home demonstration agents in Georgia by Miss Camilla Weems Assistant State Agent-in-charge of Negro Home Agents with headquarters at Georgia State College, Industrial College, Georgia, are concrete evidences of what our rural women and girls are doing to conserve the program and objectives of Home and National Defense. They are:

"In 1940 the 24 Negro home demonstration agents in Georgia supervised the extension club work of 9529 home demonstration club women who are members of 408 home demonstration clubs and also the 4-H Club work of 15,627 club girls who are enrolled in 604 4-H clubs. An additional 3,130 girls were members of 4-H clubs supervised by farm demonstration agents and 218 girls were enrolled in special 4-H clubs, thus making a grand total of 18, 975 girls enrolled in 4-H club work in 1940 There was an increase of 479 home demonstration club women and 857 4-H club girls over the number enrolled in 1939. Of the girls enrolled 13,574 completed the 4-H club work started by them.

"The 26 counties in Georgia having full-time colored home demonstration agents, have 25 county-wide Home Demonstration Councils for women and 26 4-H Club Councils for 4-H club members. There is also a State 4-H Club Council for 4-H Club members and a State Committee for Home Demonstration Club Women of which Mrs. Estella Ashmore, Columbia Co., is state chairman.

"During 1940 county home demonstration agents and their supervisors made 14,373 visits to 9,938 homes and farms. They received 32,225 office calls and 12,612 telephone calls; published 427 news articles; issued 719 different circular letters; distributed 49,509 bulletins; made 10 radio broadcasts; showed extension exhibits at 180 events and put up 750 posters about extension work; 3,000 club signs were put up at homes of club women and girls pointing out the fact that club members lived in these homes and were carrying out some special extension club demonstration.

Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

FAIR ENOUGH

By WESTBROOK PEGLER

APR 29 1942

Negro Papers NEW YORK, April 28. Of late I have been studying two of the most vigorous papers of the Negro press, namely the Chicago Defender and the Pittsburgh Courier, both old publications and well-known among the colored population, but widely unknown to the white people. Both are exploiting the war emergency as an opportunity to push the aspirations of the colored people, and they are standard reading among colored men in the armed forces.

As journalism the Defender and the Courier compare ill with the standard white press of the country and are no compliment to the people whom they purport to represent. They are reminiscent of Hearst at his worst in their sensationalism, and in their obvious, inflammatory bias in the treatment of news they resemble such one-sided publications as the Communist party's Daily Worker and Coughlin's Social Justice.

For example, the Defender runs a story of a Chicago colored woman charged with carrying a pistol and with mayhem in that she bit the cop who arrested her for forcing a white man into an alley at the pistol's point and compelling him to strip to his underwear.

APR 29 1942

On Prowl With Gun This incident would appear to have been a stickup, but the Defender editorializes the news by saying that the white man had improperly accosted the colored woman. This might have been the correct origin of the incident, but the paper offers nothing but its own flat assertion and the intent plainly is to cast in the role of injured innocence a woman on the prowl with a gun at night who admittedly did stick up a man, disrobe him and fight the cops. As a figure of maidenly virtue, she is unconvincing, still less so when, in court, being held in $500 bond, she attacked the baliffs, one of whom "barely missed being cracked over the head with a lamp."

The Defender also imitates very effectively the most humiliating phase of the white man's press, that degrading specialty known as gents' room journalism which originated in New York, and from there poured its pollution into many otherwise normal dailies throughout the country and by radio into the air.

APR 29 1942

In a gossip column by "Nosey," the Defender archly asks, "did the driver of what taxicab go in what flat with what chic t'other day and stay a long time?" And, again, "Wonder if that post office employe knows that every morning after he has gone to work that a certain barber comes by for breakfast. If the postal employe wants to have some fun, he should stay home some morning." And we would like to remind that lady whose husband works on the Santa Fe to be careful about those parties she has as soon as hubby leaves on his run."

APR 29 1942

Lower Mediocrity In neither paper is there any writing of the slightest distinction to substantiate in the field of journalism, at least, the cry that discrimination, alone, retards the colored man's progress. The written, or editorial matter, is of lower mediocrity, at best, in the presence of an unlimited opportunity for superior colored writers to show their ability and some of the advertisements constitute a sordid exploitation for revenue only of that ignorance among the colored people which the Defender and Courier constantly decry, and with some justice, as the white man's doing.

The Defender advertises luck's genuine magnetic lodestones at a dollar a pair, one to attract, the other to repel; zodiacal incense to invite good luck and a book at $2 which, it is intimated, will impart to the reader power to be victorious in all undertakings.

The Courier offers similar opportunities and three books on unusual love requirements and ancient sexual practices. Such ads, though profitable, being acceptable in only a very limited publication field, plainly place on the intelligence of the colored reader a much lower estimate than the editors express in their editorial matter.

In the editorials they tell him he is a very high grade human being, but in ads alongside they play him for a superstitious, ignorant fool, for money.

In the publication business most foreign language papers, contrary to their professed purpose of Americanizing their readers, strive to segregate them so that they will remain a profitable, specialized circulation field for advertisers and politicians. Once Americanized, they quit reading foreign-language papers which then lose their reason to be.

APR 29 1942

Violent Agitators These Negro papers agitate violently and, I think, to the same dangerous degree that was alleged against Charles E. Coughlin's weekly, particularly in their appeal to colored soldiers whose loyalty is constantly bedeviled with doubts and with the race-angling of news. If tomorrow they should win everything which they profess to advocate, they would die for lack of the segregated circulation which they exploit with profit, personal satisfaction for their operators and some political power which is always pleasing to ambitious men of all races.

One may doubt the sincerity of a colored journalist who in one column praises the intelligence of his readers and bids them be proud of their race and in another advertises a skin cream under the illusory and ignoble promise that it will turn him more or less white.

Chicago Bee
Chicago, Illinois

Implied Slander By The White Press

DEC 7 - 1941

LAST week the Chicago Herald-American received protests from Negro organizations regarding the use of the word "picanniny" in one of its news items. Sometime ago similar protests were sent to the Chicago Daily Times for the use of the word "darky" in Jimmy Fiddler's column.

The Herald-American made prompt apologies. Jimmy Fiddler demurred on the ground that the word was a term of endearment which should be adopted by the colored people.

The white dailies have carried on a subtle campaign calculated to produce and create racial prejudice and to make the colored people the object of hate, discrimination, and ridicule. Whenever possible they play up the crimes of colored people and seldom fail to identify their race in the headlines. They often refer to the accused colored person as "the Negro."

DEC 7 - 1941

To say that these dailies are cognizant of the harm that such yellow journalism does to a race of people is to repeat the obvious.

If the color of a man's hair were to be described when a red-haired man committed a crime it would be tantamount to a warning that red-haired people have unusual criminal propensities. The same result would obtain when any group is singled out and identified as such in the crime stories.

We would have no complaint if these dailies would reveal the racial identities of other persons who commit crimes. But they do not do that. One may rest assured that it is not because they do not have the information. They do not wish to visit upon any other racial or religious group such malicious and slanderous accusations.

Hitler treats the Jews in a simlar manner by his muzzled press control. But he can learn some new and novel tacts from our American publishers who would want him to believe that they are all out for democracy and equality and the ideals of the brotherhood of men.

DEC 7 - 1941

Their obvious hypocrisy is excelled only by their race-baiting, intolerant animosity for twelve million loyal American citizens.

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

The Negro "Discovered"

More hitherto adamant white publications are "discovering" the Negro than ever in the history of this country. These periodicals are saying that Negroes are not treated fairly, are discriminated against in industry and neglected in the public schools. They are saying, also, that Negroes are loyal and deserving of greater integration into the democracy they now defend.

These are the things the Negro press has preached about since Russmorin's Freedman's Journal in 1937 and ow it is being joined by sections of the white press, probably better equipped to reduce the problem. This competition shall not be resented by the Negro press. It would much prefer to close shop than to report unfair and prejudiced behavior to its people.

Occasional quacks at the Negro press, however, such as Life Magazine's blanket labelling of "sensational" in its feature on Negroes June 15, shall not Woo" Negroes from their first protectors. In fact if the white press shall cover unbiasedly Negro life it shall soon find itself "sensational" for the amazing facts it shall have to report.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

WHITE PRESS JOINS PEGLER IN ATTACKS ON NEGRO PAPERS

JUN 20 1942

By ALFRED A. DUCKETT
Staff Correspondent

NEW YORK CITY, June 18.—Westbrook Pegler, whose syndicated blast against the Negro press recently aroused nation-wide indignation, had two powerful allies in his corner.

As widely-read "Time" and "Life" magazine joined the Pegler line, several important developments came to light:

1. "Time" magazine flatly stated that millionaire Marshall Field, owner of "PM," New York's adless newspaper, is the backer of The People's Voice, edited by Councilman Adam Clayton Powell. Powell promptly replied via a Courier writer that his sheet will sue the news magazine.

SAYS PRESS EXAGGERATE

2. "Life" ran in this week's issue an 11-page photo coverage entitled, "Negroes and the War." The general trend of the spread showed the gradual integration of Negroes into the war effort, in the armed forces, civilian defense and defense industry. The spread got in a sideswipe at the Negro Press, however, with an assertion that the "sensational" Negro Press had attempted to exaggerate the race skirmishes between Negro soldiers, white soldiers, M.P.'s and civilians.

3. Observers on the New York scene saw behind the Time-Life barrage against the race press the fine hand of Newsman Earl Brown, Harvard-educated former Star-Amsterdam News managing editor. Brown's "resignation" from the Star-News closely followed a spread in "Life" in which he was credited with supplying information on Joe Louis, heavyweight champion of the world, which was regarded by Negro leaders throughout the country as vicious. Weight to the belief in Brown's contribution to the magazine attacks was given with the recollection that only a week ago, it was announced that Brown had been appointed Assistant to the Editor on National Affairs of Life magazine, assigned to topics concerning Negroes. The Time and Life publishing interests are of course under the same ownership.

JUN 20 1942

"Time" magazine's attack came in the guise of coverage of the recent conference of Negro Publishers at the Chicago YMCA. Publishers of the papers which include the nation's most progressive weeklies, were described by the "Time" writer as "75 listeners, full of fried chicken and Pepsi-Cola."

RAPS POWELL

"Time's" reference to the alleged Marshall Field-Peoples' Voice hookup was contained in a paragraph which said:

"One of the speakers at the convention was Marshall Field, backer of Chicago's Sun and New York's PM. He urged the Negro press to go easy on the race issue. The advice was interesting, since he is also the backer of a Negro paper, a four-month-old Harlem tabloid called the People's Voice, to which last week he extended another $25,000 of credit."

"Publisher of the Peoples' Voice is Harlem's big (6-foot 4) pompous

Globe and Independent
Nashville, Tenn.

WHITE NEWSMAN OF DETROIT DEFENDS NEGRO AMERICANS

JUN 19 1942

W. K. Kelsey Makes Plea To Believers in "White Supremacy" to Study Science

Detroit, June 18 (ANP)—Drawing aside the mask of insincerity and apathy so typical of the attitude of the average white American toward Negroes, W. K. Kelsey, widely known newsman and student of race relations, last week gave Detroiters a heart-to-heart talk in his column, the Commentator, published in the Detroit News.

Almost without parallel in American journalism, Commentator's Kelsey's revealing article shunted aside the hypocrisy of the whites, dealt a body blow to the old bugaboo of miscegenation and social equality and declared that science has proved that the so-called "white supremacy" is a myth, pure and simple.

JUN 19 1942

Writing on "This America," Commentator Kelsey stated, in part:

"There are a lot of Americans who have a lot to learn about America.

"For instance, there are those boys at Dodge truck plant of the Chrysler Corp., who walked out because some Negroes were sent to the plant to work beside them. They were wrong on two counts. They were wrong because the constitution of their UAW-CIO union recognizes no distinction between Negro and white; and chiefly they were wrong because the constitution of the United States of America recognizes no such distinction. The UAW-CIO believes in the American constitution, in American democracy; believes that a man's a man, for a'that, as Bobby Burns once remarked when he took a slap at the British aristocracy. It is impossible to be fundamentally American, to believe sincerely in the American democratic principle, and hold aloof from the American-born Negro, the American-born Chinese or any other American citizen whose complexion is different from that of the majority.

"You may hold that though this is American doctrine, it is nevertheless mistaken. You may insist that the white race is superior, and must be recognized as such. It you do, you start a quarrel with the scientists. Science is pretty careless of long-nourished popular beliefs. It aims at truth, no matter how unpleasant the truth may be. And science holds that there isn't a nickle's worth of difference between racial capacities_____

"The white immigrant had the advantage of our free schools, and they were good ones. But what about the native American Negro? His greatest numbers were in the South. What kind of schools did he have access to? Few, and bad. Before emancipation, almost none; there was no object in educating the slave beyond the training of his muscles to do the work required. Besides, if he learned to read, he might get subversive ideas. After the slave had been freed and made a citizen, the story differed but little. It was not entirely the south's fault; that whole section had been impoverished and disorganized by the war, and it was natural for the white land-owning taxpayer to look out for his own family before he did anything for the Negro. Therefore the Negro got what was left over, and that was not very good. He did the dirty and heavy work, and was underpaid, and it was as much as he could do to stay alive.

"Did that fact lick him? It did not. He produced leaders who knew that for the colored race a great part of the answer lay in education. Somehow, by heroic efforts, they founded schools and colleges. And they proved that what the scientists said was correct; that the Negro could absorb education as well as the white, and could implement it as well as the white. In mental capacity racial difference didn't count for a fig.

"But in the back of the Caucasian mind, and not very far back, sian mind, and not very fa rback, lay two obnoxious ideas—miscegenation, and social equality. The former was all right, if it was forced on the Negro by the white; the mulattos, quadroons and octoroons didn't get that way by using hydrogen peroxide. But the other way round, it was all wrong. Every self-respecting Negro today will tell you that either way it's all wrong. The Negro doesn't ask for it, doesn't expect it, doesn't want it. But when it comes to social equality, as distinct from political equality, which the law already recognizes, he means to get it, and he means to obtain it by the same means that the poor and underprivileged white man got it—by proving himself worthy of it, and by gradually overcoming the prejudice that stands in his way.

Chicago Bee
Chicago, Illinois

Mr. Field Has a Point

IT has been said, and with a good deal of truth, that the colored people are isolationists in the sense that for the most part their fight is only for benefits which they wish to achieve for themselves. They have not carried their fight in the main to include other minority groups who, too, are suffering under the wrath of the oppressor's sting. Needless to say they have had—and still do have, for that matter—enough trouble to constitute a full day's work in their own behalf. Those who argue that they should confine their fight to the problems of the Negro race probably have this fact in mind.

On this point Marshall Field, III, whose speech appears in this issue, publisher of the Chicago Sun and New York PM, had something to say to the Negro publishers of the nation which is as applicable to all persons as interested in fighting for justice and freedom as it is to the Negro press. He said that we should broaden our attack on the enemies of democracies at home.

We should not be content with fighting "those who have proved themselves prejudiced against Negroes, but should crusade with equal vigor for the rights and privileges of all peoples. When you call the attention of your readers to discrimination against Negroes, you are after all doing only what is expected of you. You are doing a good thing but you are not doing a thing which will stand out for its effectiveness. . ."

We should, he said, include in our fight the injustices done to white sharecroppers; the evils suffered by white workers as well as the wrongs done to black workers. We could fight these evils better, he said, by enlarging the fight to include other persons of a different color, and thus enlarge the number of our allies.

We are heartily in accord with Mr. Field's suggestion. We think the colored people have a better opportunity to follow its wisdom now than at any other time in the history of the country. They, therefore, should take advantage of the potential allies who in large numbers are desiring to work together for the realization of democracy here and abroad.

New York Age
New York, N. Y.

THE "LIBERAL" DAILY PRESS

MANY NEGROES feel that the daily press has become so liberal in its treatment of Negro news that there is little need for a Negro newspaper, especially in New York. Paced by PM, the Marshall Field tabloid, the daily press has been publishing an increasing amount of news about Negroes, and not all of this news has been about crimes committed by Negroes.

But if anyone feels that the daily press of New York will publish any news story about Negroes, they should consider the treatment of the mass meeting held by the March on Washington Committee in protest against the continued discrimination against and Jim-crowism of Negroes in both defense industries and in the armed forces of the nation.

Prior to the meeing, only one of the dailies would touch this story. Why? Simply because it was something the white people of New York and the country at large did not like. In the first place, the giant demonstration was sponsored and financed entirely by Negroes, and in the second place it mirrored the hypocrisy of white America in its boast that the United tSates is the world's outstanding exponent of democracy.

While the dailies were ignoring this mass protest on the part of its nearly half million Negroes, it made much of the fact that two white socialites had been assaulted and robbed by Negroes. The victims said that they were enroute to the Savoy Ballroom, where they liked to hear the music. Yet the assault occurred on West 134th street, near Lenox avenue. The papers failed to explain how the young men came to make the detour to 134th street address.

It's common knowledge among Negro residents of Harlem that many such white people come uptown for a "good time," get drunk and oft-times flash rolls of bills to impress their audiences that they can pay for what they want. In such an environment there usually are men, and sometimes women, who are looking for what they consider "suckers." While we offer no defense for such criminals, we think that the police and daily press are contributing to this type of crime by ignoring the fact that men in the armed forces and others of the white race who come to Harlem seeking Negro women are laying themselves open to attack of one kind or another.

Crusaders like Westbrook Pegler would render a far greater service by attacking this concerted attempt to make any Negro settlement of the city a "red light" district than by trying to ridicule the Negro press.

So long as the liberal daily press ignores and surpresses news about Negroes that puts the white race in an unfavorable light, just so long will the Negroes need their own organ of publicity, which must of necessity be a propaganda organ as well as a medium for the spreading of news.

Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Okla.

NEGRO EDITORS SPEAK

(Editor's Note: Guest editor for this week's editorial is C. A. Scott, general manager of the Atlanta Daily World, only Negro daily and Sunday newspaper in existence, and of the Scott Newspaper Syndicate, Atlanta. C. A. Scott helped his brother, the late W. A. Scott 11, found the Atlanta World in 1928 and became general manager in 1934 following the death of W. A. Scott. The Atlanta World has been published as a daily since March, 1932. The present head of the organization was born in Jackson, Tenn., 33 years ago. He studied journalism at the university of Kansas.)

WINNING THE PEACE-I

(By C. A. Scott, General Manager of the Atlanta Daily World World and Scott Newspaper Syndicate, for ANP)

In every quarter of the globe there are two great forces locked in mortal conflict—on one side is our nation leading the forces fighting for freedom of the people and on the other hand are the forces of enslavement of the people led by Nazi Germany. To win, or perhaps we should say, to survive this struggle it will be necessary to have the united effort of all classes and races in our great nation.

To get the necessary unity and enthusiasm for a successful conclusion of the present world-wide struggle at the earliest posible time we on the home front must increase our vigilance against all forces attempting to thwart democracy here.

During the first World War the cry was that the war was to make the "world safe for democracy." During that conflict very little was done to improve democracy at home. Even some of our race leaders advocated that we should forget about our rights at home during the war. But it appears that the sentiment prevailing now is that we must fight for democracy on both the home and foreign fronts. Many white people share this view.

We must continue efforts for a fuller democracy for all citizens in America regardless of race or religion. We must redouble our efforts to get the right to vote and participate in all election—city, county and state.

As evidence of the recognition of the necessity of granting us political equality in view of the principles we are fighting for in this war, recently 21 outstanding white citizens of Columbia, S. C., petitioned the state Democratic convention "to arrive at some plan by which qualified Negroes may vote in the Democratic primaries of this state." This change in sentiment is gratifying and to the extent it will continue to manifest itself will largely depend upon our action.

The fight for a fuller democracy in every phase of life must continue. We must oppose discrimination wherever it is found. This will not interfere with the war effort.

If we are to justify the stupendous cost in lives, money and machines that victory in the present war will require, we must wipe out discriminations at home. All races and nations must be granted equality if the peace after the war is to endure.

Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

White Journals Continue To Plug Negro Affairs

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(ANP)—"United States News," weekly published by David Lawrence, noted Washington columnist, was the latest "slick paper" magazine to devote attention to the plight of the Negro in the United States, the current issue carrying a fine article on conditions.

Next week, "Life," the nationally known picture magazine, will follow suit with an article on Negroes in industry using five photographs illustrating the article.

Most of the material for these two aricles was furnished by the Negro labor training and supply division of the Manpower Board.

48a-1942
The Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.

Leading Negro Papers Rejoice Over FDR Release of Browder

MAY 27 1942

Scores of newspapers throughout the country have praised President Roosevelt for freeing Earl Browder, but none have been more outspoken than the Negro press.

The CHICAGO DEFENDER, one of the three largest Negro papers in the country, declared in its issue of May 23:

"In ordering that Browder be set free, President Roosevelt has once more demonstrated to the world his determination to render justice where it is due; Moreover, by this gesture, he is allowing the rattlesnakes who would strike at the peoples rights to expose themselves.

"He is indirectly rebuking the Peglers, the lynchers, the industrialists, who would rather destroy democracy than accord equality to the Negro. In this category we can hardly refrain from placing a large section of the white press which never rose to fight the battles of black Americans.

"Now that President Roosevelt has freed Browder, we trust that he will not allow the Scottsboro boys to rot in jail.

MAY 27 1942

The BOSTON CHRONICLE in its May 23 issue declared:

"Negro Americans rejoice whenever justice triumphs. . . . That is why such widespread approval of President Roosevelt's release of Earl Browder, the general secretary of the Communist Party, has been expressed not only by Negro leaders like Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, world famous scholar and 'Elder Statesman,' but also by the man in the street.

MAY 27 1942

"Of course, as Paul Robeson once said, Negro Americans have felt very close to Mr. Browder, even though many of them disagree with his political principles. With notoriously long memories, they recall his untiring efforts in behalf of the Scottsboro boys and Angelo Herndon while his critics kept silent. Moreover, the unusual severity of his sentence for a minor passport violation won the instantaneous sympathy of people who know how many of their brothers in the Southland often languish in noisome jails on long sentences for minor offenses. . . .

"President Roosevelt's courage in releasing Mr. Browder has renewed the faith of the Negro people in the judicial and penal processes of our government. . . .

The CHICAGO BEE (May 24): "Last week President Roosevelt freed Communist secretary Earl Browder in the interest of national unity. It was the thought of most Americans that Browder had been persecuted because of his political belief instead of prosecuted for violations of the passport laws of the country.

MAY 27 1942

"The fact that he was sentenced to a term of four years in the federal penitentiary when other volators for similar offenses are given considerably less hardly leaves room for any other logical deduction. . . .

The BOSTON GUARDIAN (May 23): "In releasing Earl Browder President Roosevelt again exhibits the two most outstanding qualities of his leadership, courage and statesmanship. . . .

"The President does not hesitate to refer to Earl Browder's sentence as 'unusually long,' and millions of other Americans felt the same way about it. The truth is that public reaction to the unusual penalty had become so pronounced and widespread as seriously to disrupt national unity. . . ."

Amsterdam News
New York, N. Y.

As the Crow Flies

By W. E. B. DU BOIS

DISCOMFORT, cruelty and death do not win wars; wars win death, cruelty and discomfort.

JUN 6 1942

When we think of the fabulous sums which we can raise for murder and destruction it becomes only clearer what we might have spent for health, education and social uplift to avoid the causes of organized disruption.



Dr. Du Bois

If gossip, scandal and crime have built the circulation of the white press, the Negro press follows the same pattern. The cure is not in the publishers; it is in the readers.

Economic Illiteracy

There are five propositions which seem to most folk to be self-evident; and yet which probably cause more confusion of thought and frustration of effort than anything else in modern industrial organization. These propositions are:

The employer gives work to labor.

The amount of wages is determined by the profit of the employer.

If the employer makes no profit he employs no labor.

Unemployment results when employers cannot make profits.

The cure for unemployment is higher profits.

Dangerous Half-Truths

Each one of these propositions is a dangerous half-truth; that is, it states something which is partially true under certain circumstances but not absolutely and invariably true. In the modern organization of labor, employers in many cases lay out the work and employ the labor. But that is simply a method and supposedly a quick and effective method to get important work done. The important thing is the work and the value of the work to the community. Its value as a thing which an employer may buy and sell is entirely incidental to the value of the work to the community; and if the work is not useful to the community, its value because of its profit to an employer is no reason for its being done. Much of the most valuable of the world's work yields no profit to any employer: for instance, the work of mothers in a household, the work of employers in science and geography, most of the work of most artists. Much of the work which yields profits is evil and should not be permitted: the numbers game and other forms of gambling; the gambling on the stock market, land values, many building enterprises and much of the profits in the distribution of food and raw materials.

JUN 6 1942

Value of the Product

The real return to labor is not the profit of the employer; it is the value of the product of that labor. If under modern forms of industrial contract the employer buys the laborer's product before the laborer sees it this may or may not be a good arrangement for the laborer; but it should never be the source or measure of his wages. That is and only can be in the long run, the wealth which his labor adds to the commonwealth.

It is true that under the present organization of capital that the employer cannot and will not employ labor unless he can make profit. That does not mean and should not mean that labor should not be employed. If the work is something which society needs, then the employer-wage contract must be set aside and the work done under an entirely different economic organization. The State may do it as in the case of the post office, the power dams, the distribution of relief, etc. Cooperative organizations may do it as in the case of tea-raising and distribution in England, housing in Sweden, the distribution of milk in the northwestern United States. Whenever and wherever the profit-making individual employer cannot serve the public, either because of his own demands or because of the conditions of the work, then he must be replaced by other agencies. The social value of the work accomplished is the criterion and not the income of the private enterprizer.

It is perfectly natural that employers who find that they cannot make profits should refuse to employ labor; but that is not the main cause of unemployment as we see it today. The value of labor today is higher than it ever was. The technical command of labor over material and power is one hundred times greater than it was a century ago. This does not mean any scarcity of work. It does mean that in many lines of work, it is impossible to apply the old-fashioned employer-wage contract. The employer in that case must turn to other kinds of effort. He must get his income from work, either of mind or of hand, and not from profits. Many wise people look forward to the time when profits from industry will be entirely eliminated, but that does not mean less work but rather more work, and more valuable work and work better paid.

Peoples Voice
New York, N. Y.

There Is A New Negro on the Scene Nowadays

JUN 6 1942

The Negro press is facing its greatest crisis.

Not since the days of *Freedmen's Journal* and Frederick Douglass' *North Star* have we been threatened as we are now. There is on foot throughout the U. S.—subtle now, but eventually overt—a program to throttle completely the Negro press. Pegler is its prophet and the pseudo-patriots are its disciples.

The Negro newspaper publishers, assembling in Chicago this week in annual convention, are holding the most momentous meeting of the century. Many publishers, especially in the South, have already been visited by the un-Americans. They are being told, in so many words, to "shut up or close up." WHY THIS REIGN OF TERROR?

- BECAUSE WE ARE FIGHTING JIMCRO.
- BECAUSE WE REFUSE TO ALLOW THE UN-AMERICANS TO MAKE A FARCE OF DEMOCRACY.
- BECAUSE WE DEMAND PARTICIPATION IN THIS WAR AS FIGHTERS AND WORKERS WITHOUT ANY DISCRIMINATORY BARRIERS.
- BECAUSE THERE ARE STILL SOME AMERICANS WHO EITHER DON'T BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY OR ONLY WANT IT FOR THEMSELVES AT SPECIAL TIMES.

Unless we of the Negro press raise our voices in protest, then who will speak for the 15,000,000 disinherited and exploited blacks of America? Surely not the white press! It is absolutely impossible for the Negro's deeds, much less his opinions, to be accurately reported in the white press. Of course, if he is a hand-picked Negro, or under the sponsorship of some white organization, then the task is made a little bit easier. The only guarantee for the Negro to make the front page in America is to commit a crime. His front-page news value immediately dies when he is judged innocent.

As long as the white press can defame the Negro people with lies about crime waves, then the Negro press reserves the right to tell the truths about hypocrisy.

There is a new Negro on the scene nowadays. Neither young nor old, he is just New—demanding participation, equal rights under the Constitution, equality of opportunity, cessation of jimcro and that lynching shall be made a national crime. THE PEOPLE'S VOICE IS THE NEW PAPER FOR THIS NEW NEGRO.

JUN 6 1942

To the Negro press of America we say—"Hold your ground! Maintain your loyalty to our nation! Resist every effort to destroy the freedom of the black press! Fight vigorously for the second emancipation of the Negro people! Cooperate in all efforts to beat the axis! Refuse to compromise! Refuse to be bought, *and be more than a newspaper.*"

The Negro people in this hour want more than just a reporting of events. They want leadership, a policy and a movement. A united Negro press should give this. This the Negro press can do, and this we, as THE PEOPLE'S VOICE, are doing. Any paper that dares to do otherwise will be purged by the people themselves.

For the sake of the Negro people, for the expansion of democracy, and for the cause of world freedom, let us go forward together, unafraid.

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

United Negro Press Eyed By Publishers

JUN 9 - 1942

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

CHICAGO, Ill. —(SNS) — An effective, expanded better cooperating, and more systematically organized Negro press, which will continue its support of the war effort and President Roosevelt, while not forgetting its own home front fight, stood out like gold during the two day meeting of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association here.

Aside from the formal declarations I observed two significant things. First the willingness of the big newspapers to aid, assist, and cooperate with the little newspapers Secondly, the manifested larger interest in the new journalism that has come upon us.

New journalism is a distinct contribution of the Negro press. It is being lately recognized by Negro journalist themselves. Little by little it is germing into general journalism.

JUN 9 - 1942

Militant journalism is not new. Editors like Ben Davis, Sr., of the suspended Atlanta Independent; Oscar W. Adams, of the ceased Birmingham Reporter; John Mitchell of Richmond. C. F. Richardson, of Houston, Texas and Editor Devaux of the Savannah Tribune, were raw and rare fighting editors. Militant journalism has merely moved North. However, some is still in the South.

Mass and national circulation of the nation. Somebody should do a good piece of journlaistic research to correct those who criticise Southern leaders for following Northern leaders. Northern leaders are following Southern leaders. Only they do it with a bit more skill, intelligence, and effectiveness.

Particularly significant is the nation-wide organization of the Negro press. It is a unique organization because of its regional setup.

Deep South papers are formed into one regional group with C. A. Scott, general manager of the Atlanta Daily World and Scott Newspaper Syndicate as director, being a vice-presidnet of the NNPA. His job is big, but his opportunity is bigger. I hope that he will see it this way and make it so.

Beyond that, I think that there should be some state organizations Even a state press.

Something like that was in mind when all the Negro publications in Birmingham came together at a pre-Vulcan Bowl Game meeting and paved the way for the Birmingham Negro Newspaper Association. It should grow until an Alabama Negro Newspaper Association is organized. I think.

Under NNPA only weekly, or regular Negro newspapers are eligible for membership. Under the "Birmingham plan," any Negro publication can become members. Newspic, The Baptist Leader, and Calvacade, are eligible.

JUN 9 - 1942

I have met here if not all, of the big names in Negro journalism. I have heard journalism discussed with facts which no book, library, or archive, could supply. Negro journalism is so distinct as to be distinguished from any other journalism, special or general. It is not merely supplemental journalism, but substantial.

This was a big meeting. As one man told me. It's the fifth big idea in Negro journalism. Abbott's Defender ranks one, Barnett's ANP rates second, Scott's SNS drops third, Kendrix's Nation 1 Newspaper Week, is fourth and the new three-year old publisher's association comes fifth.

DEFENDING THE NEGRO PRESS—

Ever so often the Negro press has to say something in defense of itself. This is necessary because the critics of the Negro press are legion, both among Negroes and other racial groups. The Negro press is dedicated, among other causes, to the cause of bringing to light discriminatory practices, racial abuses and deprivations.

In pursuance of this cause Negro papers would, of necessity, address themselves to the discussion of problems which white papers do not find it necessary to discuss.

Marshall Field, owner of the liberal newspaper PM, recently urged (Editor and Publisher Magazine, June, 1942), the Negro press to be alert to the various challenges that it is increasingly receiving. Being the owner of a newspaper that is not too stuff-shirt to discuss the problems of minority groups, Mr. Fields has an opportunity to know the several ends which free discussion may ultimately achieve. The fact that people read papers and discuss what is in them is a reason for using the press to acquaint the public with facts and their probable bearing upon the lives of people.

"The Informer"

We are not concerned with the rantings of Pegler and his kind, as such, but we are greatly concerned over the attitude that many Negroes take toward Negro papers. How, in the name of common sense, Negroes can take a cold objective and critical view toward papers in which there is discussion of problems of vital concern to their general welfare is beyond our powers of comprehension.

If Negro papers addressed themselves purely to the treatment of the pretty things, which papers would bring to the Public's attention a factual discussion of lynchings, police brutality, the existence of inequalities in the provision of public facilities, and insults to Negro women?

Houston, Tex.

It is a matter of great concern when one realizes that many Negroes join a few whites in saying that the news which Negro papers carry is too full of incidents of racial discrimination. We must not be fooled into believing that no part of the solution to our problems is in the vigilance and militance of Negro papers.

Globe and Independent
Nashville, Tenn.

Negro Editors Speak

(Editor's Note: The guest editorial this week is by E. Washington Rhodes, editor of the Philadelphia Tribune and prominent attorney of the Quaker City. The Tribune is one of the oldest Negro newspapers, having been established in 1884.)

NATIONAL UNITY WILL WIN THIS WAR; DISUNITY WILL CAUSE DEFEAT

By E. Washington Rhodes, editor of the Philadelphia Tribune, for ANP)

Despite the criticism which the Negro press has received from certain sources, there is no agency in America which has fought and is fighting harder for national unity than the Negro Press.

It must be admitted that the Negro press representing as it does 13,000,000 oppressed citizens faces a tremendous problem during times like these. It cannot serve the best interests of all the people by smoothing over unpleasant facts. The Negro press would be absolutely useless were it to adopt a policy of appeasement. In fact such a policy would destroy morale and wreck all that is decent and honorable in Negro life.

It is pure nonsense to believe that colored Americans are so stupid that they do not know that they are being given a raw deal. The Negro press does not have to tell them that.

In fact many Negroes feel that the present war is a white man's war; that Negroes had nothing to fight for. It was the Negro press which has changed this attitude by insisting that Negroes are American citizens and as such had the duty to fight, work and die for America.

This has been an awful burden. Remember that the Negro press had to sell their readers the idea that despite the injustices which they suffered they must give all to their country. Negroes are not fools. It is most unusual for men to fight for liberty which is only enjoyed by others. And that is exactly what the Negroes are doing. And they do it, not through ignorance, but because they have an abiding faith in the ultimate triumph of democracy. Take away that belief by denying them the opportunity to protest against undemocratic principles at home while they fight the dictators abroad and irreparable damage will be done the cause of freedom.

The Negro press has advocated that Negroes fight for a chance to fight, work and die for America. Is that not the highest form of patriotism? What other group in the world has to fight for the chance to die for their country?

Colored Americans are demanding through their press that the stupid policy of preventing them from working be stopped. Are not all men needed to work if the productive capacity of America is to be attained?

The Negro press has not advocated nor encouraged treason. It has not even suggested, apathy or indifference. Not once has it stated that the price of participation had to be full emancipation.

The analysis presented by the best minds has always been and now is that the ideal of democracy is gtod enough to fight for, but the at home imperfections which Negroes so sorely feel require that they work to extend at home for the benefit of white and colored citizens and abroad for the benefit of the world.

From one point of view the people of India and the American Negroes are in a similar plight. However, the difference between the Indian position and the American Negro is that Indians have stated openly that the price of their support is immediate and total freedom. But the Negroes' position as presented by the Negro press is that, "Imperfect as democracy is, it is vastly superior to that which might come from defeat by the forces facism."

Wrapped up in our participation is the insistence that men practice what they preach.

The Negro press is insistent that justice be done at home: (1) Because that is the only method to keep high the morale of thirteen million citizens; and (2) Unless colored Americans agitate against injustice, the dominant groups will continue to believe that Negroes are satisfied with their inferior status imposed from Above. And nothing is further from the truth.

It is my considered judgment that the Negro press is doing a magnificent job under awful difficult circumstances.

Those who criticise adversely these patrotic men and women who are working untiringly for complete victory are either unmindful of the facts or else they are endeavoring to discredit the Negro press because they are determined that 13,000,000 colored Americans shall not participate in the freedom for which the war is being fought.

But understanding the courage of the men and women who control the Negro press, the fight will continue according to plans until all men of all races enjoy the greatest blessings of this world—Full equality of citizenship under democratic government.

The Negro "Discovered"

More hitherto adamant white publications are "discovering" the Negro than ever in the history of this country. These periodicals are saying that Negroes are not treated fairly, are discriminated against in industry and neglected in the public schools. They are saying, also, that Negroes are loyal and deserving of greater integration into the democracy they now defend.

Birmingham World

These are the things the Negro press has preached about since Russmorm's Freedman's Journal in 1937 and ow it is being joined by sections of the white press, probably better equipped to reduce the problem. This competition shall not be resented by the Negro press. It would much prefer to close shop than to report unfair and prejudiced behavior to its people.

Birmingham, Ala.

Occasional quacks at the Negro press, however, such as Life Magazine's blanket labelling of "sensational" in its feature on Negroes June 15, shall not Woo" Negroes from their first protectors. In fact if the white press shall cover unbiasedly Negro life it shall soon find itself "sensational" for the amazing facts it shall have to report.

Peoples Voice
New York, N. Y.

Newspaper Distortion Ineffective

SAN DIEGO—(FP)—Unceasing attacks on labor, the Roosevelt administration and anything liberal continue in commercial newspapers from Maine to California.

A careful study of how a newspaper deliberately persists in fomenting discord appears in the **Labor Leader**, official AFL paper here. It reprints photostatic copies of excerpts from 11 disruptive editorials appearing in the daily **San Diego Union** from June 1 to 15. The **Union** is a Republican mouthpiece.

What the 11 editorials did is described by **Labor Leader** as follows:

"Appealed to hatred, pitting bosses against labor, labor against its leaders."

"Ridiculed Mrs. Roosevelt . . . to emphasize the weaknesses of democracy and its leaders."

"Repeated attacks against the President and the other leaders of the nation. . . . Followed the fascist party line of seeking to show that our leaders are incompetent."

"Vice-president Wallace was the object of a particularly vicious attack, perhaps because the union realizes Wallace is the champion of the little people."

"Accused national leaders of 'fighting a social and economic war on the home front.'"

"Constant attacks on congress . . . to pave the way for popular distrust of anything that comes out of Washington."

The Union's worst lie was written June 15, based ironically on a distortion of a story in **Labor Leader.** Attempting to show that the union officials are favored over other people in getting automobile tires, the **Union** said:

"These men whose sole contribution to the national war effort consists of their constant meddling in the affairs of employer and employe; their constant agitation for the closed shop, greater demands for higher wages . . . are now given priority over thousands of men without the services of whom the factories could not operate."

This distortion was so absurd that June 17 the **Union** printed a retraction.

Amsterdam Star-News
New York, N. Y.

U. S. Watches Negro Press For Sedition

JUN 27 1942

Know Discrimination Against Millions Tends To Breed Discontent

BY ROBERT G. SPIVACK

WASHINGTON.—Just how much "sedition" is there in the Negro press?

That's a question known to be perplexing certain officials of the Justice Department who are watching closely a number of Negro newspapers to see if they are falling for the propaganda line of the Japanese or German governments. While this correspondent has not yet seen concrete evidence in recent months of Axis-directed propaganda designed to exploit legitimate Negro grievances, there is no doubt that it exists. It would be foolish to imagine that either the Japs or the Nazis would overlook the disruptive possibilities latent in a body of 14,000,000 Americans who are relegated to a sort of "second-class" citizenship.

Other Government officials, aside from those in the Attorney General's office, are worried seriously. They are fully aware of the discrimination that is condoned by the Army and Navy and its consequent demoralization of many Negroes who would gladly fight or die for this country if they were permitted to do so upon a basis of equality. On the other hand, the activities of the Fair Employment Practice Committee are regarded by them as very satisfactory and as leading in the right direction.

Ignorant of Problem

But what is giving cause for great concern is the fact that there is very little education among white people on the question of equal rights. While they acknowledge the necessity of the Department of Justice to keep itself fully informed about any seditions activity no matter where it appears, they feel that the more effective approach would be to start an intensive educational program among white citizens, under Government auspices, to promote full equality and to end discrimination.

Those who have been most intimately acquainted with the problem of Negro discrimination are the first to recognize that the educational process is a slow one. Seen in perspective they know that the American Negro has made more pregress in ten years of the New Deal than in all of preceding American history. But they can also understand the Negro's sense of outrage that in a war whose purpose includes worldwide adoption of the four freedoms, right here at home there should be such discrepancy.

Many of these officials wonder if FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover fully appreciates the fact that Negroes may be clearly dissatisfied with the conduct of the war on the home front and still not be conniving with the enemy.

Alarmed by FBI

These same officials are somewhat alarmed by the FBI attitude because of persistent stories that white Government employes, desirous of getting their Civil Service ratings, are regarded as suspect if they are known to have been active in promoting movements for Negro rights. The newspaper PM has recently brought out evidence of an under-cover "witch-hunt" along these lines going on in the capital. Just what the FBI considers "seditious" has never clearly been brought out.

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

A Press Conference

Big Guns Have 'em.
They Last ½ Hour.
"Off the Record."
Stimson, Dry, Witty.

By OLLIE STEWART

WASHINGTON

The important people in Washington hold press conferences. If you've never attended one, maybe you'd like to know what occurs when a cabinet member or visiting royalty has open house for the gentlemen—or ladies—of the press.

Because our armed forces are scattered in so many varied and vital theatres of war, the press conferences of the Secretary of War are always pregnant with interest. Correspondents and high-ranking army officers turn out in force every Thursday morning at 10:30 to get the last word on the progress of the war from the President's personal representative.

Last an Hour Maybe

Mr. Stimson has his press conferences in the general assembly room, public relations department, of the Munitions Building. The conferences usually begin on time, and last from twenty-five minutes to an hour.

Correspondents, men and women, from any paper may attend. When you enter the assembly room you have to give your name and the paper you represent. When the Secretary of War enters the room, everybody stands up.

Mr. Stimson comments on the significant phases of the war for the first fifteen or twenty minutes, then turns the meeting into a question and answer period. Correspondents fire questions at the Secretary and jot down his answers—unless the answer happens to be given "in confidence."

Much Is Off the Record

Much of the material discussed in each conference is in confidence, or off the record, and all correspondents respect such confidences—or they will not be correspondents long. Reporters who attend the conferences regularly know many things they would like to write, but have to wait until a release is issued or permission has been granted them to disclose what they know.

You don't think up a question on the spur of the moment and fire it at the Secretary, however. If you want a comment on a certain development, you write out your question at least a day before the conference and submit it to designated officers in the public relations department.

The officer calls it to the attention of the Secretary, and he decides whether he desires to comment on this particular subject or not. If he does not desire to, he simply says: "No comment," when you ask your question.

Stimson Dry, Witty

Mr. Stimson is soft-voiced, with a dry, quick humor that often brings chuckles and laughter from his listeners. At times his comments reflect the gravity of the situation in which the Allied Nations find themselves, but you get the impression that he hasn't the slightest double as to what the final outcome will be.

When the conference is over, everybody stands u pfor the Secretary to leave. Then everybody hurries to a typewriter or a telephone. Colored correspondents go to Judge Hastie's office to talk things over.

Peoples Voice
New York, N. Y.

'Freedom' Article In 'Reader's Digest'

How the Negro Fights For Freedom is discussed at length in the July issue of *Reader's Digest* by Stanley High, well-known journalist. The main theme is the struggle of the Negro to obtain fair representation and recognition in the nation's war effort.

Neither disloyal nor ungrateful, the Negro believes in Mr. High's opinion that he is realistic and logical in being "prepared to use the war and the white man's global embarrassments to speed up his advance." In the words of one Negro publication quoted in the article: "The loyalty of our race to the ideal of democracy remains unshaken, but we have a legitimate grievance and we intend to be heard."

Peoples Voice
New York, N. Y.

Magazine Labels PV 'Needle-Shower of Joy'

To see ourselves as others see us is a natural trait. So PV quotes an editorial in *The Protestant*, a journal of religion, which said in part: "PV is edited by a band of brave and very talented Negroes. Every page has personality plus—wide awake and abounding with high spirits . . . clear, strong, exultant. This paper has no respect for anything under Heaven except God's public. If you want to give yourself a needle-shower of joy, read *The People's VOICE*."

Mobile, Ala., Register
August 30, 1942

Editors Are Praised For Rumor-Busting

Four White Newspapers, One Negro Weekly Lauded For Exposing Falsehoods

WASHINGTON, Aug. 29.—(AP)—Elmer Davis, director of the office of war information, today commended four Southern daily newspapers and a negro weekly for exposing "false and inflammatory rumors" of racial differences.

Davis said there was reason to believe that the stories, circulated by word-of-mouth until exposed by the newspapers, were invented by the enemy for the "deliberate purpose of provoking such troubles."

The rumors included false reports that negro residents of Norfolk, Va., had purchased all available ice-picks in that area with the intention of making a mass attack on white residents. Another was to the effect that negro domestics were organizing clubs called "Order of Eleanor" and "Daughters of Eleanor" for the purpose of making extraordinary demands on white housewives.

In letters to editors of the papers, Davis said exposure of "these falsehoods is a patriotic service, not only to your community, but to the unity of the nation."

The letters went to L. I. Jaffe, editor of the Virginian-Pilot, Norfolk, Va.; Jonathan Daniels, editor of the News and Observer, Raleigh, N. C.; Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, Richmond, Va.; and P. B. Young, Sr., editor of the Journal and Guide, a negro weekly published at Norfolk.

48a-1942
Amsterdam Star-News
New York, N. Y.

Negro Market Stressed To Ad Experts

D. G. Sullivan, Star-News Manager, Presides At Forum in Harlem Y

That wartime advertising is imperative if the consumer is to bridge the gap between the technological gains being made and the multiplicity of new products which will be offered for sale in the post-war era, was the consensus of advertising men meeting in the first Staf-News Advertising and Marketing Forum held at the Harlem Y. M. C. A. last Wednesday.

Advertising agency executives, marketing representatives of industry, and newspaper advertising staffs were in attendance at the all-day meeting. David J. Sullivan, Star-News advertising manager, presided.

In explaining the purpose of the meeting, Mr. Sullivan said, "It is significant that this contribution to advertising and marketing by Negro men comes at a time when the United States in particular and the world at large is undergoing changes of epoch shattering importance."

He called attention to the fact that the forum would seek to aid manufacturers, producers of goods and their advertising representatives, to gain knowledge of their least known potential—the Negro market—comprising as it does 15,000,000 consumers.

"While we are spending untold millions in cultivating good neighbor relations with South America," he said, "it might be well to know that Negroes purchased more new cars in 1940 than did Chile, Peru Colombia, Venezuela and Uruguay together, according to the U. S Department of Commerce.

"The Negro is selective," he added, "being especially desirous of branded and nationally advertised goods. He prefers buying from firms having colored sales people. He prefers an advertising appeal addressed to him in language generic to his common idiom and habits."

Forum speakers and their topics:
Si Moscowitz, manager, New York district, Carstairs Distillers Corp., "The Value of Negro Salesmen."
James A. Jackson, business specialist, Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, "The Negro Market."
John J. Hagan, media director, Lloyd, Chester & Dillingham, Inc., "Media Buying."
Emmer Martin Lancaster, adviser on Negro affairs, U. S. Department of Commerce, "The War Emergency and the Negro in Business."
Frank R. Goutant, vice president, Fact-Finders Associates, Inc., "Women Are Reading Wartime Advertising Closely."
Arthur Hirose, director of promotion and market research, McCall Corporation, "Can Market Analysis Promote Sales and Advertising?"
H. H. Kynett, president of the Aitkin-Kynett Co., "Advertising Under War Economy."
William G. Black, sales manager, Interstate United Newspapers, Inc., "Merchandising Techniques to Reach the Negro Consumer."

GENERAL
Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

More Liberal Press

IN RECENT months the cause of social justice in the United States has been advanced by such widely circulated publications as Collier's, Fortune, Life, Time, Harper's, Atlantic Monthly and others. Now this group has been joined by The Ladies Home Journal, which in its August issue devoted six pages to a typical cultured Negro American family, "The Hinksons, of Philadelphia." The Hinksons are Dr. De Haven Hinkson, his wife and two daughters. The Doctor is now a Major in the United States Army, in charge of a base hospital near Tuskegee, Alabama. He was in World War I and distinguished himself in action.

The treatment accorded the Hinksons by the Ladies Home Journal is a bit different from anything else that has been published in the big papers and magazines about Negroes. Its treatment is dignified throughout. There is no effort to assimilate these Negro Americans with certain stereotypes or patterns allegedly peculiar to Negro life.

The article, which is profusely illustrated, covers six pages of text in this nationally circulated journal. As such it presents a phase of Negro life to approximately six million American readers in a factual and dignified manner hereto unknown to them. It is educational, and is compelled to have some influence upon the thinking of millions of unbiased Americans.

It is greatly to the advantage of the Negro, and to the United States, in these times when tolerance and understanding combine to advance the cause of human freedom and justice, both of which are at stake in the present global war.

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

Jackson Sees New Day For Negro Journalism Dawning

By EMORY O. JACKSON

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—(SNS)—I see so much to come out of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association that it is hard for me to leave the subject. I have described the meeting here in Chicago as the beginning of a new day in Negro journalism.

Re-organization of the Associated Negro Press is bound to bring a better coverage, increase the number of services, and add new features. I am predicting that cartoons, syndicated features, war correspondents, accredited Washington correspondents and regional offices will group out of this new arrangement. Atlanta or Birmingham is in line for one of the regional offices.

An arrangement of this kind, in the case of cartoons and features, will give Negro artists and writers, a new and needed outlet. Talent in American has been wasted for lack of work. It has been undiscovered because it was unwanted. Once found, properly developed, it will be easy to market, I believe. That is one of the most encouraging things to be seen in the new ANP proposal.

It's my learning that the ANP executive committee will become the advisory committee for Archibald MacLeish of the Office of Facts and Figures, Washington, D.C. That is a vital progressive step. No group is in better position than Negro newspapermen to advise on war morale propaganda directed towards the Negro.

National Negro Newspaper Week, the brain child of Moss Kendrix, of Atlanta, can easily be made one of the excellent mediums of advertising Negro journalism. Gains made by the 115-year-old Negro press can be pictured. Considerations of improvements could be made during this observance. Items of worth could be selected and told about the more outstanding of the 350 Negro publication, or NNPA member papers. Negro journalism, after all, is a product, and as such, must be advertised.

Better Negro journalism will require better trained workers. Neither newspapers nor schools, in the large, are doing much about this. Except, let me say, in isolated cases. Be it recognized, however, that generally speaking, tax-supported technical, professional and trade schools are closed to Negro people. Wherefore, knowing this, "compare ills" of the Negro press so-called "shortcomings" and brought up by the haters of a free and militant Neggro press under the guise of "constructive criticism." Not so.

Get this. Negro journalism, by any standard of comparison, can measure favorabley with any weekpares more favorable than justily journalism in America. It comfied by opportunities in training and financial support by those who benefit from the Negro market.

There are rich opportunities for Negro journalism in the heart of Dixie. This field, as I see it, is not being properly developed by publishers. Others do see it. Some are planning to move in, perhaps with aims to take over. I know what I am talking about.

Mine is a warning note, not a threat. It is no forecast, but a report of what is up, made by a reporter. Take it or leave it; it's my job to report, not to advise.

Kansas City Call
Kansas City, Mo.

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

Life Magazine 'Too Hot' On Detroit Expose

AUG 28 1942

WASHINGTON.—(ANP)—Fear that the frank expose of conditions in Detroit, the "hottest spot in America today," will react unfavorably abroad, although government officials refused to let copies of last week's issue of Life magazine be shipped to Engladn and Canada unless pages containing the Detroit stories and pictures were torn from the magazine.

Blasting the Ku Klux Klan activities in Detroit and the activities of the Polish element which created great trouble in housing problems, the magazine conclusively proved stories originating through the Associated Negro Press as far back as six months ago.

During this time, the Klan was active in the matter of stirring up strikes and discord in the automobile industry, a matter which had to be brought to the attention of the government and then thrashed out through union officials.

The second great agitation came through the Sojourner Truth Houses, originally intended for Negroes, but fought by a group of Poles who sought the aid of a congressman, Rudolph Tenerowioz, to put over their vicious plan.

Time
Chicago, Illinois

Jap Agents

SEP 14 1942

One of the mysteries of contemporary publishing has been a cadaverous onetime pulp writer named Joseph Hilton Smyth. Four years ago he suddenly emerged from Greenwich Village obscurity, bought the venerable magazines *Living Age* and *North American Review*. Then he bought into *Current History*. Before long he bought a good slice of the staid *Saturday Review of Literature*. He also founded a weekly newsletter called *The Foreign Observer*, a press service called the *Negro News Syndicate*.

Last week FBI solved the mystery. Publisher Smyth, arrested with two cronies, pleaded guilty to charges that he got $125,000 from the Japs in four years, paid by Manhattan's Japanese Vice Consul Shintaro Fukushima. The down payment on June 21, 1938, was $15,000. Thereupon *Living Age* promptly denounced the Open Door as a perfidious British invention, sugared Jap aggression, pooh-poohed the U.S. stakes in the Far East ("so small that they would not pay the Federal tax on cigarets smoked by the nation in ten months"). The Japs guaranteed *Living Age's* deficit of $2,500 a month.

The FBI discovered Publisher Smyth's colleague, Canadian-born Walker Grey Matheson, 40, last week in Nelson Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs. He was writing short-wave broadcasts about the Far East for Latin America. Agent Matheson, who had gone to school in Hawaii, Peking, Shanghai, Rangoon, Tokyo, the Universities of Nevada, California and Mexico, knew the Japs well. In 1937, charged the FBI, they hired him to spy on the U.S. Communist Party. Boastful of his long friendship with Emperor Hirohito, he had taught philosophy at New York City's Queens College. As chief hack for *Living Age*, the Japs paid Matheson $500 a month and expenses.

In Japan Agent Matheson met up with a Jap- and German-schooled British accountant named Irvine Harvey Williams. Williams became *Living Age's* president, and last week FBI's prisoner.

SEP 14 1942

If convicted the three face ten years in jail, a $10,000 fine, or both.

TIME, September 14, 1942

Newspapers Lauded For Exposing False Rumors

AUG 31 1942

Norfol Journal And Guide Among Four Given Praise

AUG 31 1942

Elmer Davis, Director of the Office of War Information, today commended four Southern newspapers, one a Negro weekly, for investigating and exposing false undercover rumors of impending racial conflicts in Southern communities.

Mr. Davis' commendation was contained in letters to L. I. Jaffe, editor, "The Virginian-Pilot," Norfolk, Va.; Jonathan Daniels, editor, "The News and Observer," Raleigh, N.C.; Virginius Dabney, editor, "The Richmond Times-Dispatch," Richmond, Va. and P. B. Young, Sr., editor, "The Journal and Guide," a Negro weekly published in Norfolk, Va.

Commending the editors for their contributions to national unity, Mr. Davis wrote:

AUG 31 1942

"I should like to commend as heartily as possible your recent editorial exposure of false and inflammatory rumors about the danger of racial conflicts. There is every reason to suppose that such stories are invented by the enemy for the deliberate purpose of provoking such troubles. To turn the light on these falsehoods is a patriotic service not only to your community, but to the unity of the nation."

The Virginian-Pilot and the Journal and Guide investigated and exposed word-of-mouth rumors that Negro residents of Norfolk had purchased all available ice-picks in that area with the intention of making a mass attack on white residents during a recent blackout in that city. Both papers also attacked another unsupported rumor that Negro domestics were organizing "Order of Eleanor," "Daughters of Eleanor," and "Eleanor Clubs" in Norfolk and other Southern communities as a means of making extraordinary demands on white housewives.

Branding both rumors as absolutely false, The Virginian-Pilot declared in an editorial entitled, 'Let's Stop Being Suckers:"

"It is time to haul these things out of the whispering gallery, identify them for the fakes that they are and stop peddling them."

AUG 31 1942

"It is the belief of City Manager Borland that these rumors are planted and progagated by enemies of our domestic peace. Pending a better explanation of the repetitive pattern and timing of these rumors, that is The Virginian-Pilot's belief also.

"This community, we believe, is in not the slightest danger of racial violence, during blackouts or between them, if the rumor-mongers, chiefly white, will stop being suckers for enemy-serving propaganda, and behave accordingly It is falling for this propaganda, repeating it and magnifying it that moves people to become jittery, to lay in forearms, to organize themselves into bands of vigilantes and to go about with chips on their shoulders. This is the fear psychosis that lays the ground for acts of violence. Let's get rid of it and begin to apply to all rumors of racial difficulty the skepticism that the times warrant, instead of the recent examples of simple, nit-witted gullibility."

The Journal and Guide, under the heading, "Tracking Down Dangerous and Inspired False Rumors," declared:

AUG 31 1942

"White people in Norfolk have nothing to fear from an 'uprising' among Negroes. They should disabuse their minds of any fears that Negroes are going to do anything illegal or insane to reflect discredit upon themselves or upon their city in these critical times or in normal times.

"It is a marvelous tribute to the patience, tolerance, patriotism and good sense of colored people, on the whole, that they have been restrained, civil, long-suffering, and none-resistent to the pressures exerted in the past few months to exclude them from gainful employment or decent participation in the war effort. This has been in a large measure overcome by the sensible action of local government, white employers and private citizens, who recognize that we are in a war for survival and that there is a place in this struggle for every American."

AUG 31 1942

Under the title, "The 'Eleanor Club' Myth," the Richmond Times-Dispatch revealed that the rumor about Negro domestics has been circulated in a number of Southern states, and that these non-existent organizations have been called "Black Widow" and "Black Spider" clubs also. Assailing such groundless rumors, the paper declared:

"We must nail these rumors, for they spread bigger and more dangerous lies, including reports of plots and counterplots. If we can't kill them promptly when they arise, they may work overtime, and with great effectiveness....f o r HITLER. It might be helpful if the Mayor of every Virginia city appointed a special advisory council on interracial affairs to assist him in his role as defense head in his community, in combatting rumor designed to help Hitler 'divide and conquer.'"

AUG 31 1942

In a similar editorial called "No Ostrich Philosophy," The News and Observer stated:

"The South has come a long way towards good sense and good will in race relations. But, even where race relations are best in the South, sensible men know how the growth of rumor may threaten us all with the rise of the furies. Feed antagonism on false report and no man can count the dangers which may grow for white men, black men, the South, the whole nation which needs now more than before to be unified and strong in unity.

Loose tongues are not going to win this war. The careless repeating of unchecked stories will not serve strength and unity in the South or anywhere else. But the South can turn false fears into its own peculiar furies. It can feed its own dangers on its own lies. Hitler could ask no more. And home security is threatened so much by nothing else."

48a-1942
Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

War Department Denies Ban On Newspapers And Magazines

But Reporter Says He Saw Order and Has Copy of It Opportunity Magazine Was On Banned List— Has Been Critical of Defense Bias.

MAR 8 19

NEW YORK, Mar. 6—Last week several newspapers in New York City carried reports that Opportunity Magazine had been banned from sale in government-owned but privately-operated canteens in Army camps.

Careful investigation has failed thus far to disclose the source of this article. Officials of the War Department denied that there was any truth in it. But a staff member of the New York Post insists that he saw a copy of the order banning this magazine, among others, and that he made a copy of it which is now in the hands of officials investigating its origin.

True or false, the matter is a serious one, for it raises the whole question of government censorship of the press in a period of national emergency. If the government can prevent the sale of Opportunity to its newly-inducted soldiers, it can likewise prevent the sale of The Pittsburgh Courier or any other publication which opposes its policy of segregating Negro draftees and providing unequal accommodations for their training in such branches as the air service.

Certainly the Army brass-hats have no reason to welcome the sale of Opportunity to their new recruits, for no publication, Negro or white, has been more vehement in its denunciation of their racial policies.

MAR 8 1941

In its January issue, for instance, Opportunity said editorially: "The most astonishing revelation that has come out of the general ballyhoo for defense preparation has been the stubborn unwillingness of officials of the U. S. Army and Navy to subordinate their personal attitudes on race for the sake of ional unity. . . "

Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Okla

"Opportunity" Magazine Banned n Army

MAR 8 1941

NEW YORK.—(ANP)—An unfounded rumor to the effect that Opportunity, a Journal of Negro Life," organ of the National Urban League, had been included in a list of "subversive magazines" banned from the readings of the army, circulated here early this week. The report was first carried n the New York Post.

Inquiry at the office of the eague disclosed that they had received no notice of such action by the army. A telegram sent to Wilian H. Hastie, civilian aide in the war department, brought the response that "Opportunity" had not been banned, and that had it been so he would have immediately known of it and protested.

Among the publications said to be in the list were Father Coughlin's "Social Justice," "The Daily Worker," "New Republic" and "New Masses." Urban league officials were inclined to think the reference was to some other publication since there are two other magazines published under the same name, one of which is a sal man's trade paper.

GENERAL

New Republic
New York, N. Y.

We Hope It Isn't True

MAR 3 1941

A few days ago The New York Post announced that the War Department had forbidden the sale of a number of publications, including The New Republic, at government-operated post exchanges at army stations. The War Department promptly denied this report, and we hope the denial turns out to be true and not just one of those perfunctory performances of which some government officials are so fond. The alleged basis was that the periodicals banned were regarded as "subversive or as organs of foreign groups." In regard to some of them, such as the Communist New Masses and Daily Worker, the Nazi Facts in Review and the Coughlinite Social Justice, this charge might be proved. But there are two dangerous absurdities here involved. The first is inability to distinguish between The New Republic and the papers advocating the Nazi and Communist doctrines which it has vigorously opposed. The other is the assumption that an army official has a right to interfere with constitutional freedom of the press.

MAR 3 1941

Letters From Our Readers

Toussaint L'Overture And a History Lesson

Salem, Mass.

Editor, Daily Worker:

Race prejudice, as all progressives know, is an important cog in the machine against unity of the common man. I had one of those smart-aleck questions thrown at me that is supposed to leave the speaker in an embarrassing predicament.

I was asked: **"Did you ever hear of a Negro general?"**—in a tone that precluded the possibility of such an honor ever having been conferred on a Negro. The value of the hours we spend studying and reading is never more appreciated than at a moment like this, for immediately I thought of Toussaint L'Ouverture, surnamed Dominique Francois.

Toussaint L'Ouverture was born a slave in 1743 and became one of the liberators of Haiti. He joined the Negro patriots in 1791 and in 1795 was made general of brigades by the French Convention for his services against the Spaniards. In 1797 he was made general of division and a little later chief of the army of Santo Domingo. He cleared the British and Spaniards entirely out of the island, restored order and prosperity and began to aim at liberty from France at the turn of the century.

After the peace of Amiens, Bonaparte proclaimed the reestablishment of slavery in Santo Domingo. Toussaint declined to obey. General LeClerc was sent with a strong force to compel him. The liberator was in time arrested and sent to France. He was flung in a foul dungeon at Fort deJoux, near Besancon, where he died April 27, 1803.

LEO GAUDREAU,
Director of Publicity, Local No. 271 UERMWA (CIO), Beverly, Mass.

Amsterdam Star-News
New York, N. Y.

The Question of Loyalty

THIS WAR HAS SERVED THUS FAR to emphasize one thing as to the loyalties of submerged groups and minorities in this country. It has proved beyond the shadow of doubt that the American Negro has no other choice than to be loyal to the country of his birth. The nation is constantly policing other minority groups. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has its eye peeled for the slightest indication of anti-American activities among the citizens living in Yorkville and in other German-American communities. The Italian communities are under constant surveillance because the authorities must know the secret viewpoints of the sons and descendants of immigrants from Mussolini's country. The Hungarians, the Austrians, the Roumanians, the Irish, and even the Russians are receiving constant attention because of the possibility of fifth columnists among them.

The flood tide of immigration of the peoples of Southern Europe—the Balkan countries and Italy—brought millions of so-called non-Aryans and non-Nordics into the United States up to a short time before the outbreak of World War I. In their coming, we accepted large numbers of the poorest, most ignorant and crudest human beings who ever moved from their native soil to a new country in search of economic, political and social freedom and unlimited opportunity.

To some people, mostly the Mayflower descendants, and those who wanted to be so considered, these peoples from the impoverished countries of Southern Europe, including the Jew, came into this country on par at the enforced level upon which the American Negro had been frozen by the system of lilywhiteism that demanded a subject race within the framework of an alleged democracy dedicated to the freedom and equality of all people. The Negro majority was impoverished. It was ignorant. It had little or no opportunity for normal development. It was diseased. Its political life was permeated with rottenness, with graft, crookedness and corruption. It had only the English language in common with the rest of the Americans.

Dec. 12, 1942

II

The newcomers to America were white. As members of the ruling race, their future was assured. Absorption into the American system; the pouring of the various radically different elements—with only the color of the skin in common—into the melting pot of our democracy, could have only one result; that of added threads to the democratic fabric which this nation has sought to weave since the days of Washington, Jefferson and Hamilton. In time, the Jewish immigrant started moving upward in the American scheme. The Irish, German, the Japanese and others obtained a voice in politics by concentration of their numbers in the communities in which they lived. They entered business, industry and commerce, keeping alive, meanwhile, the traditions and cultures of the countries from which they came. The Negro, on the other hand, was at a standstill. He was circumscribed by the alien forces about him which profited off the labor of his ancestors—purely because of their kinship to the ruling majority. The pressure on the Negro was tremendous. The expansion of the immigrant minorities served only to press the Negro farther down and against the wall until he was forced to rebound in 1916-19 in the mighty inland migration of that period, northward in search of opportunity and freedom from the oppression of the Southland. The Jew, the Irishman, the Italian and others among the 20th century arrivals, were on the climb upward. In their struggle for a place in the sun they went through the familiar motions usually employed by struggling minorities—making common cause with the lowest element here—the Negro. There are among us many who remember the hue and outcry against the immigration of large numbers of Japanese to our West Coast. It was also significant of that time that the Japanese residents of this country saw to it that they seldom allowed themselves to be Jim Crowed into the ghettoes that marked the communities where the Germans, Italians, Jews, Irish and others lived. Except on the West Coast, where public opinion and their own large numbers conspired to force them into "Little Tokios," the Japanese, regarded as a colored race, were not compelled to accept the restrictions and oppression that have always marked American treatment of its non-immigrant minority, the Negro.

Dec. 12, III 1942

One by one, since the start of World War II, the foreign-born minorities have climbed into the favor of the government. In spite of the evidences of disloyalty and the treasonable activities uncovered among them, officialdom has smiled upon their communities. Overtures that would be ludicrous in peacetime, are constantly being made by the authorities for their goodwill, and these overtures go beyond the mere back-slapping and word-of-mouth compliments of politics, into the field of labor, economics and political preferment to the point where the equation of alien elements and the American-born Negro are dangerously overbaalnced with the black end of the see-saw near the ground and the white end with the Irish, German-American, Italian, Roumanian, Austrian, Hungarian, and even the Japanese side of it pointed skyward.

Evidences of this discrimination in attitudes is seen on every side. The paternalism of a government that rewards the hat-in-hand Uncle Tom Negro with a high sounding messenger or flunky job is vividly contrasted with the same government in the role of Dr. Jekyll, always solicitous about the welfare of those akin to our mortal enemies. The alien-born and native-born descendants of white immigrants get the jobs; they exert pressure on Washington and get what they want. The Negro is not an alien. He is a native-born American. He doesn't get the consideration, not one 100th of it, that the others are given. As an example: the cry of the loyal Japanese in this country, so similar to that of the American Negro, is getting more than passing notice while there still is evidence of studied confusion about what to do for the Negro, the real American among them all.

IV

A recent meeting was held in New York for which the Office of War Information supplied a speaker, Bradford Smith. Among other things he said: "Doctors of Japanese ancestry were saving the lives of American boys maimed by Japanese bombs" following the raid on Pearl Harbor where "boys of Japanese ancestry manned guns that brought down Japanese planes. Others converted their trucks to ambulances and rushed to the stricken areas. Japanese-Americans on the Coast were of invaluable aid to the authorities in exposing Japanese espionage."

We are interested in the "several thousand Japanese in training at Camp McCoy" as to whether they are in the United States armed forces as a segregated unit as is the case of the American-Negro. The Jew is integrated into all branches of the service. So are the Irish, the Italo-American, the Roumanian, the Austrian and so on. They are white. The Negro, though it is not popularly known, is one of the most important racial elements involved in this war. The home of his ancestors — Africa — is the major pawn and battleground in the titanic struggle now taking place all over the world.

Dec. 12, 1942

The Japanese and their "New Order" for Asia; the Americanized European, are all regarded in a higher category than the American black man. The Japanese-Americans now in training for combat duty are doubtlessly subject to some form of segregation, on the problem they pose by being blood brothers of this nation's declared enemy. The American Negro is blood brother of no nation of enemies of the democratic way. His loyalty cannot be questioned because by nature and training, inclination and viewpoint, he is, first of all, an American, then a Negro. With the other minorities it is usually the other way around: Jew, then American; German, then American; Italian, then American, and now Japanese, and then American.

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

'EYE-WITNESS' VERSION GETS PAPER IN BAD

AUG 29 1942

Office of Censorship Set To Take Action After Probe of Charges

WASHINGTON—(ANP)—Negro newsmen are waiting eagerly to ascertain the outcome of a Negro paper being called to task by the Office of Censorship which happened here last week in the case of a well known local weekly.

AUG 29 1942

Charging, it is alleged, that the paper published without permission an "eyewitness" story of the Coral sea battle, the Office of Censorship immediately wrote the paper asking for an explanation and demanded that the paper show cause why action should not be taken against the publication.

According to information, the writer of the story who used a by-line had discovered this sailor who claimed to have been in the great battle of the Coral sea, and he told a most interesting story of that terrific historical naval engagement.

The story did make good reading, and the editor was quick to sense the news value of the first Negro eyewitness battle story. Consequently, he told the writer to take the story down to the Office of Censorship and let the officials there read it, approve it or correct it to the etxent that it would not give "aid and comfort" to the enemy.

AUG 29 1942

Somewhere along the line there was a slip-up and the story was resubmitted to the editor as approved by the censors. The story was then rushed to print and created a sensational headline which attracted considerable attention.

Several letters are said to have been passed between the newspaper and the Office of Censorship but the paper anxiously awaits the final action of the censors, who give no indication of what they intend doing.

AUG 29 1942

During the last World war, the New York News (Negro) of Harlem was barred from the mails because of a paragraph it contained, and not until strong pressure was brought to bear on the postal authorities was the mailing permit restored.

Consulate at New York City even subsequent to his severing relations with the Living Age Publishing Company. This reportedly continued until November 1941, inclusive of the period during which he allegedly published The Negro News Syndicate as a private and personal venture.

Atlanta, Ga. Journal
March 8, 1942

News of Atlanta's Negro Community

By WILLIAM Y. BELL JR.

Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, chairman of the department of sociology, Howard University, will give two lectures on the American family in the exhibition room of Atlanta University tomorrow and Tuesday evenings, March 9 and 10, at 7:30 p. m.

The one-time Morehouse sociology instructor and director of the Atlanta School of Social Work recently returned from a South American trip taken to study family organization there. He is well known as an authority on the family. The meetings are open to the public.

Form Defense Club

Organization of a club, the sole purpose of which is to encourage its members to buy Defense Bonds and Stamps was announced this week. With a membership primarily of domestic workers, the club meets weekly at a different member's house, the idea being that all the current week's dues will go to the person at whose house the meeting is held. The funds so raised are converted into Defense Stamps credited to the host.

Mrs. Marie Goolsby, club organizer explained that each person will thus be able to save enough stamps to purchase a bond and that the club will thus help satisfy the patriotic urges of its members.

Child Prodigy Concert

Much interest was shown this week in the announcement that Phillippa Schuyler, 10-year-old musical child prodigy, will appear in an afternoon concert on Monday, March 16, at Wheat Street Baptist Church.

Interest is particularly great because of the unusual accomplishments she ha already enjoyed at an early age. Starting at the age of 3, she has to date composed more than 60 pieces, five of which have been published. Her first appearance on the concert stage was at the age of 5, when she played selections by Bach and some of her original compositions in a joint recital with Clyde Barrie, radio star, at Fuld Hall, Newark, N. J.

At 6, she won a gold medal from the New York City Department of Parks in citywide competition for junior music. In the same year she won a silver medal from the Music Education League, winning the gold medal the next year. At 7, she was awarded a silver medallion at the New York Worlds Fair by the Brooklyn Club for Women in recognition of her music achievements. She had already mastered 39 pieces which she played from memory in tournament competition.

Impressive Prizes

Phillippa has won five consecutive prizes from the New York Philharmonic Society's young people's concerts for her notebooks commenting on the concerts. For five consecutive years she has won highest honors in the tournaments of the National Piano Teachers' Guild and has been placed each year on the national honor roll.

Last April, a New York radio station awarded her a special prize for her performance in its famed musical memory contest. In December, she appeared with Deems Taylor on the "We, the People" program.

Since the age of 5, she has regularly played her original compositions over the NBC coast-to-coast network program. She has played twice at the Center Theater, Radio City.

Phillippa's most recent public appearance was a May, 1940, recital at the New England Conservatory of Music, Boston. A curious public is expected to augment the music-lovers planning to attend her first Atlanta appearance.

Interracial Fellowship

"If all churches had spent on Japan in 100 years only 1 per cent of what we spend in one year against her now, how much bloodshed would have been spared?"

This was the question asked by Dr. Ryland Knight as he addressed the fourth Christian Interracial Fellowship at the First Congregational Church last Thursday morning.

"People today look to the church for leadership," he continued. "The world wants to hear about character, which stands as the final and last defense in all institutions. It also wants to hear about faith, on which marriage, business and the successful conduct of our everyday affairs depend.

Faith, Character Needed

"Ministers must demonstrate faith and character in determining the fundamental questions of whether we believe in freedom, justice and the other ideals about which we preach."

Dr. C. A. Talbert, professor of church history, Gammon Theological Seminary, delivery stirring remarks on the ideals of Jesus and their present-day applications.

Two groups of selections were sung by the Morris Brown quartet, directed by Professor E. W. Hathcock.

Plans for the celebration of Rev. E. R. Carter's sixtieth year as pastor of Friendship Baptist Church were mentioned by Dr. Louie Newton and discussed by the group.

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

Letters To The Editor

Praises Coverage On Roland Hayes' Case

JUL 19 1942

To The Editor:

Your scoop coverage of the unfortunate Roland Hayes incident at Rome was a splendid piece of journalistic reporting. Your editorial anent the same matter was a well considered, and well-balanced expression of the sentiment of Negroes concerning the denial of their basic and fundamental right to be secure in their persons from unwarranted physical brutality, particularly at the hands of the representatives of the law. Congratulations upon the splendid job.

A. T. WALDEN.

JUL 19 1942

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

Atlanta Daily World

"The Nation's Only Colored Daily Newspaper"

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The ATLANTA DAILY WORLD is an independent newspaper—non-sectarian and non-partisan, printing the news absolutely unbiasedly and supporting those things it believes to be to the interest of its readers and opposing those things against the interest of its readers.

Address ALL COMMUNICATIONS to and make CHECKS payable to ATLANTA DAILY WORLD, rather than to individuals. The WORLD expressly repudiates responsibility for return of unsolicited pictures, manuscripts, etc., unless stamps are sent.

JUN 22 1942

New York Times
New York, N. Y.

SEP 3 1942

A GREAT GEORGIAN

Tuesday The Atlanta Constitution was 75. It commemorates the anniversary in an issue of 144 pages. In this, besides the full complement of news of the world, it reviews the history of the growth and prosperity of Atlanta. That is one of our magical cities, an obscure little village that kept surprising the census-takers and became the capital of a region. Something is due to situation. Otherwise the magic is the intense application of energy and intelligence.

The Constitution has had an active hand in furthering local prosperity, but it has never worshiped it. Under three generations of Howells it has shown a steady moral courage. It has not been afraid of unpopularity. It has smitten political great. It has stood against the Ku Klux Klan and Prohibition.

The Howells are that sort of people. The Constitution is that sort of paper. It is tolerant, fair to all interests, afraid of nobody. Its reputation has long been national. There have been beloved names on its roster, Henry Grady, Uncle Remus, Frank Stanton. Clark Howell Sr. passed his novitiate on this newspaper. He was afterward a dear friend of Mr. Ochs. So there is personal warmth in our gratulation. To our fellow-workers in every department of The Constitution we offer our hearty good wishes; and especially to Bill Wier, Mr. William S. Wier, proofreader. In 1876, aged 4, he used to carry dinner to his daddy, a printer. In 1882, aged 10, he became a devil. In that day "one proofreader and a copyholder read all the proof for Sunday and daily editions." Far be the day when Time marks Bill Wier with a dele.

Time
Chicago, Illinoi

SEP 14 1942

Strong Constitution

Georgia's famed Atlanta *Constitution* last week jumped the gun by nearly a year to publish a fat, 144-page 75th-anniversary edition. This haste is typical of the new bounce animating the *Constitution* in the traditions of its great Editor Henry Woodfin Grady. Responsible was the South's fastest-rising new editor: 43-year-old, 230-lb. Ralph Emerson McGill, who went to the *Constitution* as assistant sports editor in 1929. In him, the *Constitution* found the new blood it needed.

The *Constitution* became potent, under three generations of the Howell family,



Kenneth Rogers

RALPH EMERSON MCGILL
He's the gink.

SEP 14 1942

without covering all the news, often without fairness or objectivity. But it did speak, by guess and by God, with ringing feeling for the South. Editor McGill fits the pattern. Like Grady, he loves political slugging matches, especially with Governor Eugene Talmadge. Like Grady's, his signed editorial column is probably the widest read in the Southeast.

In his archaic fifth-floor office a Negro named Josh fits smoothly into Editor McGill's inefficient routine: he totes Coca-Cola and coffee, informs telephone callers: "Mr. McGill ain't here."

Though the *Constitution* has one of the South's best photographers, it has no picture editor. Editor McGill hammers hard on the big stories, but still has not hired a police reporter. The *Constitution* has not had a complete staff in the memory of Atlanta's oldest living newsmen. It loses good reporters who "cannot live on hope forever." Nobody seems to care that the rival *Journal* (bought by James W. Cox in 1939) beats it in circulation and news coverage. But the *Constitution* has upped circulation 40%, to its alltime high of 136,000 daily, 150,000 Sundays.

Born on a Tennessee farm of Scotch-Welsh parents, McGill worked his way through Vanderbilt University (where he played star tackle and belonged to the famed literary group of "Fugitives"), took time out to fight with the Marines in World War I. At political odds with the chancellor, he left shortly before the end of his senior year, went to the Nashville *Banner* as sports editor under his fellow classman (now publisher) James Geddes Stahlman. He originated a popular, Will Rogerish column called *I'm the Gink*, branched into political writing with prodigious energy. Shortly after going to the *Constitution* he married a redheaded Nashville girl named Mary Elizabeth Leonard, who first saw him whaling a bully who had pushed a little fellow around in a Nashville hot-dog stand.

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1942, AND MARCH 3, 1933.

Of Atlanta Daily World, Atlanta, Georgia, published daily and Sunday, at Atlanta, Georgia, Fulton County. OCT 8 - 1942

Before me, a Notary in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared C. A. Scott, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the General Manager of the Atlanta Daily World and that following the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537. Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit: OCT 8 - 1942

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager: Publisher, C. A. Scott, administrator, Estate of W. A. Scott, Atlanta, Georgia. Editor, C. A. Scott, Atlanta, Georgia; Managing Editor, Cliff Mackay, Atlanta, Georgia; Business Manager, C. A. Scott, Atlanta, Georgia.
2. That the owner is: Estate of W. A. Scott—Legatees: C. A. Scott, Emmaline Scott, W. A. Scott, III, Robert Scott, Vashti Scott Ellis, Esther Scott, Ruth S. Simmons, Dan Scott, Emel Scott, all of Atlanta, Georgia; L. A. Scott and A. S. Scott, of Birmingham, Alabama.
3. That the known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.
4. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above is 9200.

C. A. Scott, administrator, Estate of W. A. Scott, sworn to and subscribed before me this 30 day of September, 1942.

Ruth Ware. OCT 8 - 1942

(My commission expires January 13, 1945.

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

Sengstacke Is Back In As Head Of Chi Defender

FEB 5 - 1942

Mrs. Abbott Is Threatening Court Action

CHICAGO—(ANP)—John Sengstacke, relieved of his duties as general manager of the Chicago Defender in a shakeup a year ago, is in again as president and general manager following the annual meeting of the Robert S. Abbott Publishing company at which sweeping changes were made in management and the board of directors.

FEB 5 - 1942

Mrs. Edna Abbott, widow of the late publisher and president until Saturday's meeting, was elected vice-president. She has threatened to take the election to court On Monday, reports were being guarded by officers to prevent their removal.

FEB 5 - 1942

DENNISON OUSTED

Among those ousted were Valores Washington, general manager for the past year, and George Dennison, son of Mrs. Abbott by her first husband and formerly a member of the board of directors, relieved of his duties as business manager.

At the annual meeting there were due reports of the president, auditor, manager and election of directors. The directors are elected by the stockholders. John Sengstacke, a nephew of Robert S. Abbott, Mrs. Abbott and Atty. James B. Cashin hold 2498 shares out of 2500. The other shares are owned individually, one by Mr. Dennison and the other by Dr. Metz Lochard, editorial writer for the paper.

When the election was held Mr. Sengstacke, Dr Lochard and Atty. Cashin were elected directors. The previous directors were Mrs. Abbott, Mr. Dennison and Mr. Cashin. The directors met and elected the following officers: Mr. Sengstacke, president; Mrs. Abbott, vice-president; Dr. Lochard, secretary-treasurer, with James B Cashin, chairman of the board and general counsel.

OPPOSES ELECTION

Mrs. Abbott, very much opposed to the proceedings, insisted that she did not recognize the new officers. She had a white lawyer, Atty. Kohn, at the meeting as her legal representative. Val Washington also had a white attorney representing him. Mrs. Abbott and those ousted say that they will take the election into court. There was refusal upon their part to turn the records over to Mr. Sengstacke who was named manager to succeed Mr. Washington, secured police officials to guard the records and prevent their removal.

Washington, who was discharged, was charged with being neglectful in making reports and it was said he was seldom at meetings when they were called.

Mr. Dennison, also discharged, was reported to have been getting twice as much salary as the highest paid officer or editorial employe.

DISCLAIMS DESIGNS

Mr. Cashin told the Associated Negro Press he had been motivated in his action by the desire to look after Mr. Abbott's sisters and his nephew Mr. Sengstacke. Mrs. Abbott, he said, is after renouncing her share under the will and taking a widow's award which she feels would give her more than half of the stock Mr. Cashin said he had no feeling against Mrs. Abbott but that he would not help her if in doing so it would defeat the desires and purposes of Mr. Abbott.

"Nobody has any designs in this matter," Mr. Cashin said. "and Mr. Sengstacke has indicated that he does not wish to do anything against Mrs. Abbott. After Mr. Abbott's death when the will was read, everyone concerned agreed to abide by it and to do just what Mr. Abbott wished. Trouble arose because Mrs. Abbott wished to renounce under the will and thus get a greater share for herself. The will provided a trust which was to continue until John Sengstacke was 45 years old and if in the opinion of the trustees it should be continued, it could be continued for 10 years longer.

TO GET $125 WEEKLY

The will provided also that Mrs. Abbott was to get $125 per week and one third of the profits and at the end of the trust one third of anything that remained. In addition she was to get the household furniture and the old Abbott homestead on Champlain avenue. She also received $5,200 widow's award. The home in which Mr. Abbott resided when he died and

in which Mrs. Abbott lives now was given to the trustees during the life of the trust.

Mr. Abbott. Mr. Cashin said, could have continued as president and could have remained on the board and in addition drawn a salary. He said she had been continually and persistently offered all of these things but she insisted she was going to renounce Under the law if she renounced, she was barred from taking any benefit from the will.

Mrs. Abbott felt that the new directors had no right to proceed with the election. She refused to put the motions or appeals which were made from her decisions and declined to conduct the election. Mr. Sengstacke, who was vice-president, then proceeded to hold the election. This was all done with Mrs. Abbott's and Washington's white lawyer sitting next to her and advising her.

GO BACK TO WILL

Mr. Cashin said the new board would do everything it could to carry out the terms of Mr. Abbott's will. He said that Mrs. Abbott could be on the board and be an officer and draw a salary, the amount being determined by the degree of her cooperation. He said they were willing to help her in every regard but that he was determined and persistent in having Mr. Abbott's will carried out as he had directed.

He pointed out that the will had never been contested and that it now stands beyond the power of anyone to set it aside and that he wanted merely to see that its terms were carried out to the letter; having always Mrs. Abbott's interests maintained but seeing to it also that the late editor's sisters and nephew were protected. He said Mr. Abbott wanted his nephew as manager and that he had left him there as manager when he died.

Mr. Cashin called attention to the fact that Mr. Abbott had two sisters, Mrs. Eliza McCay and Miss Rebecca Sengstacke of Savannah, and that their attorney in that city pointed out that they have received no money that something should be done for them.

LOCHARD AN OLD FRIEND

Dr. Metz Lochard received his new appointment as a complete surprise. Mr. Cashin said he had never talked to him about it but his experience on the board had made him feel that someone should be on the board who was familiar with editorial policies and newspaper work. Dr. Lochard, he said, was a former teacher at Fisk and Howard universities, an able man who held a doctor of philosophy degree. In addition he was Mr. Abbott's close personal friend, had lived at his home until he died, and was popular with employes and officers alike.

Mr. Cashin pointed out that after Mr. Abbott's death when there had been trouble between her and Mr. Abbott's sisters and nephew, that he had come to Mrs. Abbott's rescue and had Atty. Edward Morris declare that she was not a white woman. He had come to her rescue later when the then manager Sengstacke had refused to make reports. Mrs. Abbott, of late, however, had been "too busy getting brakes repaired on her car or shopping to attend meetings of the board and it was apparent that a change was for the best interests of the paper," the lawyer said.

Chicago Bee
Chicago, Illinois

Camp Davis Paper Suspends Its Publication

FEB 8 - 1942

The "Protector", regimental newspaper of the 54th CA, suspended publication on Friday.

Chaplain Paul W. Strickland, editor and guiding spirit of the paper, which appeared weekly, hoped that it would be revived soon. No particular reason was given for the suspension.

The "Protector" was one of the sturdiest and most colorful newspapers published at Camp Davis. It has been published for six months, which is a record at this post.

FEB 8 - 1942

It was widely read outside of the regiment. Copies were sent to the leading colored colleges and universities. Many families of enlisted men in the 54th received it, and it was a valued contact with the people at home.

Printed, not mimeographed, its pages were filled with lively gossip and vivid articles. Corp. Herman C. Henderson contributed many poems. Its passing, though only temporary, will be regretted.

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

HONOR EDITOR BIBB

FEB 2 - 1942

CHICAGO,—(ANP) — Friends, neighbors and just plain citizen acquaintances of Atty. Joseph D. Bibb, former editor of the Whip, militant weekly published in Chicago a decade ago, gathered at Parkway ballroom here Thursday evening at a banquet given in recognition of distinguished service rendered the people of Chicago as a publicist and stalwart fighter for human rights.

Chicago Bee
Chicago, Illinois

SENGSTACKE BACK AS HEAD OF DEFENDER

FEB 8 - 1942

Mrs. Abbott Filed Suit Tuesday

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FEB 8 - 1942

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FEB 3 - 1942

Cashin Chairman of Board

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Washington, who was discharged, was charged with being neglectful in making reports and it was said he was seldom at meetings when they were called.

Mr. Dennison, also discharged, was reported to have been getting twice as much salary as the highest paid officer or editorial employe.

Mr. Cashin told reporters he had been motivated in his action by the desire to look after Mr. Abbott's sisters and his nephew, Mr. Sengstacke. Mrs. Abbott, he said, is after renouncing her share under the will and taking a widow's award which she feels would give her more than half of the stock. Mr. Cashin said he had no feeling against Mrs. Abbott but that he would not help her if in doing so it would defeat the desires and purposes of Mr. Abbott.

Mrs. Abbott to Break Will

"Nobody has any designs in this matter," Mr. Cashin said, "and Mr. Sengstacke has indicated that he does not wish to do anything against Mrs. Abbott. After Mr. Abbott's death when the will was read everyone agreed to abide by it and to do just what Mr. Abbott wished. Trouble arose because Mrs. Abbott wished to renounce under the will and thus get a greater share for herself. The will provided a trust which was to continue until John Sengstacke was 45 years old and if in the opinion of the trustees it should be continued, it could be continued for 10 years longer.

The will provided also that Mrs. Abbott was to get $125 per week and one third of the profits and at the end of the trust, one third of anything that remained. In addition she was to get the household furniture and the old Abbott homestead on Champlain avenue. She also received $5,200 widow's award. The home in which Mr. Abbott resided when he died and in which Mrs. Abbott lives now was given to the trustees during the life of the trust.

Mrs. Abbott, Mr. Cashin said, could have continued as president and could have remained on the board and in addition drawn a salary. He said she had been continually and persistently offered all of these things but she insisted she was going to renounce. Under the law if she renounced, she was barred from taking any benefit from the will.

Mrs. Abbott felt that the new directors had no right to proceed with the election. She refused to put the motions or appeals which were made from her decisions and declined to conduct the election. Mr. Sengstacke, who was vice-president, then proceeded to hold the election. This was all done with Mrs. Abbott's and Washington's white lawyer sitting next to her and advising her.

Mr. Washington, he said, has a position with the Illinois Commerce commission and that under the constitution of the state of Illinois it was provided that he could not receive compensation from any other source. He therefore was not in position to be rewarded for his services nor could be disciplined if his services were unsatisfactory by cutting down his salary. The new board felt that such a situation did not make for the best disciplinary conduct of the institution's affairs.

Afro-American
Baltimore, Maryland

Lawyer Asks $50,000 from Time Magazine

APR 18 1942

CHICAGO.—Nathan K. Mc Gill, attorney and former manager of the Chicago Defender, has filed suit for $50,000 against Time Magazine, charging that an article which it published in March, 1941, libeled him.

In his petition, the attorney alleges that the article inferred that the Defender was prosperous until he took charge. This, he says, is "false, scandalous, malicious and defamatory" and places his reputation as an attorney in jeopardy.

Chicago Bee
Chicago, Illinois

NEGRO EDITORS SPEAK

(Editor's Note: The following editorial, third in the series "Negro Editors Speak" written especially for the Associated Negro Press for publication in this newspaper on matters of vital importance, is from the pen of Percival L. Prattis, executive editor of the Pittsburgh Courier. Before joining the Courier staff seven years ago, Mr. Prattis was an editor of the Associated Negro Press.)

AMERICA'S DOUBLE VICTORY

By P. L. PRATTIS
Executive Editor, Pittsburgh Courier, for ANP

Sinister forces most often start wars, but ideals are always sought to end them.

After wars begin, the people ask, "What are we fighting for?" Statesmen seek to answer the question with satisfactory war aims. Their aims are supposed to gear the people for speedy and successful prosecution of the war.

"What are we fighting for?" the American people asked in 1917.

"To make the world safe for democracy," the statesmen answered after much computation and reflection.

But we didn't. No part of the world was made safe for the practice of true democracy, including the United States. We squandered and sacrificed our blood and substance in vain pursuit of an illusory and elusive ideal. We ended the war in vain pursuit.

MAY 3 - 1942

Again, we are at war.

Again, the American people ask: "What are we fighting for?" today.

Again our statesmen confect slogans, aims, ideals— the Four Freedoms—the Atlantic charter for all the variable concepts of democracy, the democratic way of life for all mankind.

Into what gear do the mind and heart of the people shift

We are willing to fight, to sacrifice, to die, but must it all again be in vain?

If we are to make democracy a reality in the lives of others, in other parts of the world, and die to do so, should we not first reduce democracy to practice in our own lives, our own country?

A democracy may be described as a community of equal opportunity for all, discrimination against none. A true democracy would vouchsafe equal freedom, equal opportunity to Jew and Gentile, Protestant and Catholic, black and white, rich and poor, the employer and the employe. Discrimination against any of these reject the democratic ideal.

The American people must not be sold short on this war.

The people of the united nations must not be sold short on this war.

If the American people and the people of the united nations are to be welded together in moral support of the democratic ideal, they must be assured a double victory which will insure the practical application of living democratic principles at home and abroad.

MAY 3 - 1942

We must rid our nation of the lyncher. We must rid our nation of the Jew hater. We must rid our nation of the labor baiter. We must rid our nation of the war profiteer.

Democracy must become a living reality to every American, regardless of race, color, creed or class, before Americans can be united in the battle to extend democracy to others.

If democracy can't show a solid front at home, it can't put up a solid front abroad.

The nation must fight for democracy's double victory or face double defeat, for victory at home and abroad or face defeat at home and abroad.

We survive or perish on this premise.

The victory at home and abroad challenges the best of brain, brawn, and idealism in every true American.

Amsterdam News
New York, N. Y.

Court Upholds Abbott's Kin

MAR 7 - 1942

Sengstacke Still Heads Publishing Company After Legal Tilt

MAR 7 - 1942

CHICAGO (ANP).—The controversy between the executors of the estate of the late Robert S. Abbott, publisher and editor of the Chicago Defender, still goes on, with Mrs. Edna R. Abbott, his widow, still fighting to gain control of the publishing company and John H. Sengstacke, a nephew, contending that he owns all but three of the 2,500 stock shares.

MAR 7 - 1942

Last Tuesday in probate court before Judge John P. O'Connell, Mrs. Abbott was ordered to withdraw instructions communicated to the banking depositories that checks of the company must bear her approval or that of Commerce Commission Valores J. Washington, former manager of the Defender.

MAR 7 - 1942

Court action was instituted by Mrs. Abbott to require recognition of herself and George S. Denison, a son by a former marriage, as directors of the publishing company and Mr. Washington as general manager. The three were unseated as directors and manager on January 31.

Chicago Bee
Chicago, Illinois

John Sengstacke Claims Control Of Defender

MAR 8 - 1942

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MAR 8 - 1942

Court action was instituted by Mrs. Abbott, to require recognition of herself and George S. Denison, a son by a former marriage, as directors of the publishing company and Mr. Washington as general manager. The three were unseated as directors and manager on Jan. 31. Although Mrs. Abbott was elected vice-president of the company, Denison and Washington were discharged. Her petition asks that Cashin and Sengstacke show cause why their authority as executors should not be revoked.

Judge O'Connell refused to recognize the claims of the two men and stated that Mrs. Abbott's attempt to tie up the company's funds indefinitely, the salaries of employes and other obligations, is against all public policy. The court therefore recognized the present board of directors, which includes John H. Sengstacke, president and general manager; Dr. Metz T. P. Lochard, secretary-treasurer, and James B. Cashin, chairman of the board of directors and general counsel.

MAR 8 - 1942

A petition was filed Thursday in the probate court by Sengstacke's attorneys, David J. A. Hayes and Nat M. Hahn, asking permission to correct an inventory of Abbott's estate showing Abbott as owner of the 2,497 shares of stock in the publishing company. According to Sengstacke, in January, 1935, Abbott transferred the 2,497 shares of stock, par value $100, to him, and in December, 1937, Abbott asked for its temporary return for use as collateral in connection with a loan to meet some personal obligations. Abbott died before the stock was returned.

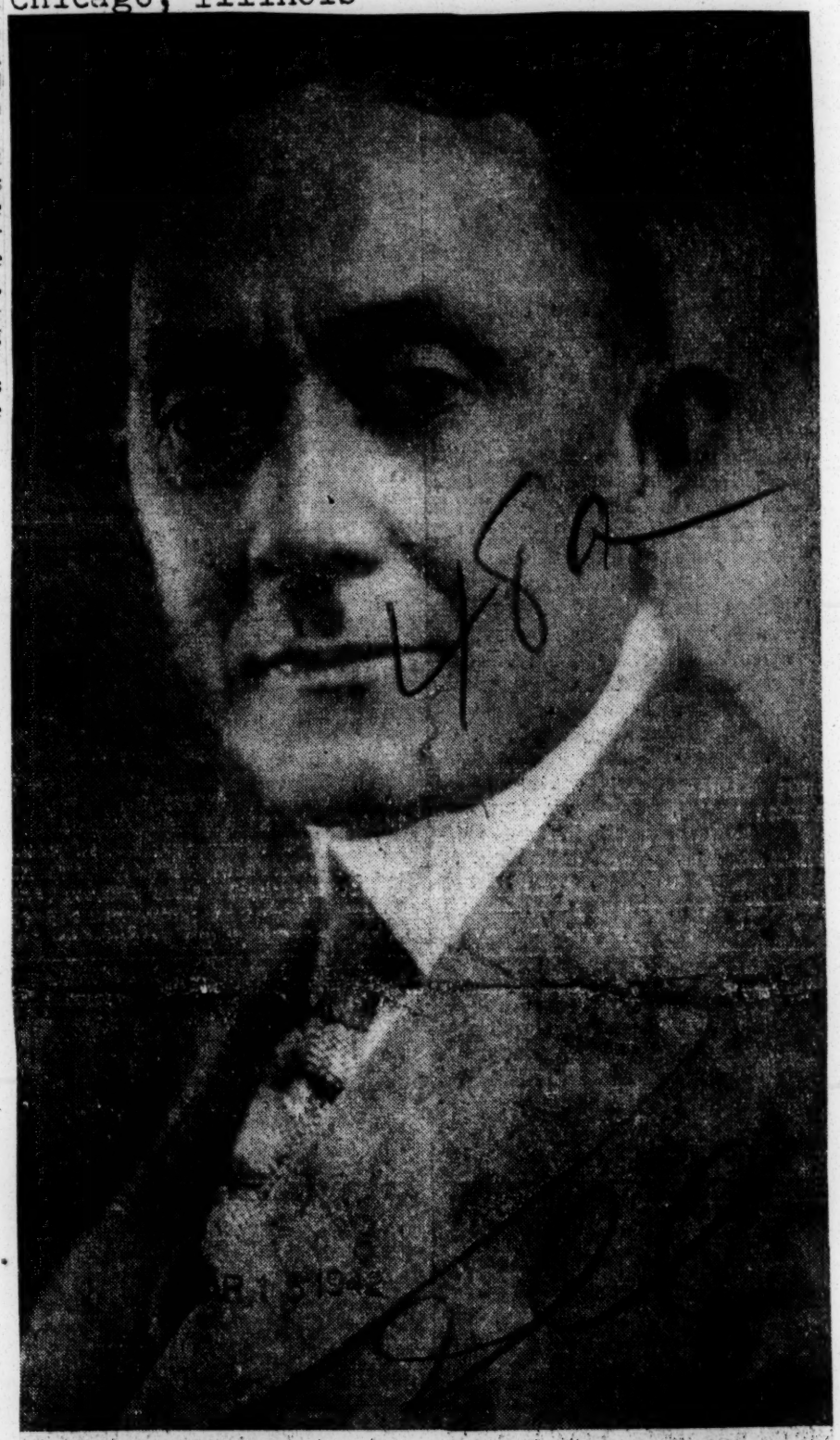
The petition further states that Sengstacke, as an executor, signed the inventory stating that Abbott had owned the stock after he had been assured by Atty. Cashin and Earl B. Dickerson, who represented both Sengstacke and Mrs. Abbott, that if he failed to sign it he could be held in contempt of the probate court, but that if he signed, he would in no way jeopardize his claim to the stock.

MAR 8 - 1942

Abbott's will, dated subsequent to the claimed stock transfer, lists ownership of the paper in the three trustees until 1956, after which time the estate is to be divided between the widow, Sengstacke and two sisters of Abbott, with Mrs. Abbott getting one-third.

Hearing on both Sengstacke's and Mrs. Abbott's petitions have been set for March 30.

Chicago Bee
Chicago, Illinois



MAR 15 1942

78 YEARS YOUNG—Our publisher, Anthony Overton, will celebrate his 78th birthday Wednesday, March 18th, and in commemoration of his natal day is enlarging our paper to forty pages, in keeping with his slogan, "We must keep improving in order to keep ahead."

MAR 15 1942

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

Another Publication Asks Equal Chance For Negro

CHICAGO—(A N P)—Another growing list of white publications name was added to the rapidly clamoring for justice for the Negro when the weekly national advertising newspaper, "Advertising Age," in its July 27 issue printed an editorial entitled "The Future of the Negro.'

Said the editorial:

"Current discussion of the market represented by Negroes in the United States parallels increasing attention to the problem of our relations with the brown, black and yellow races which have been regarded by most Caucasians, at least in this country, as inferior. The objectives of this war, to spread the four freedoms to the far corners of the earth, will demand, our best thinkers agree, a change in our attitude not only toward the Chinese, the Filipines and the East Indians, but also toward the dark-skinned citizens of our own America.

REMARKABLE PROGRESS CITED

"The Negro has made remarkable progress in this country during the past generation. Better facilities for education and greater opportunities for economic advancement have given the colored population both the aspiration and the means to satisfy, in part at least, the benefits of our free and prosperous America. Yet it remains true that the condition of the Negro, from the standpoint of literacy, health, crime and income, is still not what it should be, if he is to realize the hopes and ambitions of the leaders of his race, and incidentally become the important market for advertised goods which these millions of potentially important consumers might well be.

"No one could read Westbrook Pegler's recent burning editorial on the subject of the Negro boy who risks his life for his country in the armed forces of the United States, but returns to find the doors of opportunity closed to him, without being forced to admit that we have neglected one of our greatest human and economic resources. This is true not merely of the south, but of the whole country. Race prejudice is not the exclusive possession of any one section or group.

CHANCE FOR ALL URGED

"It is exceedingly difficult to wipe out old barriers, but if victory in this war establishes democratic ideals and institutions all over the world, as the result of the sacrifices of American boys, white and black, then it would be ironic indeed if we failed to realize them fully in our own country. This does not mean social equality in the carpetbagger sense, but rather the chance for every American regardless of color, to share in the unlimited opportunities for personal and economic advancement which the richest country in the world should offer to all of its citizens.

"The south has been accused of holding back the development of the Negro. Yet slum conditions prevail in the great cities of the industrial north occupied by Negro families, just as they do in the south. Southern leaders have encouraged their Negro neighbors to advance along educational and industrial lines because of enlightened self-interest which realizes that educated, prosperous Negroes make better neighbors, better tenants and better customers. The same reasoning should apply to every section.

"We have the problem. Its successful solution will interest every American, but particularly those who realize that the Negro's improved ability to produce, to earn and to consume will make sounder markets and a stronger nation."

Chicago Bee
Chicago, Illinois

WE TAKE OUR BOW

MAR 15 1942

TODAY the CHICAGO BEE has come of age. We have grown to full adulthood. We reached our mature form on the eve of the 78th birthday anniversary of an outstanding patriot and our illustrious publisher—Anthony Overton.

We are pleased thus to give to this great Metropolitan city the latest idea in journalism. We are happy to contribute to this generation the new, streamlined CHICAGO BEE which is a combination of the imaginative genius that rare patience for study and research which have characterized the triumphant rise of Publisher Overton from the status of a pullman porter to that of a Kansas judge, a middlewest banker and a Chicago manufacturer.

MAR 15 1942

We take pleasure in giving to the New Negro a paper which is consistent with the advanced ideas of his age.

We thus present to the public a clean paper; a full paper; a convenient paper; and a paper that is rich in life and vigor and energy.

WE GIVE TO THE PUBLIC A PAPER THAT WILL BE REMEMBERED MORE FOR ITS NEWS OF CULTURE AND ACHIEVEMENT THAN FOR ITS NEWS OF SCANDAL AND CRIME. We give the public a paper that is easy to read and handy to separate. We present a paper that will contain full coverage of all news worth reading and whose stories will be interpreted by the country's leading columnists and editorial writers.

To the citizenry of Chicago, to the people of the nation, and to civilized mankind throughout the world we respectfully take our bow.

ANOTHER PUBLICATION REVIEWS THE FUTURE STATUS OF THE RACE

CHICAGO, Aug. 6 (ANP)—Another name was added to the rapidly growing list of white publications clamoring for justice for the Negro when the weekly national advertising newspaper, "Advertising Age," in its July 27 issue printed an editorial entitled "The Future of the Negro."

Said the editorial:

"Current discussion of the market represented by Negroes in the United States parallels increasing attention to the problem of our relations with the brown, black and yellow races which have been regarded by most Caucasians, at least in this country, as inferior. The objectives of this war, is to spread the four freedoms to the far corners of the earth, will demand, our best thinkers agree, a change in our attitude not only toward the Chinese, the Filipinos and the East Indians, but also toward the dark-skinned citizens of our own America.

The Negro has made remarkable progress in this country during the past generation. Better facilities for education and greater opportunities for economic advancement have given the colored population both the aspiration and the means to satisfy, in part at least, the benefits of our free and prosperous America. Yet it remains true that the condition of the Negro, from the standpoint of literacy, health, crime and income, is still not what it should be, if he is to realize the hopes and ambitions of the leaders of his race, and incidentally become the important market for advertised goods which these millions of potentially important consumers might well be.

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THE PROBLEM MUST BE FACED

"It is exceedingly difficult to wipe out old barriers, but if victory in this war establishes democratic ideals and institutions all over the world, as the result of the sacrifices of American boys, white and black, then it would be ironic indeed if we failed to realize them fully in our own country. This does not mean social equality in the carpetbagger sense, but rather the chance for every American regardless of color, to share in the unlimited opportunities for personal and economic advancement which the richest country in the world should offer to all of its citizens.

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"We have the problem. Its successful solution will interest every American, but particularly those who realize that the Negro's improved ability to produce, to earn and to consume will make sounder markets and a stronger nation."

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

LET'S STOP THE ENEMIES WITHIN

OCT 3 - 1942

The Chicago Defender endorses the message to Congress of President Roosevelt. It accepts the radio message which accompanied it as a call to that action necessary to win-the-war.

The Chicago Defender calls to all anti-fascist forces but particularly to the Negro people to rally behind the President for we recognize the President's message as a battle cry. Battle lines are being drawn here at home. Pro-fascist and anti-fascist are preparing for the struggle for America. An attack upon national unity is being prepared.

Every fascist friend and sympathizer will attack this Victory message. It hits at Congress, a point where the enemies of the nation have long been concentrated. It does not hit at democratic procedure. It hits and savagely —at those who would use an instrument of democracy to destroy democracy.

OCT 3 - 1942

The message will be called dictatorship. The enemy will contend that the President seeks the overthrow of democratic government and the dissolution of Congress. That is a lie—a Hitlerian lie. These deceptive cries will come from elements who will declare themselves to be the champions and the bulwark of democracy. Negro America's test is: When did they ever fight for the democratic rights of the Negro people which are the very essence of democracy? We must compare their "criticism" against the Roosevelt program to that spewed forth from Hitler's murderous mouth. The two tally—they are as peas in a pod. The words are American but the ideas are Nazi.

The President's words to Congress were late. We can thank God they were not "too late or too little." Nor can the words which will follow, directed against our enemies within, be either the one or the other.

Negro America knows the fascist-like character of the dominant poll tax clique in Congress. Its failure to act to win the war by curbing the profits of a small group of industrialists, and an outrageously rapacious and unpatriotic farm bloc, is carrying us with express-train speed toward inflation and through inflation to a military defeat.

OCT 3 - 1942

Negro America has time after time suffered grievously from its reactionary activities. It threatens and blackmails Congress with its filibuster tactics whenever truly progressive legislation arises. Its subversive activities are particularly anti-Negro.

We cite only its 20-year refusal to pass an anti-lynching bill. This attitude has been as a green light to the landlord lynchers and their sheriffs and court officials who conduct the legal lynchings such as Scottsboro. It has strengthened all un-American forces in the country.

We cite this group's abyssmal failure to pass anti-poll tax legislation which could in a large measure restore democratic government to the poll tax states. All the progressive legislation these traitorous elements have blocked would have aided our cause if passed, for ours is the cause of progressive anti-fascist America. Let us remember that.

Passage of the seven-point program against inflation is a must. The American people will support the President. At least all those who want victory will. His enemies will be the American Lavals, Deladiers and Petains who would destroy our country from within as France was destroyed from within.

OCT 3 - 1942

Only a Victory Congress will face squarely the larger issues which lie ahead of us. The President's message is a call for a Victory Congress. Negro America must respond. There is no better way to assure the passage of anti-poll tax legislation than to bring about the defeat of northern congressmen who have fought the People's war program as outlined by the administration. There is no better way to rally to the support of the Negro in the South.

It is no time to talk in terms of party lines if Negro America desires in this period of a People's war to come into its own. Those who stand for the destruction of Hitler and Hitlerism must get our vote.

Stop the enemies within!

48a-1942

Chicago Tribune
Chicago, Illinois

NEW MAGAZINE HERE TO DIGEST NEGRO COMMENT

NOV 1 - 1942

A new magazine devoted to comment on Negro affairs will be published this week for the first time at 3507 South Bark way. The magazine is entitled Negro Digest and is published by John H. Johnson, publicity man for an insurance company.

Johnson, who was born in Arkansas, is 24 years old and came to Chicago in 1933.

Two of the articles in the first issue, for November, ask the questions: "Should the Negro Care who Wins the War?" and "Is the Negro Demand for Full Equality Sabotaging the War Effort.

NOV 1 - 1942

There is an article by Stanley Johnston of THE TRIBUNE entitled "Heroes on Flat-Tops'" which was condensed from the Chicago Defender, Negro publication. It told a tale of heroism by a young Negro mess attendant who saved the lives of three men when the aircraft carrier Lexington sank.

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

NEGRO DIGEST, NEW MAGAZINE, OFF PRESSES

Nov. 21, 1942

Periodical Contains Race Comment, Goes On Sale Now

Should Negroes care who wins the war? Is the Negro demand for full equality sabotaging the war effort?

These questions, along with many other vital ones, are answered in the November issue of the Negro Digest, a new mazagine of Negro comment, published in Chicago at 3507 South Parkway.

Managing editor of the publication is John H. Johnson, a native of Arkansas, who came to Chicago in 1933. Johnson was graduated from the DuSable high school in 1936 as president of his class and editor of the school paper He won a scholarship to the University of Chicago where he studied business. For the past several years he has been director of publicity for a life insurance company.

Negro Digest is published in "response to demand for a magazine to summarize and condense the leading articles and comments now current in the press of the nation in ever increasing volume."

48a-1942
Bystander
Des Moines, Iowa

IOWA

Nearly Half Century Ago Ten Negro Leaders Shared In Establishing Bystander

Here and there—throughout the city are pioneer residents—who remember when the Negro newspaper came into existence.

One little lady, still getting about to public affairs in the city is Mrs. Elvira Shephard, 1214 Laurel street, who remembers when—forty-eight years ago—her husband the late J. H. Shephard and nine other Negro leaders organized the Iowa Bystander, which is celebrating its birthday anniversary this week.

Mrs. Shephard was a girl in "those good old days" and Negroes venturing into the newspaper field was an experiment, that the leaders hoped would prove successful.

Mrs. J. H. McDowell, 1211 Center street, was teaching school in Muchikonich, Iowa, a mining town, when the Bystander was founded. But before its day, the late Mr. McDowell, one of the Negro leaders in the mining camp, was one of the correspondents to the Bystander's precessessor, the Avalanche, and continued his writing of the activities of the largely populated Negro town, when the Bystander came into existence.

In an interview with Mrs. McDowell she recalled the good days when Negro teachers were teaching in the public schools—and to mixed classes. About the early years of 1900 she and her family moved to Des Moines for better educational opportunities for their daughter, she said.

"There were about 10,000 Negroes in and around Des Moines," Mrs. Mc Dowell recalled. Many of them left for other parts of the country when the mining camps closed and other work conditions got poor.

Another resident who came to Des Moines twenty-two years early than the founding of the Bystander is R. A. Wilburn, 1715 Walker avenue, who came to the city from Andrew County, Mo., seventy years ago.

"I was so busy working that I did not have time to keep up with the new businesses that were being established," Mr. Wilburn said and recalled that nearly fifty years ago he was working at the oil mills for twenty-five cents a day.

"I have had four jobs in the seventy years I have been here," he informed as he listed; eleven years in the oil mills, seven years in the barber shop, four and one-haif years carrying mail and thirty?three years a fireman.

The retired firemen commented that for twelve years "I have been loafing," which he likes to do, he added.

La. Police Put Ban On Courier

Pittsburgh Courier
FEB 14 1942

NEW ORLEANS, La., Feb. 12—It was learned this week that Negro citizens in the Alexandria area, scene of the riot several weeks ago between military and civilian police and colored soldiers, had to leave the city to purchase copies of the Courier carrying a story that 10 soldiers were allegedly slain in the riot. News agents were reported as being molested by city police and efforts were made to prevent the sale of the paper in the colored section.

The Courier does not vouch for the accuracy of the reported story. The War Department has refused to confirm or deny the report and has remained mum on its complete investigation of the affair.

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

LA. RISK CO. SLURS RACE NEWSPAPERS

MAR 1 41942

Weekly's Fire Damage Bill Provokes Statement

MAR 1 41942

NEW ORLEANS, La.—Stiff resentment was displayed here last week upon the disclosure of a local insurance company's "belittlement" of Race newspapers as not being worth much. The particular case involved negotiations with the Louisiana Industrial Life Insurance company by the Sepia Socialite, a local weekly, with reference to damages done the latter's plant when the ceiling of their offices crashed.

The Socialite presented to the Louisiana Insurance company, as landlord of the building housing their plant, a detailed report of material and punitive damages. The insurance company officials scoffed at the figures and inferred that Negro newspaper businesses were worth practically nothing, stating that the Socialite would have to go to court to collect any damages or accept a donation to help them out.

They also stated that their attorney had advised them that they were not liable for damages to the paper's plant which was housed in the company's building. The Socialite has turned the matter over to their attorneys for court negotiation.

MAR 1 41942

Material for the publication of a 160 page pictorial magazine depicting the Negro in Louisiana was impaired, besides other damages to equipment and fixtures, and great expense, according to the publishers, have been incurred because they had to move their mechanical work to another shop.

Other newspaper representatives of the city feel that the inference made by the insurance company officials effects the entire Negro newspaper field here. Many of them expressed that it has been a general rule of several business leaders of New Orleans to under-rate the Negro press until they get into a jam. They state further that the Negro press of New Orleans has been very cooperative to the development of Negro business and has been a potent factor in its success and do not feel that such inferences are stimulative of the expected cooperation from the press, and it certainly does not show an appreciation for that faction of our Race that has shouldered the responsibility for general Race development, they concluded.

MAR 1 41942

Each of the local papers and representatives of those circulated here have assured the Socialite of cooperation in getting itself reestablished.

The Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.

Freedom for Earl Browder

Louisiana Negro Paper Calls for His Release

MAR 26 1942

The following is an editorial appearing in the Sepia Socialite, Negro weekly of New Orleans, Louisiana, on March 21. This is the third state heard from on the Browder case. Recently, we reprinted an editorial from a newspaper in Milford, Conn., asking Browder's release, and one from the New Republic in New York.

48a

The question of Earl Browder's connection with the Communist Party does not enter into reasons for large numbers of Negroes petitioning for his release from prison.

Browder is an American citizen by birth. Those who have studied his case agree with Wendell Willkie who stated, "You will wonder whether Browder was sentenced to four years in jail and a $2,000 fine because he made a false statement on a passport application or because he was a Communist Party member."

MAR 26 1942

Being a member of the Communist Party does not necessarily indicate that he was un-American. On the other hand, Browder has consistently advocated the highest standard of democracy for the Negro question in the forefront of our national problems. And he would be foremost in urging that those problems be adequately dealt with today so that a more democratic and united America may the more effectively combat the evil of fascism.

Certain great principles must be a factor or else this case would never have evoked so great a response. Great principles are involved, principles that underlay our conception of democracy, that concept for which the overwhelming majority of Americans are willing to sacrifice everything, for which we are today engaged in the greatest of wars.

Those millions of Americans are asking for clemency, not because they agreed with Browder politically, but because the unjust sentence is not in accord with our constitutional guarantees of equal justice, not in accord with our Bill of Rights, and should not be permitted to mar our national accord.

The Negro has learned to class all practices of injustice as un-American and to treat as scarecrow intimidation the propaganda put out by prejudice-infested whites relative to Communism, which, in fact, is a great weapon against injustice to minorities.

MAR 26 1942

The Negro wants "justice." And it doesn't make any difference under what banner. That's why he supports any movement to enforce justice.

In the name of justice and justice alone is he asking for Browder's freedom.

Argus
St. Louis, Missouri

CONGRATULATIONS, SEPIA SOCIALITE

We are in receipt of a copy of the "Sepia Socialite," a weekly newspaper published in the interest of colored people at New Orleans, Louisiana, depicting seventy-eight years of the progress of Negroes in the Creole state. This issue carries 168 pages, with the cover pages highly colorful in that they are printed in our national colors—red, white and blue.

The contents of this edition were not only interesting, but highly informative, and knowing something about the work required to put out a publication of this sort, we cannot but again congratulate Leon Lewis and the Willises upon this unusual achievement.

Those who are interested in sepia Louisianians and their accomplishments, would do well to secure a copy of this edition.

Aside from the contents of this special edition and its far-reaching influence in the state, significant, we think, is a letter written by Alonzo B. Willis, editor, to the Lieutenant-Governor of the state of Louisiana. This letter accompanied a copy of this special edition of the Sepia Socialite. If the publication did no more than offer the striking opportunity to put over an important message to the governor of the state of Louisiana, it will not have been published in vain. The letter to Mr. Mouton, the Lieutenant-Governor of the state, was so pointed and told such an interesting story about the things which affect not only the Negroes in Louisiana but throughout the country, that we feel like reproducing this letter in our editorial columns so that it may be passed along to others, whom we believe, will be equally impressed with its far-reaching effect.

THE LETTER

"The Honorable Marc Mouton
Lieutenant-Governor
State Capitol Bldg.
Baton Rouge, La.
Dear Sir:

Under separate cover we have mailed to those among you whom we consider the most liberal, a copy of our 5th Anniversary Edition, entitled "The Negro In Louisiana." Laboriously, we have tried to interpret and crystallize the aspirations, hopes and feelings of two-fifths of our state's citizenry; recording in a humble way, such evidences of our miraculous progress and contributions to the state's general welfare as we have made, under handicap, in the 78 years of our emancipation.

A definite, unhappy and perilous disquietude—as careful reading of this issue will disclose—smolders in the Louisiana Negro's bosom because he is discriminated against as a citizen, having not yet been able to enjoy the practical citizenship granted him by the constitution of this great and glorious America, for whose defense he so many times has given his blood and for which, even now, in foreign fields he is giving his life.

This war or "world revolution" of the races—as Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt so frankly describes it—may come to our Southern shore any day, as it has in the years gone by, to find the Negro on the battle fronts of a democracy and freedom as he has not yet known—fighting half-heartedly. It woud be a tragedy if two-fifths of our Southern fighting manpower—in the face of home front injustices—were astride the fence on the question of which side promised the real freedom and the real democracy.

Beyond doubt the present vicious conflict between the races of the world will be a long and grievous one. Long established traditions and practices will be more and more outmoded and reversed. It would indeed be wise to list uppermost among "the ramparts we watch" the evils perpetrated by racial discriminations, prejudices and injustices rampant within our constituency and boundaries. Who among us, three years ago, could have foreseen the about-face of the French people against the democracies; who can now know the extremes to which India's millions may go to overthrow long-imposed British subjugation and dominance? We don't wish to seem to be alarmists, but—"it could happen here;" and we consider it our patriotic duty to disclose this threatening possibility.

You know in your own conscience that our legislative bodies, though charitable at times in a whimsical sort of way, have not given the Louisiana Negro his full measure of benefits, his just and lawful rights, his man-to-man Christian consideration as a tax-paying citizen.

It is not ambitious for us to share the sentiments of the great, wise and far-seeing American woman, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, our first lady, (as expressed in the July issue of American Magazine—excerpted on the cover page of "The Negro In Louisiana") as she pleaded: 'They (Negroes) want a better life, an equality of opportunity, a chance to hold jobs according to their ability and not to be paid less because their skins are black. They must have the same opportunity to express themselves through their government and the same opportunity as human beings, equal to the other human beings of the world. Their aspirations, like those of other races seeking recognition and rights as human beings are among the things we are fighting for. This revolution will, I think, establish that the human beings of the world regardless of race or creed or color, are to be looked upon with respect and treated as equals.' The Louisiana Negro wants no more; he will be satisfied with nothing less.

You cannot long ignore what is; you cannot long continue to impose a discriminating life of circumscription upon two-fifths of a government's people; you cannot long encircle the initiative of a whole race of people who live by the side of a people who have made a world record of achievement. You cannot kill hope with the imposition of fear; you cannot blind your own conscience to every American's lust for the ideal of freedom and justice, whether he be black or white.

We, the servants of all underprivileged people have followed your legislative program with interest. In no instances have we observed any attempt at legislation designed to meet this mounting challenge, which, we now know, join with Mrs. Roosevelt in reassuring you, harbors a potential threat to our general well-being and the efficiency of our democracy.

Gentlemen, these are the facts as we have seen them. Aside from passing immediate legislation or adopting resolutions to assure the Negro his full constitutional rights as an American citizen, including the right to vote, and just representation according to the law which right we now feel able to use intelligently; aside from these recommendations, the problem is now the burden and duty of each of the individuals thus informed, as we know naught else to suggest.

Very sincerely yours,
Alonzo B. Willis,
Editor, Sepia Socialite."

We hope that not only Lieutenant-Governor Mouton read the above letter, but our further hope is that he passed it along to the governor and the governor in turn to the Attorney General of the state of Louisiana, and finally to other state and city officials throughout Louisiana in order that they, too, will be able to see and understand more fully that we are living in a new day and the spirit of yesterday which is a characterization of the horse and buggy days, must give way to the new day of the mechanized world.

St. Louis, Missouri Argus

CONGRATULATIONS, SEPIA SOCIALITE

We are in receipt of a copy of the "Sepia Socialite," a weekly newspaper published in the interest of colored people at New Orleans, Louisiana, depicting seventy-eight years of the progress of Negroes in the Creole state. This issue carries 168 pages, with the cover pages highly colorful in that they are printed in our national colors—red, white and blue.

The contents of this edition were not only interesting, but highly informative, and knowing something about the work required to put out a publication of this sort, we cannot but again congratulate Leon Lewis and the Willises upon this unusual achievement.

Those who are interested in sepia Louisianans and their accomplishments, would do well to secure a copy of this edition.

Aside from the contents of this special edition and its far-reaching influence in the state, significant, we think, is a letter written by Alonzo B. Willis, editor, to the Lieutenant-Governor of the state of Louisiana. This letter accompanied a copy of this special edition of the Sepia Socialite. If the publication did no more than offer the striking opportunity to put over an important message to the governor of the state of Louisiana, it will not have been published in vain. The letter to Mr. Mouton, the Lieutenant-Governor of the state, was so pointed and told such an interesting story about the things which affect not only the Negroes in Louisiana but throughout the country, that we feel like reproducing this letter in our editorial columns so that it may be passed along to others, whom we believe, will be equally impressed with its far-reaching effect.

JUL 17 1942

THE LETTER

"The Honorable Marc Mouton
Lieutenant-Governor
State Capitol Bldg.
Baton Rouge, La.

Dear Sir:

Under separate cover we have mailed to those among you whom we consider the most liberal, a copy of our 5th Anniversary Edition, entitled "The Negro In Louisiana." Laboriously, we have tried to interpret and crystallize the aspirations, hopes and feelings of two-fifths of our state's citizenry; recording in a humble way, such evidences of our miraculous progress and contributions to the state's general welfare as we have made, under handicap, in the 78 years of our emancipation.

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So again we say to our brother editors and contemporaries, keep up the good work. The more hammers beating away on the walls of prejudice, the sooner those walls will fall.

48a-1942
Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Bishop Lauds Power Of National Negro Press

DEC 12 1942

MINDEN, La.—(ANP)—In an address delivered at the recent session of the Louisiana conference of the CME church, here, Bishop J. A. Hamlett described the rapid growth of the Negro press during the last decade and pointed out the commanding position and power it now occupies in the life of the race and nation.

"Next to the pulpit," said he, "the Negro press reaches and influences more people than any other single influence among the agencies employed in building for the common welfare of the people."

The speaker pointed out the encouragement that has come to Negro publishers in recent years by the response of the people of both races to press leadership in these matters that affect the life and relations between the races, especially in civic affairs. He mentioned many instances during the present world conflict which could be used as demonstrations of the influence and power of the Negro press.

DEC 12 1942

RECENT DEMONSTRATION

"A recent demonstration," said he, "was in the elections held in November when the Negro vote everywhere followed the leadership of the Negro press with but few exceptions.

The results in communities where there were Negro candidates so far as I have been able to canvas seem to indicate the following: one Negro elected to congress, 27 elected to seats in legislatures of 12 states, namely, William L. Dawson of Chicago where the Chicago Defender and Chicago Bee and other papers are publish

DEC 12 1942

"Those elected to seats in legislatures were Attorney Edward Kensville of St. Louis, home of the St. Louis Argus and others; Atty. William H. Towers of Kansas City, Kan. home of The Plaindealer; one Senator, Christopher C. Wimbish and five representatives, Corneal Davis, Ernest A. Gill, Fred J. Smith, Charles J. Jenkins, Col. William A. Warfield, all of Illinois, six representatives in Pennsylvania, the home of the Pittsburgh Courier and Philadelphia Tribune.

Homer Brown, John H. Bringerman, D. H. Haggard, Edwin D. Thompson, Thomas P. Tront and Louis Mintess; in New York, where we have such papers as the Amsterdam News and others, three were elected to the assembly, William T. Andrews, Daniel Burrows, Huland E. Jack.

In the state if Ohio led by the Cleveland Call and other wide-awake newspapers there were elected, Chester K. Gillespie, Sandy F. Ray and David Turpeau. In Indiana with papers like the Indianapolis Recorder and others three representatives emerged, Wilber H. Grant, Jessie L. Dickinson and James Hunter.

In California with papers like the California Eagle, Augustus S. Hawkins was selected to the assembly; in Kentucky that is well covered by the Louisville Leader, Charles W. Anderson was elected representative. In Wisconsin, Cleveland M. Colbert was elected; in Colorado where the Statesman is published, Earl W. Mann was elected representative; in Michigan with the wide-awake papers in Detroit augmented by others Charles C. Diggs was elected senator."

DEC 12 1942

THE NEWSPAPERS

The speaker pointed out that in all these communities the Negro voters and white fritnds had the vigorous leadership of Negro newspapers. The one notable exceptions to this general trend was observed and that was in Kansas City, Mo.; where according to the Kansas City Call "T. B. Watkins and L. Amasa Knox both were defeated by their white Democrat opponents."

48a-1942

afro-american
Baltimore, Maryland

Each week last month

MORE THAN 148,000 PERSONS

Who Live on the Atlantic Seaboard from Maine to Georgia Bought THE AFRO-AMERICAN

MAR 21 1942

Boys

HERE IS YOUR OPPORTUNITY!

YOU TOO *can earn money*

MAR 21 1942

Selling the AFRO in Your Community

Boys everywhere earn money selling the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers. Many boys earn as much as $12 weekly. Aside from money, these boys earn many beautiful prizes such as watches, sweaters, shirts, ties, skates, radios, and hundreds of other items that you will want.

DON'T DELAY—START NOW! EARN CASH, WIN PRIZES!

WRITE

CIRCULATION MANAGER

AFRO-AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS

628 N. Eutaw St. **Baltimore, Md.**

MARYLAND

Peoples Voice
New York, N. Y.

'Hope of Negro In Opinions'

RICHMOND, Va.—Declaring that "we have history, science and common sense on our side," Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, in an open letter to the **Afro-American** last week summed up his formula for solving race prejudice with the statement that "the one and only hope for Negroes is in a growing enlightened public opinion."

Unin's "Gloomy Dean's" letter was a sharp reply to the Afro-American's editorial of the previous week styling him as "timid" on the race question.

Dr. Hancock challenged the Afro-American to solve the race problem in Baltimore where jim-crowism, segregation and race prejudice prevail.

While praising radical Negroes like Dr. A. Clayton Powell jr, Dr. Marshall Shepard, A. Philip Randolph, Walter White and Raymond Alexander, Dr. Hancock asserted that they hadn't advised "the Negroes to go on a sit-down strike until all their wrongs are righted—forcing the issue."

For many years Dr. Hancock, who is widely known for his advocacy of the "double duty dollar" formula for improving the Negro's economic position in America, has focused public attention on the critical economic status of the Negro. On some occasions his analysis of the total situation facing the Negro has seemed to doom him to a hopeless condition.

White educators and leaders as well as Negro leaders in many instances have taken issue with Dr. Hancock insisting that his outlook was pessimistic and unrealistic. The Afro-American was particularly irked by his advice recently that Negroes not force the issue during the war but accept a half loaf instead of refusing any rights because they fail to secure all of them.

JUL 13 1942

MART

483-1942

Afro-American
Baltimore, Maryland

Press Not Welcome at Fort Bragg

Stewart's Articles Have Led to Many Camp Improvements

MAY 16 1942

FORT BRAGG, N.C.—Every person on this post in any official capacity has been given strict orders not to talk to newspaper men.

Soldiers were long since made cognizant of the probability of a tour in the guard house for saying anything—good, bad or indifferent—concerning the army and the way it is being run.

The war and the necessity of keeping secret such information as might give comfort to the enemy didn't cause all this. It played its part, but it didn't cause it all. Ollie Stewart's articles last year and several months ago had a lot to do with the present state of affairs on this post.

No Southern Hospitality

Most of the people and trainees in the colored cantonment areas are either Southerners or have been infested with the Southern mannerism of being particularly friendly. But if you want to be treated like a leper, just tell them, or have it told to them, that you are a newspaper man.

MAY 16 1942

Non-commissioned officers, hostesses, the few commissioned officers that are attached to medical units on the post and even the USO officials shy away from a reporter as though he were a member of the Gestapo. One feels like a saboteurist.

All Is Not Well

However the very looks in their eyes, the manner they have of drawing away in the middle of a sentence in which they were about to tell about a little scrap up in the so-and-so area betrays the fact that all is not well here.

Those of the post staff who were most affected by the wrath of post officials following Ollie Stewart's visit here are the most non-communicative. They will say, however, that conditions have been improved a great deal.

Camp Guard Lax

A commissioned officer attached to one of the station hospitals mentioned particularly instructions given in a recent meeting that no statements of any sort are to be given the press.

Despite this taboo on the press, the camp itself is far more lax than others where there are no restrictions on what can be said to the press. Although there are so many M.P.'s on duty at entrances to the post that one begins to wonder how many men are left to be trained to fight, it is an easy matter to get on the post.

MAY 16 1942

Cameras Everywhere

All that is required is that some form of identification be presented. At other camps, visitors must have passes to get on or off the reservation. Here, visitors are not searched for cameras. Several persons were seen on the post shooting pictures at random.

Nothing of military importance was in evidence—such as guns, or the like, but there were plenty cameras around if there should have been.

AFRO Blacklisted

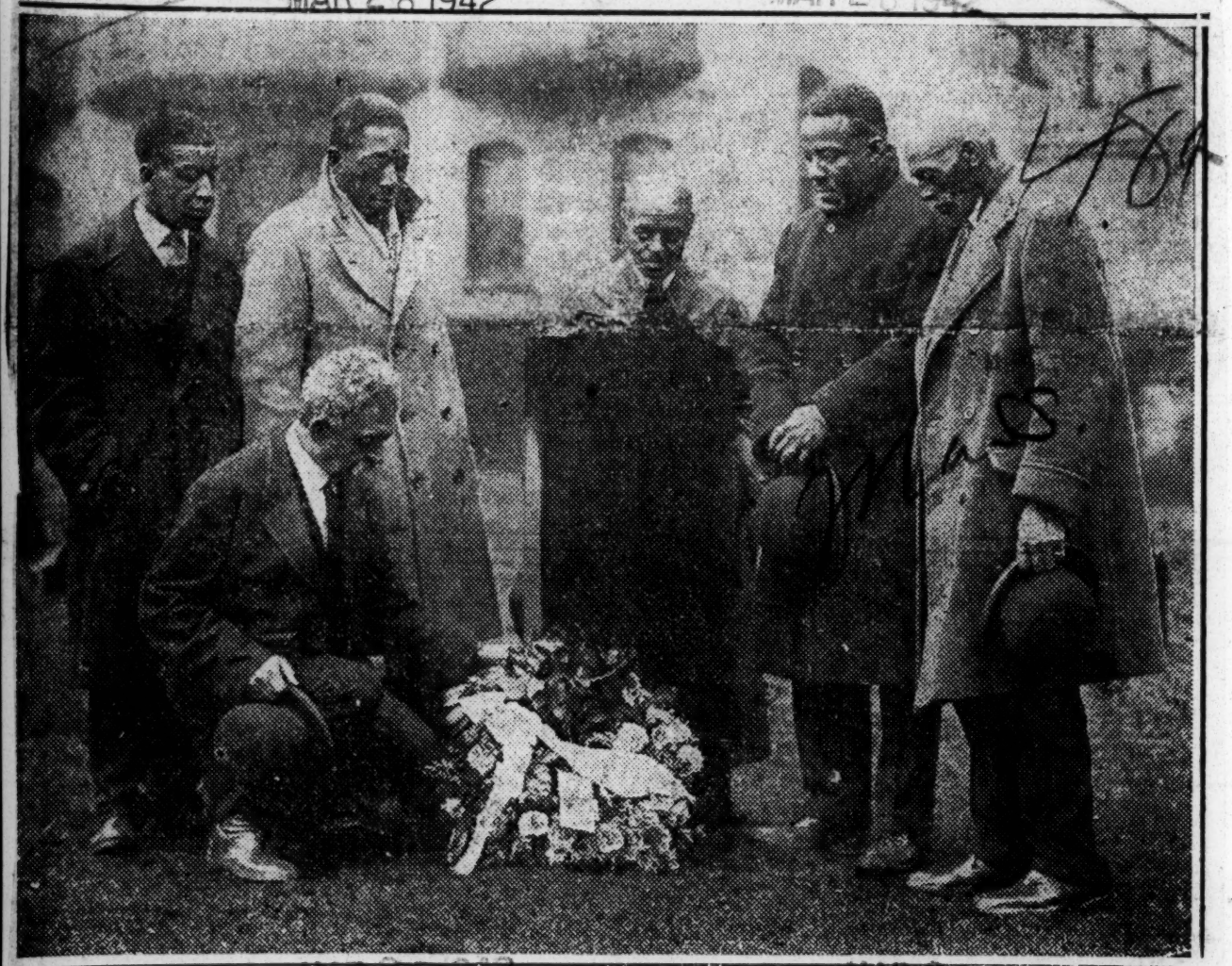
There are no copies of the AFRO on the paper racks in the Service Club. All other papers, most of them white dailies, are at the soldiers' finger tips.

A search revealed several old copies all prior to Stewart's last visit here, on the file racks in the club's library. Stewart's article had been clipped from the last AFRO in the library's files. One commissioned officer stated it is almost impossible to buy the paper in this vicinity.

Guardian
Boston, Mass.

AT GRAVE OF ATTUCKS

MAR 28 1942



MAR 28 1942

A scene at a past observance of the Boston Massacre. Here late Editor of The Guardian, W. Monroe Trotter, lays wreath at the grave of the patriots in the Granary Burying ground on Tremont St. Next Thursday the annual exercises will be held as usual.

Chicago Bee
Chicago, Illinois

Call Editor Sues Police Chief, $20,000

FEB 22 1942

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Feb. 19 —(ANP)—Suit was filed in Jackson county Circuit court here Thursday, Jan. 29, against Lear B. Reed, former chief of police, charging libel and asking $20,000 damages. The complainant is Chester A. Franklin, editor of the Kansas City Call, and other defendants named in the suit are the Western Baptist Publishing company and Joseph E. Brown, Frank C. White and Sylvester K. Lovell of the Brown-White- Lowell Press, who are publishers of the former G-man's recent book, "Human Wolves."

Specifically the suit charges that a chapter of the book entitled "The Cure of Communism" held the complainant to be disloyal, unpatriotic and un-American and an enemy to the democratic institutions and friendly to principles known as "communism."

Christian Recorder
Philadelphia, Pa.

THE ST. LOUIS CALL CEASES PUBLICATION

APR 1942

The St. Louis Call, local weekly newspaper, has failed for the third consecutive week to make its appearance on the streets of St. Louis.

At its plant and office, 111 No 16th Street, Monday the furniture had been removed and other material was being offered for sale.

Mrs. Genevieve N. Brown, owner, stated Wednesday that she had no plans for the future at this time but thought she would remain in St. Louis.

The Call has been published here for about seven years. At first it was owned by the Kansas City Call, or Chester A Franklin of Kansas City. But later, Mrs. Brown, a former Call employee, became the owner with Chester E. Stovall as editor.

—The Argus

Argus
St. Louis, Missouri

Whirl Editor Fined $1000

FEB 13 1942

A jury in the Court of Criminal Correction over which Judge Griffin presides found Ben Thomas, editor of the Whirl, guilty of a charge of criminal libel and assessed a maximum fine of $1,000 against the publisher.

FEB 13 1942

Thomas was charged in an indictment of libeling Father Reinelt, pastor of St. Nicholas Catholic Church because of an article which appeared in the Whirl about December 4 which told about an irate husband, having assaulted the priest because the latter had paid his wife's electric bill. In connection with the story, however, there appeared a poem which Thomas admitted he had written, that further aggravted the news item.

Several witnesses appeared in behalf of the priest, while only one witness, Rev. William Henry Harris, pastor of Greater Calvary Baptist Church in the 3600 block on Finney avenue, appeared in behalf of the publisher. Attorneys for the defendant say they will appeal the case and have already filed a motion for new trial which will be heard March 13.

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

Newspaper Week Starts March 1

FEB 3 - 1942

The fourth annual observance of National Negro Newspaper Week and the celebration of the One Hundred Fifteenth Anniversary of the American Negro Press has been set for March 1-7, it was revealed here this week by Moss Hyles Kendrix, Director of the Week.

"Each year for the past three years," stated Mr. Kendrix, in announcing the coming observance, "the Negro journalists of America have attempted through this project to familiarize the nation with the accomplishments and possibilities of the Negro press and the contributions made by it to American life. Today, these men and women with their publications stand shoulder to shoulder in support of America's effort to avenge the terrible crime which has been committed against this nation. As this nation executes its war, its Negro newspapers will exhaust their every resource to assure the American public that it shall not forget Pearl Harbor." The theme of the Week is to be "The Negro press and America's War Effort.

Negro newspapers of the nation urge Negro schools and colleges and agencies and organizations interested in the welfare and progress of the Negro to cooperate with them in this nationwide observance. Further information regarding a number of features to be promoted in connection with the week will be released through the press as the date of observance approaches.

FEB 3 - 1942

The Week is sponsored by the Delta Phi Delta Journalistic Association and the Negro Newspapers of America. It is promoted by a national advisory council composed of a group of the nation's leading Negro journalists and a director supported by a small staff.

Chicago Bee
Chicago, Illinois

Announce The Newspaper Week

JAN 25 1942

ATLANTA, Ga., Jan. 22—(ANP)—The fourth annual observance of National Negro Newspaper Week and the celebration of the 115th anniversary of the American Negro press have been set for March 1-7, it was revealed here this week by Moss Hyles Kendrix, director of the week.

"Each year for the past three years," stated Mr. Kendrix, in announcing the coming observance, "The Negro journalists of America have attempted through this project to familiarize the nation with the accomplishments and possibilities of the Negro press and the contributions made by it to American life. Today, these men and women with their publications stand shoulder to shoulder in support of America's effort to avenge the terrible crime which has been committed against this nation. As this nation executes its war, its Negro newspapers will exhaust their every resource to assure the American public that it shall not forget Pearl Harbor." The theme of the Week is to be "The Negro Press and America's War Effort."

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Amsterdam News
New York, N. Y.

'Press, War,' Mark Birthday Of Race Papers

FEB 28 19

Radio Addresses By Prattis and Barnett Highlight Observance

ATLANTA, Ga.—"The Colored Press and America's War Effort" is the theme of the fourth annual National Colored Newspaper Week and the celebration commemorating the One Hundred and Fifteenth Anniversary of the Colored Press, to be observed March 1-7, as sponsored by the Colored Newspapers of America and the Delta Phi Delta Journalistic Association.

On Sunday, March 1, two radio addresses will mark the beginning of the week's activities. At 10:30 A. M., E. W. T., P. L. Prattis, executive editor of the Pittsburgh Courier will discuss "The Press and America's War Effort' as guest speaker on the celebrated "Wings Over Jordan" program. This broadcast will originate from Jacksonville, Fla., through the facilities of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

FEB 28 1942

Also developing the theme of the observance, Moss Hyles Kendrix, director of the week, will appear as guest speaker on the "Chariot Wheels" program, which is heard during the period 4:30-5 P. M. each Sunday from Station WSB in Atlanta, Ga.

A third radio program entitled "Victory Pledges of the Press" is scheduled from Chicago over CBS, Saturday evening, March 7, 10:15-10:30 E. W. T. Claude A. Barnett, director, the Associated Press, is to be the principal speaker on this broadcast.

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

OBSERVANCE OF PRESS WEEK IN AIR PROGRAM

MAR 7 - 1942

4th Annual Observance Featured On Radio By Prominent Scribes

ATLANTA, Ga.—(ANP) — Radio addresses by Percival Prattis, executive editor of the Pittsburgh Courier; Claude Barnett, director of the Associated Negro Press, and Moss Myles Kendrix, director of National Negro Newspaper week, feature the fourth annual observance of the week which began Sunday and concludes Saturday, March 7.

The observance, in which all papers throughout the nation participate, had as its first speaker, Prattis who talked Sunday over the CBS "Wings Over Jordan" program.

Stressing the loyalty of the race to America and the war effort, Prattis declared the Negro faces a dual responsibility in that he must not only fight the enemy abroad but must constantly fight the foes of democracy here at home. In the vanguard is the Negro press.

"From the far-off, distant hills of conflict, we hear voices calling, faint now, but growing louder," said Prattis. "They are the voices of those true Americans who call for all Americans to unite for the task ahead and to join them in Macedonia.

MAR 7 - 1942

"The Negro press hears those voices. It shall continue to assail the ancient evils at home to the end that American Negroes may fully participate in all America's war effort and that they may be among those first to raise and wave the flag of victory."

The radio talk of Kendrix was also aired Sunday by Mr. Kendrix over a local raido station. Calling attention to the theme of the 1942 observance, "The Negro Press and America's War Effort," the director of the week gave a brief history of the nation's colored publications the problems of fighting for victory both against the Axis and the foes of Negro progress within the nation, and concluded:

"When we have beaten the enemy to his knees, as this we shall, and America turns it attention toward the building of a great post war society free of the ills which dominate the civilized world, the Negro press will be on hand working for those things which shall spell progress for America, working for those things which must spell progress for America's Negro population."

The address by Barnett will be broadcast over a nationwide CBS hookup from 10:15 to 10:30, eastern war time, Saturday evening. Also taking part in this program, which will terminate Newspaper week observance, will be the Baltimore Afro-American. Columbia Broadcasting system is donating the time and facilities as a contribution to the observance.

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

Barnett Tells Of Negro Press

MAR 8 - 1942

CHICAGO—(SNS)—The job Negro newspapers are doing to aid the war effort was detailed to the nation Saturday night by Claude A. Barnett, director of the Associated Negro Press, in an address carried by the Columbia Broadcasting System.

The address climaxed the fourth annual observance of National Negro Newspaper Week, of which Moss Hyles Kendrix of Atlanta is director.

The chief duty of the Negro press, Mr. Barnett explained has been to "keep the record straight." The speaker cited how white newspapers and historians have failed to record the exploits of black fighting men.

MAR 8 - 1942

The position of Negro editors in demanding full and equal integration of all Americans in the war effort was also explained by the speaker, who contended that editors of Negro newspapers have led all others in "voicing a strong plea for tolerance and understanding, knowing full well that vicious

Mr. Barnett was introduced by the William I. Gibson of Baltimore, who asserted that "Negro newspapers are dedicated to keeping alive the flame of democracy in the world. He revealed that there are at present 210 Negro newspapers published throughout the nation "wielding a tremendous influence on the trend of world events."

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

Press And War Effort Theme Of National Negro Newspaper Week

FEB 22 1942

"The Negro Press and America's War Effort" is the theme of the fourth annual National Negro Newspaper Week and the celebration commemorating the One Hundred Fifteenth Anniversary of the Negro Press, to be observed March 1-7, as sponsored by the Negro Newspapers of America and the Delta Phi Delta Journalistic Association.

Included in the program for this national observance are listed several features of an informative nature designed to enlighten the nation regarding the attitude of the Negro Press toward its role in the present crisis.

Negro churches, schools, colleges and agencies and organizations interested in the welfare of the Negro have been invited to participate in the promotion of the Week.

On Sunday, March 1, two radio addresses will mark the beginning of the Week's activities. At 10:30 a .m., EST., P. L. Prattis, executive editor of the Pittsburgh Courier will discuss "The Negro Press and America's War Effort" as guest speaker on the celebrated "Wings Over Jordan" program. This broadcast will originate from Jacksonville, Florida through the facilities of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

FEB 22 1942

Also developing the theme of the observance, Moss Hyles Kendrix, director of the Week, will appear as guest speaker on the "Chariot Wheels" program, which is heard during the period 4:30 to 5:00 p. m. each Sunday from Station WSB in Atlanta, Georgia. Although not a network feature, "Chariot Wheels" is heard in approximately thirty states. This program originates from the banquet room of the Savoy Hotel on Atlanta's historic Auburn Avenue.

A third radio program entitled "Victory Pledges of the Negro Press" is scheduled from Chicago over CBS, Saturday evening March 7, 10:15 to 10:30 EST. Claude A. Barnett, director, the Associated Negro Press, is to be the principal sepaker on this broadcast.

TO HOLD RALLIES

In conjunction with the Week Negro newspapers of the nation have been invited to participate in a group meetings call of "Victory Rallies" to be held in several cities of the nation. In these meetings emphasis will be placed upon the theme of the Week which will include the discussion of such currently significant topics as civilian defense, buying of defense bonds and stamps and other matters essential to the execution of the war.

FEB 22 1942

Several churches, schools and colleges have indicated that they will observe the Week by promoting programs in keeping with the Week's theme and objectives. In a number of colleges, convocations have already been planned upon which occasions, leading Negro journalists will speak to the student bodies.

This observance had its inception four years ago as Bigger and Better Negro Newspaper Week. Throughout the existence of the project, its purposes have been identified with the aim expressed by its original name. Further objectives of the promotion included the familiarizing of America with the achievements and possibilities of the Negro press and the contributions made by it to American life since the first Negro newspaper appeared in March, 1827.

National Negro Newspaper Week is under the direction of National Advisory Committee, comprised of several of the Nation's most prominent journalists. Its director is Moss Hyles Kendrix of Atlanta, who has directed the Week since its inception.

FEB 22 1942

Newspapermen To Be Heard On Two Coast-To-Coast Broadcasts

National Negro Newspaper Week

Houston Defender
Houston Tex.

By WILLIAM HENRY HUFF

for ANP

MAR 7 - 1942

I believe I was the first person in the country to publicly advocate observance of a week to be known as National Negro Newspaper Week. Several years ago after due consideration of the many blessed advancements that had come to the race as a consequence of the continued plugging away of its press, I reached the conclusion that something should be done in commemoration f the saving grace while the breath of life was still within it. In other words, I advocated the giving of the Negro press a bouquet of flowers while the Negro press can feel and smell them.

I recalled the first Negro newspaper I had ever seen, the second, the third, the fourth, fifth and the sixth. After a hard day of plowing on old plug of a mule in Oglethrope county, Ga., and broken down from having been on the go from long before sun-up until long after sundown, I found a copy of the ''Star of Zion'' on the country parson's table. I was then, of course, big enough but not old enough to plow,and yet this was the first time I knew there was such a thing as a Negro newspaper! I read that paper all night long—over and over again. In it I found, by reference, that there were other Negro papers for which I begged sample copies.

MAR 7 - 1942

The second Nego paper I saw was the ''Athens Clipper,'' published by one Samuel Davis just 20 odd miles from where I was born. The third was the ''Georgia Baptist,'' published by the venerable Rev. William J. White. The fourth was the ''Atlanta Age.'' The fifth was the ''Atlanta Independent,'' published by the militant Benjamin Jefferson Davis, Sa., and the sixth was the ''Boston Guardian,'' ppblished by that militant but true philosopher William Monroe Trotter.

Early Negro Papers

I can trace the chronology no further for, after I left the red hills of Oglethrope county, for the more pleasant atmosphere of Greensboro, Ga., seeking a high school education which my native county di dnot afford, I ran into a veritable nest of Negro newspapers from all over the land. And did I live in them. You bet I did.

MAR 7 - 1942

In those days the Negro newspaper vied with each other, it seems, in sending copies to the various schools. I still believe this to be a good practice. Many of the men and women of today can trace their first knowledge of many of our leading periodicals to having had a first glance of it in the high school library. Accordingly, when I suggested the advisability of observing a National Negro Newspaper Week, I suggested also that as many of the papers as possible send back numbers to the backwoods schools in backwoods communities where Negro newspapers seldom go. I thought then, and I think now. that such procedure would bring rich returns both to the papers and to those who must carry on in future years.

MAR 7 - 1942

Only a couple of years ago, I was shocked to find another laxity in reference to the proper interest of the Negro press. I was digging into the history of certain Negro activities in big Chicago, which naturally led me to the big libraries and to the Chicago Historical society. In none of these places did I find a single volume of a single Negro publication! But we yell about being left out of history. Why not put our history where it can be found by those who write history? The Chicago Historical society had a few, precious few, copies of the ''Chicago Whip.'' Not a single copy of ''The Conservator,'' not a single copy of the ''Defender,'' nor of the ''Plaindealer.'' which was well edited, not of the ''Bee'' nor ''World'' could be found. These conditions should not obtain. These agencies should be persuaded to subscribe and keep on record copies of these periodicals as they constitute the permanent history of a great race.

MAR 7 - 1942

Suggest Crusade In Libraries

Not only in Chicago should this crusade be made, but in New York, Cleveland, Detroit, Washington, Boston, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and every city, state, town and village of the nation! The first Negro directory of the city of Chicago, which is but a small pamphlet and insignificant in appearance, recently was sold by Nedwick's Book store to the University of Chicago for $25! What would complete volumes of the ''Conservator,'' or ''Defender'' bring? What would complete volumes of the ''New York Age,'' as edited by T. Thomas Fortune, bring? These are some little things to think about.

MAR 7 - 1942

In writing the real history of the Negro race, Carter G. Woodson, Herbert Aptheker, and others now writing, as well as those who must follow them, should be able to look over volumes of Negro newspapers which are, indeed, the only papers that give editorial justice to the race

Raleigh, N. C. News & Observer
March 2, 1942

NEGROES OBSERVE NEWSPAPER WEEK

More Than 150 Papers Join in Program Sponsored Locally by Civic Club

Yesterday marked the beginning of National Negro Newspaper Week, which ends Sunday. It has as its theme "The Negro Press and America's War Effort."

Throughout the country more than 150 Negro newspapers are joining in this effort to bring to the attention of the American public the increasing importance of the Negro newspaper as molder of public opinion and a potent factor in American life.

Speeches, radio broadcasts, forums, panel discussions, and exhibits are being used in the program. Locally, the program is being sponsored by the Young Citizens Civic and Political Club which has completed plans for a broadcast, exhibits at the college libraries and the Richard B. Harrison Library, and programs at the various schools during the week.

Editor Makes Address.

R. L. Prattis, executive editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, was heard yesterday morning in an address on the "Wings Over Jordan," program over the Columbia Broadcasting Company. Claude A. Barnett, director of the Associated Negro Press, will speak Saturday evening over the Columbia system.

The origin of the Negro press dates back 115 years to the first issue of Freedom's Journal, published by Frederick Douglass. Since that time, numerous other publications have been founded and today the boast is of a combined circulation of 1,300,000 copies per week.

Less than one fourth of these newspapers have the bulk of this circulation with at least two having up to 250,000 paid circulation.

The greatest strides in the growth of the Negro press have been made since the first World War which gave the Negro keener appreciation for his stake in the future of this democracy. During the same period educational opportunities for the race became more universal with larger numbers attending schools and colleges and consequently developing a wider interest in the affairs of his race.

Greater Interest.

The Negro also began to take an active part in politics, develop his businesses and improve his economic status. These factors made for more race pride and a greater interest in the news of his race which is adequately portrayed only in his own newspapers.

A successful daily is published in Atlanta, Ga.

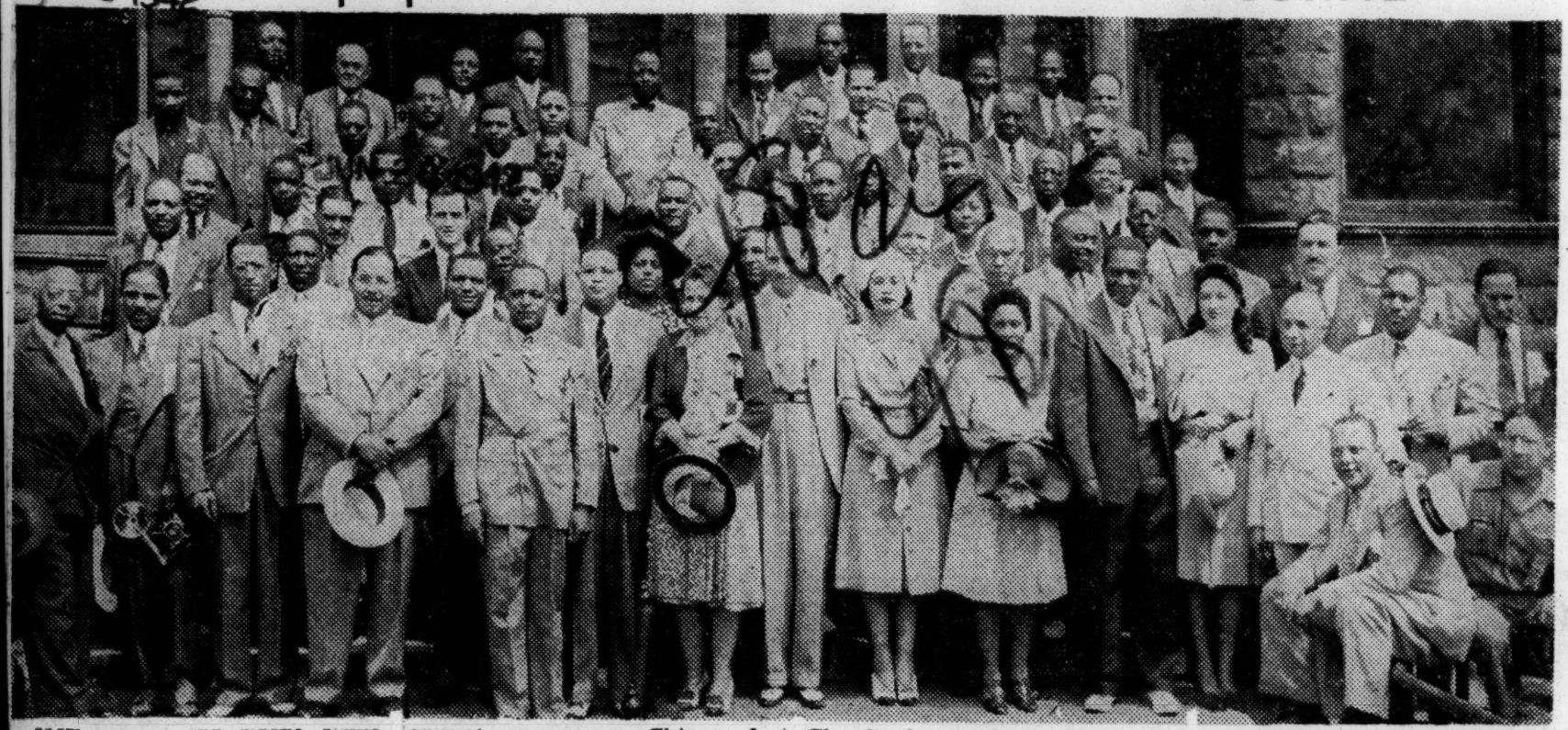
Negro newspapers provide full-up and editorial efficiency to the larger papers.

This equipment is of the very latest design in the labors compares in mechanical make-time employment for 6,000 persons metropolitan newspapers. Negroes in all departments of newspaper In physical equipment invested. production and the product of their have more than $5,000,000

48a-1942
Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

NEGRO NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS' ASSOCIATION

Newspaper Publishers in Annual Meetina



Members of the Negro Newspaper Publishers' Association who recently attended two-day annual session in Chicago last week. Sixth from the left in front row is William O. Walker of Cleveland, president. To his immediate left are Louis E. Martin, Detroit, Midwestern vice-president; Mrs. Jessie L. Vann, Pittsburgh, Eastern vice-president, and T. W. Young Norfolk, sec.-treas.

Chicago Bee
Chicago, Illinois

PUBLISHERS TO CONTROL ANP NEWS SERVICE

Pledge Loyalty to United States

Members of the Negro Newspaper Publishers' Association dedicated their newspapers to the perservation of freedom and democracy for the world and pledged their unequivocal loyalty to the United States and to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Saturday in a resolution adopted unanimously by 59 delegates attending the third annual conference.

Twenty-six papers from as far away as Houston, Tampa, and Omaha were represented in the two-day discussions. Biggest single project to be undertaken by the group is the absorption of the Associated Negro Press, a hitherto privately-owned and controlled national news gathering organization, and operation of it in the future by the Publishers' Association through a board of five directors.

The plan for taking over the news service was worked out with Claude A. Barnett, director of ANP and approved by the conference. Under the new set-up only members of the publishers group will be eligible to subscribe to the service. The cost has been pro-rated among the members on the basis of circulation. A thorough revamping of news and feature services furnished by the ANP has been ordered, and intensified coverage will be started.

The delegates unanimously returned to office the president, William O. Walker, publisher of the Cleveland Call Post, and secretary-treasurer, Thomas W. Young, business manager of the Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va. It also elected four vice-presidents, Mrs. Robert L. Vann, treasurer of the Pittsburgh Courier; C. A. Scott, general manager of the Atlanta Daily World; Louis E. Martin, editor of the Michigan Chronicle, Detroit, and C. C. Dejoie, editor of the Louisiana Weekly. They will serve respectively in the eastern, southern, central and western regions.

Members of the executive committee, in addition to the officers, are John H. Sengstacke, president of the Chicago Defender; Frank L. Stanley, general manager of the Louisville Defender, and Miss Olive Diggs, editor of the Chicago Bee.

Young and Martin will serve their third consecutive terms while Walker, Mrs. Vann and Sengstacke was first president of the association, and Stanley served two years as southern vice-president.

Directors of the new news service organization are Ira F. Lewis, president of the Pittsburgh Courier; Howard H. Murphy, business manager of the Baltimore Afro-American; John H. Sengstacke; E. D. Goodwin, manager of the Tulsa Oklahoma Eagle and C. A. Scott.

The conference unanimously adopted the resolution pledging support of the nation's war effort. The full text follows:

"Be it resolved: That the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association is unequivocal in its loyalty to the United States and to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who is charting our national course in this hour of crisis. Freedom and democracy must be saved for the world. The spirit of the Constitution, especially the Bill of Rights, is an inheritance which we must pass on to future generations. To that course we dedicate our newspapers.

"The importance of the Negro Press in developing and maintaining our nation's morale needs to be recognized. In that effort our best aid is the extension of opportunities by government and industry to our people, and the financial support of those businesses who share with us their advertising.

"We extend to those newspapers, magazine columnists and radio commentators, who represent the practical democracy now gaining force in this country, sincere appreciation for their efforts in our behalf."

The conference also endorsed the crusade for establishment of a volunteer interracial army division as a forerunner to complete integration of Negroes into all the armed forces of the nation upon a basis of equality. This was one of eight recommendations made in the president's annual address and adopted by the publishers.

Others included taking over sponsorship of National Negro Newspaper Week, an observance instituted by Delta Phi Delta, honorary journalistic fraternity and directed for the past several years by Moss Hyles Kendrix. The new sponsorship, however, will retain Kendrix and his staff to direct the observance.

Critical need for trained journalists and newspaper printers was given as the reason for approval of negotiations to be begun with several large Negro colleges for training courses in journalism and newspaper mechanical operations.

A committee to make a continuing study of advertising copy appearing in Negro newspapers, and to recommend to member papers elimination of that copy deemed undesirable. This step grew out of a panel discussion of "objectionable advertising" announced on the program for the convention on March 1.

Among the speakers heard at the sessions were Marshall Field, publisher of the Chicago Sun and the newspaper PM, New York; Douglass C. McMutrie of the Ludlow Typograph company; W. W. Warfield of the Chemco Photoproducts company, and Claude A. Barnett, director of the Associated Negro Press.

In introducing Mr. Field at the luncheon meeting, Mrs. Robert L. Vann, who presided, said "Mr. Field himself symbolizes a departure from the thinking of many of our men of wealth. . . . He is publisher of two of the most socially-minded papers in our two largest cities. . . ."

"I believe that (Archibald) MacLeish's wise doctrine of antisepsis—of killing the lie germs before they develop into social diseases—may not be enough. I

Kansas City Call
Kansas City, Mo.

believe that the press of America must take its place amongst the leaders in this struggle for survival, and fight aggressively, militantly for the principles we all believe in," Mr. Field declared.

"One battle that all editors who believe in democracy must fight is the battle for respect for civil liberty," the speaker added. "Selfish men would take advantage of this crisis to restrict civil liberties, not to make our war effort stronger, but to serve their selfish ends. But if this effort were not JUN 1 1942 be tempered with common sense, you might find yourselves fighting for the right of an enemy agent to spread sedition, obviously an absurdity.

"I hate the indignities which are put upon you and the injustices with which you have to contend," Mr. Field declared. "But still it seems to me that in your press you could fight these things better, more effectively, by enlarging it to include not only the sufferings of your own people, but to include as well the injustices done your fellow Americans whose skin is a different color than your own, other Americans who also suffer from man's inhumanity to man. Don't feel less intensely about the ills from which your own people suffer. But do feel more intensely about the ills from which the rest of us suffer, too."

Delegates registered for the conference were: C. Joseph McLin and L. Monroe Harris of the Dayton, Ohio, Daily Bulletin; Howard H. Murphy of the Baltimore Afro-American; William O. Walker, Eugene Ivey, Harry Alexander and Charles H. Loeb of the Cleveland Call and Post; Frank H. Stanley and John Benjamin Horton of the Louisville Defender; Thomas W. Young of the Norfolk Journal and Guide;

Louis E. Martin and C. E. Jackson of the Michigan Chronicle, Detroit; Anthony Overton, Ulysses S. Keys, F. T. Lane, Olive M. Diggs and Fred Scott of the Chicago Bee; Rev. and Mrs. M. D. Potter of the Tampa, Fla., Bulletin; Ira F. Lewis, Mrs. Robert L. Vann, William G. Nunn, Earl V. Hord, A. N. Fields and Mrs. Ira F. Lewis of the Pittsburgh Courier; Carter W. Wesley, Joseph B. Carper, C. W. Cubia and Gladys E. Powers of the Houston Informer;

J. E. Mitchell and Irving A. Williamson of the St. Louis Argus; Llewellyn A. Coles and Luther R. White of the Ohio State News; Alvin D. Smith of the Butler County American; Bishop J. A. Hamlett of the Kansas City, Kas., Plaindealer; John H. Sengstacke, Frank A. Young, and L. M. Quinn of the Chicago Defender; C. H. Jones and A. G. Shields of the Arkansas World; C. A. Scott, C. W. Mackay, J. R. Simmons and W. A. Scott III of the Atlanta Daily World;

C. A. Franklin and Dowdal H. Davis of the Kansas City Call; A. B. Whitlock of the Gary American; H. S. Hughes, E. D. Goodwin, Lucius Jones and Miss Bernezetta Littles of the Oklahoma Eagle, Tulsa; Jacob R. Tipper of the Chicago World; Alexander Barnes of the Washington Tribune; C. C. Dejoie and S. Elliston of the Louisiana Weekly, New Orleans; S. Edward Gilbert and Mrs. Gilbert of the Omaha Star; Carter Wesley of the Dallas Express, and Lewis O. Swingler of the Memphis World.

Newspaper Publishers Discuss Problems of War-Time at Chicago

War Department and OFF Officials, Marshall Field, Ludlow Official Among Speakers at Convention

JUN 12 1942

CHICAGO. — More than 60 delegates from 30 newspapers and 40 visitors attended the third annual conference of the Negro Newspaper Publishers association Friday and Saturday, June 5 and 6, at the Wabash Avenue Y.M.C.A.

War-time problems of news gathering, advertising, typography, engraving, circulation and of mechanical departments were discussed.

Lewis O. Swingler of the Memphis World and Charles H. Loeb of the Cleveland Call and Post led the discussion on the Problems of News Gathering Friday afternoon with Frank L. Stanley of Louisville, vice president, presiding.

Sub-topics discussed included "How can we better cover important news events?" "Are we ready for syndicate news and features?" "Do we depend too much on press releases?" and "War news and pictures."

Washingtonians Present

Three Washington officials present for the discussions were T. K. Gibson and Lt. Col. David P. Page of the war department and William Alexander of the Office of Facts and Figures.

JUN 2 1942

Claude A. Barnett, director of the Associated Negro Press, stated plans for the future direction of the ANP.

Douglass C. McMurtrie of the Ludlow Typograph company and W. W. Warfield of the Chemco Photoproducts company spoke at a dinner meeting Friday. Mr. McMurtrie talked on "The Importance of Typography on a Modern Paper" and Mr. Warfield on "The Importance of Good Engravings and How They Can Be Obtained." John H. Sengstack of the Chicago Defender spoke.

Problems of the mechanical department were discussed Saturday morning with Louis E. Martin of the Michigan Chronicle presiding. Topic leaders were William Mck Murray, mechanical superintendent of the Defender, and W. A. Scott, general manager of the Scott Newspaper Syndicate.

W. T. Goss of the Goss Printing Press company spoke on "What Effect the War Will Have on the Mechanical Department."

At a luncheon Saturday with Mrs. R. L. Vann of the Pittsburgh Courier presiding. Marshall Field, publisher of the Chicago Sun and the New York PM, spoke on "The Obligations of the Public Press in a Changing World."

World Widen Aspect

JUN 2 1942

He said that Negro papers should not confine their efforts to correcting conditions among Negroes but should include other underprivileged groups, thereby gaining in influence and effect.

"Advertising, Local and National" was the subject of the Saturday afternoon session with Carter W. Wesley of the Houston Informer presiding. Topic leaders were Ira Lewis of the Courier, Howard Murphy of the Afro-American and C. A. Franklin of The Call.

Sub-topics discussed were "Why Are We Not Getting the Big National Accounts?" "Is Quack Medicine, Numbers, Good Luck Charms, etc., Type of Ads Hurting Us?" "How Can We Increase Local Lineage" and "Should We Establish Our Own Cooperative Agency?"

Harry Alexander of the Cleveland Post led the discussion on "Circulation" with Thomas W. Young giving the summary and recommendations.

Roy Wilkins, editor of The Crisis and assistant NAACP secretary, made a short report on the opening of the NAACP office in Washington.

Dowdal H. Davis, advertising manager of The Call, gave a summary and recommendations and made the report of a special committee on advertising which prepared an advertising survey which was displayed for the first time at the convention. The delegates voted to continue the advertising program next year with Davis as the chairman. Other members of the committee are Irving Williamson of the St. Louis Argus, Earl V. Hord of the Courier and Frank Stanley of the Louisville Defender.

Walker Reelected

JUN 12 1942

William O. Walker of Cleveland was re-elected president of the association and Thomas W. Young of the Norfolk Journal and Guide was re-elected secretary-treasurer.

C. C. DeJoie of the Louisiana Weekly was elected South-western vice-president succeeding Carter Wesley of the Houston Informer. C. A. Scott of the Atlanta Daily World was elected Southern vice-president succeeding Frank Stanley of Louisville.

Louis E. Martin of the Michigan Chronicle was re-elected central vice-president and Mrs. Jesse L. Vann of the Courier was re-elected eastern vice-president.

Members of the executive committee are John H. Sengstacke, Olive Diggs of the Chicago Bee and Frank Stanley of the Louisville Defender.

Mr. Walker made his annual address at a luncheon Friday with Carter W. Wesley prsiding.

Newspapers represented were the Pittsburgh Courier, Chicago Defender, Norfolk Journal and Guide, Kansas City Call, Afro-American, Houston Informer, Dallas Express, Cleveland Call-Post, Chicago Bee, Chicago Word, St. Louis Argus, Washington Tribune, Ohio State Journal, Tampa Bulletin, Kansas City (Kas.) Plaindealer, Gary American, Omaha Guide, Dayton Daily Bulletin, Atlanta Daily World, Memphis World, Arkansas World, Louisville Defender, Michigan Chronicle, Oklahoma Eagle, Louisiana Weekly, People's Voice, the Daily Worker, the Negro Printer and Publisher.

Representatives of other publications and services were Roy Wilkins, editor The Crisis; Claude A. Barnett, director ANP; Advertising Age, Interstate United Newspapers by Ray Peck and William G. Black Dudley Luck and Billboard Jackson, representing oil companies, and Mrs. Thelma Berlack-Boozer, acting director of the Lincoln university school of journalism, also were present.

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

Scott Syndicate Sends Seven To Publishers' Association

Four Representatives From Atlanta World Enroute to Chi

JUN 4 - 1942

With four representatives leaving from the Atlanta Daily WORLD, two from the Memphis World and one from the Birmingham World, the Scott Newspaper Syndicate is expected to have the largest delegation of any chain of newspapers when the third annual conference of the ~~Negro~~ Newspaper Publishers Association opens at Chicago Friday morning, June 5.

The Atlanta Daily WORLD representatives left the city by motor early Thursday morning and are scheduled to reach Chicago sometime before midnight. In the party were C. A. Scott, general manager, who is scheduled to address the conference. Cliff Mackay, managing editor; J. Russell Simmons, advertising representative; W. A. Scott III and Moss Hyles Kendrix, who has served for four consecutive years as sponsor of "Bigger and Better Negro Newspaper Week."

Representing the Memphis World at the conference will be L. O. Swingler, managing editor, and A. G. Shields, advertising manager. Emory O. Jackson, executive editor, will represent the Birmingham World.

Meantime editors and publishers from the majority of the nation's 406 Negro journals were headed toward Chicago, it was disclosed Wednesday in a communication from Thomas W. Young of the Journal and Guide, Norfolk, who is secretary-treasurer of the association.

The session has been described as the most crucial meeting ever held by Negro editors and publishers.

PANEL TOPICS

JUN 4 - 1942

The organization was started in March, 1940 at Chicago. The second conference also was held in Chicago in March, 1941, at which time the group decided to change the meeting to one of the summer months. Membership of the association includes all the first ten largest papers and scores of other publications.

Among the subjects to be discussed in panels are "The problems of News Gathering," "Problems of the Mechanical Department," "Advertising, Local and National," and "Circulation."

Other sessions will hear talks on typography by Douglass C. McMurtrie of the Ludlow Typograph Company, on photoengraving by W. W. Warfield of Chemco Protoproducts Company, on mechanical problems arising from war conditions by W. T. Goss of the Goss Printing Press Company, and on the obligations of the public press in a changing world by Marshall Field, publisher of the Chicago Sun and New York PM.

JUN 4 1942

GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES

All sessions will be held at the Wabash Avenue Y. M. C. A. Other officers of the association in addition to Mr. Walker are Thomas W. Young, business manager of the Norfolk Journal and Guide, secretary-treasurer; Carter W. Wesley, general manager of the Houston Informer, western vice-president; Frank L. Stanley, general manager of the Louisville Defender, southern vice-president; Louis E. Martin, editor of the Detroit Chronicle, midwestern vice-president, and Mrs. Robert L. Vann, treasurer of the Pittsburgh Courier, eastern vice-president.

The executive committee is composed of John H. Sengstacke, president of the Chicago Defender; D. Arnett Murphy, advertising manager of the Balti-Afro American, and Dowdal H. Davis, advertising manager of the Kansas City Call.

Besides the scheduled speakers, the president announced at Cleveland last week, government representatives from the Office of Censorship, the Office of the Assistant Secretary of War, and the Office of Facts and Figures will be present for consultations and discussions.

The Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.

Publishers Aim To Improve Nat'l News Coverage

JUN 8 1942

C. A. Scott, Marshall Field Among Speakers

CHICAGO—(SNS)—Negro newspapers were called upon Saturday by Marshall Field, millionaire publisher of the Liberal PM and Chicago Sun, dailies, to broaden the sphere of their crusade to include the elimination of discriminations not only against members of their own particular racial group, but human injustices everywhere.

The address, delivered at the luncheon session climaxed the busy two-day annual session of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association at the Wabash YMCA here. More than 150 persons, representing thirty publications, were present.

JUN 8 1942

The association in resolutions drawn up by C. A. Franklin, Kansas City Call; Cliff McKay, Atlanta World; William G. Nunn, Pittsburgh Courier; C. C. DeJoie, Louisiana Weekly and C. H. Jones, Arkansas World, went on record as firmly pledging its support to the war effort.

The resolutions read: Be it resolved that the Negro Newspaper Publishers' Association is unequivocal in its loyalty to the United States and to President Roosevelt, who is charting our national course in this hour of crisis. Freedom and democracy must be saved for the world. The spirit of the constitution, especially the Bill of Rights is an inheritance which we must pass on to our future generations. To that cause we dedicate our newspapers.

JUN 8 1942

Interpreted as an appeal for the same sort of institutional advertising being given white publications, the resolutions continued: The importance of the Negro Press in developing and maintaining our nation's morale needs to be recognized.

PRAISE GIVEN

In that effort our best aid is the extension of opportunities by government and industry to our people, and the financial support of those businesses who share with us their advertising.

Praise was given the liberal position being taken by so many leading magazines and newspapers in the matter of the Negro's fight for democracy and the resolutions voiced a "sincere appreciation" on the part of the publishers for these efforts.

Extensive plans were laid for the improvement of national coverage through the Associated Negro Press. Under the plan the ANP would be placed under the sponship of the Association and a board of directors named from its members to operate it.

The committee which worked out details for the news setup was headed by Ira F. Lewis and included C. A. Scott, Howard Murphy, W. H. W. Smith and John Sengstacke.

JUN 8 1942

Mr. Scott was one of the principal speakers Saturday morning discussing the problems related to the operation of the mechanical department.

Friday's session dealt chiefly with the discussion of technical problems. Truman K. Gibson of the war department, one of the speakers, was subjected to a lengthy question period by the delegates.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

PUBLISHERS TAKE OVER ANP SETUP

JUN 13 1942

CHICAGO, June 11—Members of the Negro Newspaper Publishers' association dedicated their newspapers to the preservation of freedom and democracy for the world, and pledged their unequivocal loyalty to the United States and to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Saturday in a resolution adopted unanimously by 59 delegates attending the third annual conference.

Twenty-six papers from as far away as Houston, Tampa and Omaha were represented in the two-day discussions. Biggest single project undertaken by the group is the absorption of the Associated Negro Press, a hitherto privately owned and controlled national news gathering organization, and operation of it in the future by the Publishers' Association through a board of five directors.

JUN 13 1942

WALKER RE-ELECTED

The plan for taking over the news service was worked out with Claude A. Barnett, director of ANP, and approved by the conference. Under the new set-up only members of the publishers' group will be eligible to subscribe to the service. The cost has been prorated among the members on the basis of circulation. A thorough revamping of news and feature services furnished by the ANP has been ordered, and intensified coverage will be started.

The delegates unanimously returned to office the president, William O. Walker, publisher of the Cleveland Call and Post, and secretary-treasurer, Thomas W. Young, business manager of the Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va. It also elected four vice presidents, Mrs. Robert L. Vann, treasurer of The Pittsburgh Courier; C. A. Scott, general manager of the Atlanta Daily World; Louis E. Martin, editor of the Michigan Chronicle, Detroit, and C. C. Dejoie, editor of the Louisiana Weekly. They will serve respectively in the eastern, southern, central and western regions.

Members of the executive committee, in addition to the officers, are John H. Sengstacke, president of the Chicago Defender; Frank L. Stanley, general manager of the Louisville Defender, and Mrs. Olive Diggs, managing editor of the Chicago Bee.

Directors of the new news service organization are Ira F. Lewis, president of The Pittsburgh Courier; Howard H. Murphy, business manager of The Baltimore Afro-American; John H. Sengstacke, E. D. Goodwin, manager of The Tulsa Oklahoma Eagle, and C. A. Scott.

Peoples Voice
New York, N. Y.

Newspaper Publishers Meet, Pledge Unity

JUN 13 1942

Special

Chicago—The Negro Newspaper Publishers Association, meeting here for the first time since the treacherous Pearl Harbor attack upon America, went on record last week-end for full support to the nation's war to smash the axis. It was the third annual conference of the association and it held its two-day session in the Wabash YMCA Friday and Saturday. Numerous editors speaking from the floor condemned Westbrook Pegler as a foe of the Negro people and of national unity to win the war. In any home."

previous columns in the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain, the defeatist Pegler had slandered the Negro press in typical Ku Klux-nazi style.

Outstanding among the speakers who addressed the conference were: William O. Walker, president of the association; Marshall Field, publisher of the *Chicago Sun* and *PM;* Louis Martin, editor of the *Michigan Chronicle;* Carter Wesley, editor of the *Houston Informer;* Mrs. R. L. Vann, of the *Pittsburgh Courier;* Frank L. Stanley of the *Louisville Defender,* and others.

Mr. Field, speaking at a special conference luncheon Saturday, pointed out that hitler was the chief enemy of both Negro and white citizens.

JUN 13 1942

"While Negro editors should give every support to President Roosevelt's program against racial discrimination," Mr. Field asserted, "they should also urge their readers to enlarge their support to every phase of the Administration's war program, including such departments as the Farm Security Administration.

Other speakers, including Editor Martin, warned that unscrupulous forces would seek to take advantage of the "just grievances of the Negro people" for their own selfish purposes.

Reflecting the sentiment of the gathering, Mrs. Vann, one of the owners of the *Courier,* said:

"We must have victory at home and abroad. And unless we defeat hitler abroad we cannot have victory at home, for there won't be

Present at the sessions were many outstanding Negro figures, among them: Councilman A. Clayton Powell, jr., of the *People's Voice;* Claude A. Barnett, head of the *Associated Negro Press;* J. E. Mitchell of the *St. Louis Argus;* Lucius Harper, of the *Chicago Defender,* and others.

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

Scott Chosen Publishers' Vice President

Press Group Ends Most Successful Meet in History

JUN 9 - 1942

CHICAGO, Ill.—(S N S)—William O. Walker of the Cleveland Call-Post was re-elected president of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association as the third annual session was brought to a close here at the Wabash YMCA Saturday evening.

Other officers elected were Thomas W. Young, Journal and Guide, who was re-named secretary-treasurer; Mrs. Robert Vann, Pittsburgh Courier, eastern vice-president; C. A. Scott, Atlanta Daily WORLD, southern vice-president; Louis E. Martin, Detroit, Michigan Chronicle, central vice-president; C. C. DeJoie, New Orleans, Louisiana Weekly, western vice-president.

Elected members of the executive committee were John H. Sengstacke, Chicago Defender; Frank L. Stanley, Louisville Defender, and Mrs. Olive Diggs, Chicago Bee.

Regarded as the most significant action of this year's session was the outlining and adoption of plans to increase national news coverage for member publications of the association.

TO ENLARGE A. N. P.

Under the plans, the news gathering, feature and picture facilities of the Associated Negro Press, which since 1919 has been the major central news agency of the Negro Press, will be enlarged. The action was given the approval of Claude A. Barnett, who was the founder of the agency.

A board of directors for the ANP was elected by the association. Named as board members were C. A. Scott, Atlanta Daily WORLD; Ira F. Lewis, Pittsburgh Courier; Howard Murphy, Afro-American; John H. Sengstacke, Chicago Defender and H. W. Goodwin, Oklahoma Eagle.

JUN 6 1942

Immediately after his election Mr. Scott announced extensive plans for the development of the journals in the Southern section of which he was named head.

Publications within the states of Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama and Florida will be called to a regional conference, possibly in Atlanta, he disclosed.

Signal honors came to another Atlantan near the close of the meeting when Moss Hyles Kendrix, who for four years has served as director of the National Bigger and Better Negro Newspaper Week, was lauded by the publisher for the fine service he has rendered. He was voted an honorarium in recognition of his services, and was given special mention in the resolutions approved by the body.

The resolutions, which re-affirmed the determination of Negro newspapers to safeguard democracy both at home and abroad, were drafted by a committee headed by Chester A. Franklin, Kansas City Call and included: Cliff Mackay, Atlanta Daily WORLD; William G. Nunn, Pittsburgh Courier; Robert F. Jones, Arkansas WORLD and C. C. DeJoie, Louisiana Weekly.

MANY S. N. S.

REPRESENTATIVES JUN 9 - 1942

Representatives of Scott Newspaper Syndicate papers attending the Chicago session, the most successful in history, were C. A. Scott, general manager of the Atlanta Daily WORLD; Lewis O. Swingler, managing editor, Memphis World. Emory O. Jackson, executive editor, Birmingham World; A. G. Shields publisher, Arkansas World; C. H. Jones, managing editor, Arkansas World; Cliff Mackay, managing editor Atlanta Daily WORLD; J. Russell Simmons, advertising manager, Atlanta Daily WORLD; and W. A. Scott III, son of the Atlanta WORLD'S founder and staff photographer.

More than 150 delegates representing 30 publications attended the meeting.

Time
Chicago, Illinois

Negro Publishers

The smoke from big black cigars supercharged the sticky heat of the basement cafeteria in Chicago's Wabash Avenue Y.M.C.A. A well-dressed, pipe-smoking Negro rose to address the third annual conference of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association. His 75 listeners, full of fried chicken and Pepsi-Cola, were still wrought up about the issue of their press and their race.

Pegler. The publishers were smoking mad at "that arch-traitor Westbrook Pegler." In his April 28 column Pegler had damned the two biggest Negro papers—the Pittsburgh *Courier* (circ. 130,000) and the Chicago *Defender* (circ. 83,000)—for exploiting the war emergency to stir up race issues among Negroes in the services. He called them "reminiscent of Hearst at his worst in their sensationalism, and in their obvious inflammatory bias in the treatment of news." In addition he indicted them for exploiting their own people with sucker ads (Luck's Genuine Magnetic Lodestones, $1, etc.), for scandalous gents' room journalism, for whooping up race antagonism for circulation's sake.

Pegler was branded as the bellwether of fascist "agents of the enemy and traitors to democracy." But when it came resolution time, no anti-Pegler resolution materialized. Cried cocky little Ira Lewis (publisher of the Pittsburgh *Courier*): "Who is this guy Pegler? I never heard of him."

Powell. One of the speakers at the convention was Marshall Field, backer of Chicago's *Sun* and New York's *PM*. He urged the Negro press to go easy on the race issue. The advice was interesting, since he is also the backer of a Negro paper, a four-month-old Harlem tabloid called *The People's Voice* (to which last week he extended "another $25,000 of credit").

Publisher of *The People's Voice* is Harlem's big (6 ft. 4), pompous ball of fire, Adam Clayton Powell Jr. Not a delegate to the convention, 33-year-old Publisher Powell was more talked about than acclaimed. Some said he was a hot shot who would fizzle out in a year. One Negro executive called him "a new and slightly pinko kid who hasn't got his feet wet yet." He was called "a poor imitation of Ralph Ingersoll." His journalism was described as the kind that "just brings down criticism on the heads of the whole Negro press."

If Marshall Field doesn't like the race issue, Publisher Powell does (*see cut*). No Harlem upstart, he is pastor of Harlem's 134-year-old Abyssinian Baptist Church (world's biggest Protestant congregation: 14,000). He is New York City's first and only Negro councilman. He has led picket lines, organized campaigns for jobs for



Harrington-*People's Voice*

THE NAVY WILL ACCEPT NEGROES, BUT...
Mr. Field deplores the race issue.

Negro clerks and doctors. He is a close friend of Harlem's No. 1 boogie-woogie manager, Charles Buchanan of the Savoy Ballroom. He employs five secretaries and a liveried chauffeur. And he has his eye on Congress.

As an exploiter of the war emergency Publisher Powell has no superior. Lambasting U.S. "pseudo-democracy," he advocates complete world equality of Negroes and whites. "This war," he has declared in his "Soapbox" column, "upon the basis that it is now being waged, is utterly futile."

48a-1942
Peoples Voice
New York, N. Y.

NEGRO NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION

Time Magazine Flops On Publishers' Story

Time magazine in its June 15 issue took occasion to do an *Aunt Jemima* takeoff on the annual conference of Negro newspaper publishers held the week before in Chicago. *Time* devoted its space to what was perhaps one of the lousiest reporting jobs that Luce-published weekly has ever perpetrated upon its unsuspecting public. *Time* divided its badly-done news story among the Negro publishers, Pegler, Marshall Field, Adam Powell and PV. None got an even break. We quote excerpts from *Time's* story, with rebuttal:

Time: The smoke from big, black cigars supercharged the sticky heat of the basement cafeteria in Chicago's Wabash avenue YMCA.

Rebuttal: This sentence sets the scenery for Time and its attempt at a Negro-typed news coverage. "Big black cigars" is a classic. Time staffmen would catch hell trying to buy a black cigar anywhere. Golden brown leaf is used for cigars quite universally. Most of the publishers smoked cigarettes, all popular brands; some few were cigar favorers; a few more smoked pipes. "Supercharged the sticky heat of the basement cafeteria" further sets the Time tempo, to show Time readers that Negro publishers met in a non-air-conditioned setting, in a basement, all of which was quite unnecessary to factual reporting.

Time: A well-dressed, pipe-smoking Negro rose to address the third annual conference . . ." (Would Time have thot it necessary to report that, at a meeting of white men, a speaker was well-dressed? And is that news? The Negro mentioned was probably Roy Wilkins, Crisis editor. If so, Minnesota-university-educated Wilkins can run rings around Time publisher Luce when it comes to brains, deportment, carriage, intelligence.)

Time: His 75 listeners, full of fried chicken and Pepsi-Cola . . . "This is lousiest of all and hits an all-time low. All detractors of the Negro try to picture him as a lover of fried chicken, gin, razor fighting, etc.

Truth: there was no more fried chicken on the menu than any other staple food. Pepsi-Cola or any other cola is no particular favorite drink with Negro publishers, any more than they would be with Time publishers.

Time: "The publishers were smoking mad at 'that arch-traitor Westbrook Pegler . . .'"

Rebut: Smoking mad is an exaggeration. Negro publishers were concerned about Pegler's attack, realizing that he was serving as hatchet man for sinister and hidden forces far more powerful than a brass check polisher doing a poisonous column for a reactionary newspaper chain with one of the worst anti-labor records in the history of modern newspapers.

Time: (Speaking of Marshall Field, publisher of the Newspaper PM, Chicago Sun, Parade's Weekly) . . . he is also the backer of a Negro paper . . . the People's Voice (to which last week he extended 'another $25,000 of credit.

Rebut: The People's Voice challenges Time to back up this sloppy piece of reporting by proving what it charges, instead of placing itself on record in black and white, by loose rumors. PV announces that it is published by Adam Powell and Charlie Buchanan.

Time: (On Adam Powell) ". . . pompous ball of fire . . . hot shot who would fizzle out in a year . . . new deal-lightly pinko kid who hasn't got his feet wet . . . poor imitation of Ralph Ingersoll . . ."

Rebut: Time covers up its stinko reporting by allegedly quoting Negro publishers on Powell, but Time fails to name its informants, if any.

Time: He (Powell) is a close friend of Harlem's No. 1 boogie-woogie manager, Charles Buchanan of the Savoy Ballroom.

Rebut: Buchanan is a legitimate business man probably earns more per week than anyone on Time's staff. Time tries to give the impression that Buchanan is likely to break out into a lindy hop exhibition on the slightest notice. Buchanan seldom dances, lives quietly.

Time: He (Powell) employs five secretaries and a liveried chauffeur.

Rebut: Abyssinian Baptist Church with 14,000 members employs five secretaries. A liveried chauffeur is neither here nor there, is not even news.

Time: As an exploiter of the war emergency . . .

Rebut: Reactionary Time considers it as "exploiting" when a Negro asks that the democracy we fight for abroad be likewise applied at home.

Time: . . . he (Powell) advocates complete world equality of Negro and whites.

Rebut: Powell advocates world freedom of ALL people without consideration of race, color, creed—principles upon which America was founded, the same America in which Time publishers flourish and in which democracy lovers battle against tory publications such as Time and its anti-Negro news stories.

—JLC.

Amsterdam News
New York, N. Y.

Broadcast Opens Newspaper Program

MAR 7 - 194.

In a national address on the "Wings Over Jordan" program, Sunday, P. L. Prattis, executive editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, presenting the part being played by the colored press in the war effort in the observance of Negro Press Week told his radio listeners that "the Negro press cannot ignore the disheartening and discouraging refusal to employ Negro citizens in war industries, private industries or the public service, Federal, State and municipal."

Continuing to state the stand taken by the colored press Prattis declared:

"The Negro press, too, ardently desires to throw the full weight of its influence and its resources into the war program. That is, first, its responsibility to this nation and to the cause of freedom throughout the world and, second, to the group of American citizens it represents.

"But the Negro Press dare not and will not forget that it has an unique responsibility to discharge to Negro citizens.

"It has been and must continue to be their voice of protest against the ancient evils of racial prejudice and discrimination which impoverish and degrade the race at home.

"This role of the Negro press is heroic and noble. It is consecration to the defense of the weak and the uplift of the downtrodden. If it failed to accept this role, to discharge this responsibility, it would sacrifice its influence with Negro citizens. By the same token, it would lose its power to stimulate leadership for America's general war effort.

"The Negro press cannot ignore segregation in the United States Army. Negro citizens will not. The Negro press cannot ignore the exclusion of Negro citizens from the United States Marine Corps. Negro citizens will not. The Negro press cannot ignore the restriction of Negro citizens to menial, pot and kettle service in the United States Navy. Negro citizens will not.

MAR 7 - 1942

"The Negro press cannot ignore the disheartening and discouraging refusal to employ Negro citizens in war industries, private industries or the public service, Federal, State and municipal. Negro citizens work and fight and pray for the freedom which vouchsafes opportunity to all alike.

Press Joins Citizens

"The Negro press must and does join American Negro citizens in an all-out struggle to cleanse the world, as President Roosevelt has noted, of 'ancient evils, ancient ills.' Within that world to be cleansed the Negro press and Negro citizens include their own America. They are for more perfect democracy at home and abroad.

"To advance toward this goal of freedom for all the world, including themselves, the Negro press and Negro citizens propose to do more than to fight side by side in the ranks with their fellow Americans. This war, its problems, its heartaches, its bloodshed, its cost and destruction, belongs to us all.

"We therefore propose, not only to fight side by side with our fellow Americans, but also, if they should fall, to take their places. If they should falter, we shall lead the way.

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

OBSERVE 115TH YEAR OF NAT'L NEGRO PRESS

MAR 14 1942

Newspaper Week Comes To Brilliant Close With Chicago Service

MAR 14 1942

By NAHUM DANIEL BRASCHER

The nation's greatest effort glorifying the development of the Negro Press across the miles, and across a period of 115 years since "Freedom's Journal," the first Negro newspaper was born came to a close Sunday, March 8.

Strangely enough, the idea was not born in a newspaper office. The idea was born with the Delta Phi Delta fraternity at Morehouse college.

MAR 14 1942

Chicago Tops Nation

Chicago topped the nation in the final Sunday observance of the picture of Negro Press progress by accepting an invitation of Dr. J. C. Austin, pastor of Pilgrim Baptist church, Indiana avenue at Thirty-third street, to attend services there Sunday morning.

The greatest local assembly of Negro newspaper men and women ever held took place Sunday. After an extended preliminary service Dr. Austin delivered one of the greatest messages of his long and brilliant career on the subject: "Pulpit and Press."

MAR 14 1942

Recovering from a sick spell, Dr. Austin did not make his appearance in the pulpit from his study until just before he was to deliver his message. Rev. J. C. Austin, Jr., assistant pastor, and son of the minister, had charge of the preliminary service. There was music by two choirs, and a solo by Theodore Charles Stone, accompanied by Mrs. Grace Tompkins, music critic of the Chicago Defender.

Dr. Austin "Goes To Town"

With no idea of being irreverent, the most expressive phrase to briefly describe the message of Dr. Austin in modern language is to say: "Dr. Austin Went To Town." The message pretty closely followed a carefully prepared manuscript, but at times, as Dr. Austin himself stated: "I have to get away from the manuscript to say some things."

"Pulpit and Press" Work Together

After briefly going over the history of the Negro Press from its inception, Dr. Austin emphasized that not only had the early press had full backing of the church, but today the Negro press would be severely handicapped without the full support of the churches of America.

MAR 14 1942

Dr. Austin stated that the present war is the greatest opportunity in history for the Negro press, and urged everyone not only to read the newspapers but to support the advertisers.

Large representations of every Chicago newspaper was present. David Kellum, Chicago Defender "Bud Billiken," was invited by Dr. Austin to request representatives from each publication to come to the rostrum, and later Kellum introduced all other newspaper representatives present, who were in special seats in the auditorium.

Those invited to the rostrum were Lucius C. Harper, executive editor and A. C. Mac Neal, managing editor of the Chicago Defender; A. N. Fields, manager of the Chicago edition of the Pittsburgh Courier; Anthony Overton, publisher of the Chicago Bee; Jacob R. Tipper, publisher of the Chicago World; and Claude A. Barnett, director of the Associated Negro Press. Barnett responded to the address of Dr. Austin.

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

Race Newspaper Week Launched

MAR 1 - 1942

Representatives On Radio Today

MAR 1 - 1942

The fourth observance of National Negro Newspaper Week will be officially launched today when two radio addresses will be heard in connection with the "Week."

Speaking from Jacksonville, Fla. P. L. Prattis, executive editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, will appear as guest speaker on the "Wings Over Jordan" program. "Wings Over Jordan" is heard each Sunday morning, 10:00-10:30 EST through the facilities of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Moss Kendrix, director of the Press Week observance, is scheduled to be heard during the regular Sunday afternoon broadcast of Atlanta's "Chariot Wheels."

Sponsored by the Atlanta Baptist Ministers Union, this program is heard at 4:30 P. M. each Sunday over station WSB

A third radio program. "Victory Pledges of the Negro Press," will be heard via. the Columbia Broadcasting System from Chicago Saturday evening, March 7 Claude A. Barnett, director of The Associated Negro Press, Chicago, will be the principal speaker for this broadcast. William I. Gibson, managing editor, the Afro-American Newspaper, will introduce Mr. Barnett.

Each of the radio speakers for the Press Week observance will talk from the subject "The Negro Press and America's War Effort.' the theme the Week's program.

C. A. Scott, general manager of the Atlanta Daily World, will address students of Morehouse College at the chapel hour Tuesday morning. He will discuss the same subject.

MAR 1 - 1942

Being held currently with National Negro Newspaper Week is the One Hundred Fifteenth Anniversary of the American Negro Press. In several cities of the nation churches, schools and colleges and other groups are cooperating with Negro newspapers in celebrations commemorating the inception of the Negro Press.

This observance is sponsored yearly by the Negro newspapers of America and the Delta Phi Delta Journalists Association. The policies and program for the celebration are determined by a national advisory committee composed of leading Negro journalists of the nation. Dr. William Stanley Braithwaite of Atlanta University serves as chairman of this body. C. A. Scott and Cliff Mackay of the Atlanta Daily World, and D. B. Washington are Atlanta members of this committee.

Race Newspaper Week Launched

MAR 1 - 1942



MOSS H. KENDRIX

Chicago Bee
Chicago, Illinois

The Virile Press

MAR 8 - 1942

MARCH 7 is the end of Negro Press week. During the period from March 1 to 7 the merits of the colored press will be analyzed; its contributions commended.

During the last twelve months the Negro press has represented the thoughts and convictions of the colored race in a manner consistent with the highest ideals of the uncontrolled freedom of the press.

One theme has been kept before the public constantly. It was the theme of democracy. It was the theme of freedom. It was the cry of a race asking for a right to defend America in a way that would do honor to our democratic form of government. It is safe to say that the colored newspapers have been unanimous in stressing the desirability and the advisability of full participation of Negroes in all phases of the military program of the country.

They have kept pace with the best thinking of their readers. They have truly represented the thought and convictions of the colored people. They have been the crying voice in the wilderness seeking true democracy for all citizens of our country.

MAR 8 - 1942

The Negro press can talk freely because it is not muzzled. It is not bribed by rich advertisers who dictate its policies.

The Negro press has not been afraid to attack everything that has threatened the best interests of its constituents. It has called attention to the omissions and commissions of the President and other governmental officials. It has scored discrimination and segregation in every form. It has campaigned for justice, fought for freedom, and has championed the cause of the group which is the object of exploitation and oppression. The Negro press is strong, potent and virile.

48a-1942

Argus
St. Louis, Missouri

Banned: The Negro Press & The War Effort

ANNOUNCEMENT OF ST. LOUIS ARGUS CHANGE IN PRICE

FEB 13 1942

The mounting costs of material and production force us to raise the price of the St. Louis Argus from FIVE cents to EIGHT cents in Greater St. Louis and to TEN cents in all other areas beginning Friday, February 20.

Supplementing the mounting costs of materials and production is the rising tide of federal, state and more taxes.

For years the Argus sold for five cents in this city and all other communities when virtually every other major weekly was selling for seven to ten cents. When the size of the paper was increased from eight to 12 pages and later to 14 pages, the price remained the same and we continued to charge five cents when the paper was increased to 16 pages.

Production Costs Are Up

FEB 13 1942

Costs of production are sky-rocketing. Every single item necessary for the production of this newspaper now costs considerably more. The cost of white paper has risen more than once since 1932, and our new contract for paper calls for a higher price per pound. After sustaining every increase in the cost of material, equipment and labor in recent years we are compelled to raise the price of The Argus.

FEB 13 1942

A Greater Argus is Our Aim

More than ever it is our determination to make this newspaper The Greater St. Louis Argus. We believe our readers would rather have us fully resolved to advance the usefulness of this newspaper than restrict its influence. A recent Argus editorial under the caption of "The Negro's place in the Army" was discussed in the United States Congress and was favorably commented on.

We are firm in our resolve to speak for the race with a clear and unbridled voice. We pledge our continued fight for the rights and equities of the Negro, not only of this community, but of the entire country. We assure you that whereever the interests of the colored people are at stake we will be in the thickest of the battle.

FEB 13 1942

Will Continue to Lead

It is our earnest intention to go to the utmost of our ability, as strengthened by public support of our new policy, in presenting an increased volume of local and national news, better pictures and more features.

For thirty years The St. Louis Argus has fought your battles and has helped to win many victories for our group. In this move for a better newspaper we ask you, Mr. and Mrs. Public—to stand by.—THANK YOU.

Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Okla

"The Negro Press In America's War Effort"

By CLAUDE A. BARNETT
Director, Associated Negro Press
Over: Columbia Broadcasting System, March 7

It seems appropriate at this time to discuss "The Negro Press in America's War Effort," because this is National Negro Newspaper Week, celebrating this year the 115th anniversary of the founding of the Negro Press in America.

MAR 21 1942

The Negro newspaper is an important arm in the effort to marshal the entire man and woman power of our nation for the prosecution of our war effort. Next to the Negro church, the Negro newspaper is the most powerful influence operating within this group of thirteen million Americans of African descent, and who constitute one-tenth of our entire population.

Because of the somewhat separate life which colored people in the United States live, through no fault of their own, they find it necessary to look at most happenings through a double lens. The Negro thinks first as an American and then, by force of circumstances, must rethink as a black American.

As an example of this dual life, he reads the daily paper just as any other American does, studies the news, reacts to it just like any other citizen. But, since the daily paper, as a rule, carries little or no information about doings of Negroes other than that which is criminal or comical, if he wishes to translate those national events into terms of his own people; if he wishes to know what is going on in religious, educational, social, business and sporting circles among Negroes, he must turn to the special papers published for the specific purpose of giving him that information.

MAR 21 1942

It is the separate life which the Negro is forced to live then, which has been the occasion for the development of this separate group of some 250 newspapers and periodicals.

Beginning with Freedom's Journal, launched in March 1827 By John Russworm, the first Negro to graduate from a college in America—having finished Bowdoin College in 1826—this paper, like its immediate successors was devoted principally to fighting to rid America of human slavery.

Today, the Negro newspaper still fights for freedom; of its own people from the slavery of segregation, of discrimination and insecurity; and now it has a new task—it is struggling to help keep freedom available for the entire democratic world . . . and there is no more devoted group of Americans than the band of Negro editors who conduct these 250 publications.

What are some of the specific things which the Negro newspaper is doing to help gird the American Negro for the war effort?

First, these editors realize that the best method of making a democracy strong and of preventing its disintegration, is for the people to know the truth. In order then for Negroes to attain their full stature as citizens and to realize their oneness with other Americans in the defense of the democracy in which we believe, they must know the truth about themselves They must be aware of events generally in the country and especially as they affect their particular group.

The average American feels a sense of deep pride in the history and accomplishments of the American soldier. He knows little, however, of what black American soldiers have wrought. Not much about the part to preserve the American way of life, gets either into our dailies or our histories; so the Negro newspaper must set forth the record for the enlightenment and encouragement of the Negro boy or girl or whoever else may chance to read it.

MAR 21 1942

The Negro press harks back to the beginning of this nation and points out that the very first man slain in our nation's fight for freedom from the yoke of England, was a black man. His name was Crispus Attucks and he was slain in the famous Boston Massacre, the spark which set off the Revolutionary War. A monument to his memory stands on Boston Commons today, but our historians mention his name only slightly and our dailies and magazines forget that he ever existed. They forget Lemuel Hayes, too, a Negro of Massachusetts who was one of the most famous of the Minute Men.

And they forget there were 4,000 Negro soldiers in the Continental Army which fought under General George Washington, and that they endured privations and hardships with him at Valley Forge.

Many do not know that war department figures show 187,017 Negro soldiers served in the Civil War and fought upon the side of the North to help free their own people with perhaps the ranking black officers being Lt. Col. William M. Reed of the First North Carolina Volunteers.

The Negro newspaper is forced to recall that in the War of 1812, it is said that Negro soldiers comprised one-sixth of the naval forces of the United States. That American hero, Commodore Perry, said of these men, "They are as brave soldiers as ever fired a gun. There are no stouter hearts in the service."

It refers back to incidents of this sort during earlier wars and points out that today the United States Navy refuses to permit a Negro to enlist except as a messman, who is a cook or a servant. Meanwhile, the editor remembers that at the memorable Battle of Lake Erie, there were 109 heroic American Negro sailors fighting

against the British. It was John Johnson, Negro sailor, struck in the hip by a 24-pounder that tore away the lower part of his body, who first exclaimed, "Fire away, no haul the color down."

Spanish-American, Phillipine, and the Mexican wars were but repetitions of brave action by Negro American soldiers.

In the first World War, 400,000 Negroes served in the army; and if in our current war five million soldiers are called, it is presumed that 500,000 black boys will rally to the colors. The Negro newspaper points out to these men that their duty will be to tread in the footsteps of their illustrious forebears; to fight to preserve the ideals of democracy, the only form of government which a minority group has any opportunity for freedom and advancement.

Segregated units in our army and worse in our navy, prevent the ideal democratic principles from existing in our armed forces. It is true, however, that through Secretary of War Stimson, Undersecretary Robert H. Patterson and General Marshall, we may expect as just treatment as separate and segregated practices will permit. These officials have before them now a suggestion from Negro newspaper men and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, for the establishment of an experimental and truly democratic battalion which shall be thrown open for enlistment to any and all individuals who care to join its regardless of race or color.

Approximately 120,000 Negroes are now being trained in every branch of the armed forces. But there are only 120 Negro physicians and 56 Negro nurses serving the colors, and the Negro newspaper points out to Surgeon General Magee of the Army, whose edicts have consistently blocked their greater inclusion, the availability of these trained professionals who are eager to serve their their country, but thus far with little result.

The Negro newspaper contends for the right of all Americans to earn a living; to be employed in our industries; to contribute of their brawn and skill in this, our all-out fight to increase production and provide the tools to win the war.

It knows that industry in general, throughout the years has adopted a policy of exclusion of Negroes from jobs. Barred from decent employment for the most part, the Negro has been kept in the bottom brackets economically. Poverty develops a low standard of living, begets bad housing, poor health, bad environment and encourages crime. Decent employment, the editor points out, would help the Negro masses to become better citizens.

But even when it is apparent that the work of every able- bodied man is needed to produce the tools of war we need, the President of the United States has been compelled to issue an edict demanding that minority groups of this country, including the Negro, be given a chance to do their share of the labor, and the newspaper editor points out that if a man is good enough to fight for his country ,he ought to be good enough to work for it.

Even during the war, the Negro newspaper feels it to be its duty to continue its struggle to obtain civil rights for underprivileged Americans. Among the things it contends for is, first, security. It wants an anti-lynching law which will strike terror into the hearts of the conscienceless brutes who make killing of fellow citizens a national pasttime. It seeks to obtain the franchise for Negroes where they are denied it; Nearly two-thirds of the Negroes in America living in the south, are unable to exercise the supreme symbol of citizenship in a democracy—the right to vote. Disfranchised and exploited, the very weapon which democracy gives it citizens to protect their rights, is denied the Negro American.

The editor knows that 75 years after Abraham Lincoln; 75 years after emancipation, that the hall of congress is filled with congressmen especially from the south, in far greater numbers than the constitution and election laws of this country give them right. He knows that these congressmen represent districts in which the Negro is counted as part of the population used as a basis for their districting, but where he is not permitted by reactionaries from the north, opposed most measures whic have for their purpose the liberation of the poll tax, fearful that it may permit democracy to really work; sees them oppose the anti-lynch measure because the threat of mob violence could no longer be held over the heads of the minority. He sees the very section of the country which shrieks the loudest for war and which expects the Negro to shed his blood for its safety, oppose his entry into the armed forces of the nation on a basis of equality; he knows that even the uniform of the United States Army is not enough to protect the Negro in the south, where mistreatment has occurred during recent weeks.

The Negro editor, however, knows that there are many noble and liberal southerners, who condemn the attitudes of the southern demagogue and politician and who when the opportunity comes will strike a blow for greater democracy, and he pays tribute to their generosity and fairness.

The Negro newspaper sets itself like flint against propaganda that our present conflict is a race war. It points out to its readers that it is unfair and unjust to inject the color question into the war because we are fighting against Japan, whose people happen to be of the yellow race. There is our ally China, who is also yellow; in fact most of the yellow, brown and black peoples in Asia and Africa; in the Phillipines, Hawaii, the Dutch East Indies and the West Indies are fighting with the Allies. So the Negro newspaper pleads for tolerance and understanding, that the vicious spectre of race prejudice, which is at the very bottom of this war, may be conquered and banished from whatever peace may be achieved, at home and abroad.

The Negro is a loyal American, in fact one of the most complete Americans, except the American Indian, the only true American. Negro migration to this country stopped before the Civil War, so that the Negro's ancestry for the most part can be traced back to that time. Most white Americans and their immediate ancestors, many of them immigrants, arrived long after the Negro got here.

The Negro editor then, seeks to interpret to one-tennth of our nation, the existing and fundamental truths about democracy even while fighting against discrimination and injustice. Whatever its faults the United States is his country and he believes it to be the best nation in the world for him. He hopes for complete integration for Negro Americans in every phase of American life. Every ounce of his energy, every bit of his ability is marshalled to help America, his America, to win the war.

Listen to these brief quotations from Negro newspapers in widely separated sections of the country. Match them for patriotism. First, from the Afro-American, Baltimore:

"United States Unity Must End Color Line. It's as simple as that. Not separate but equal; not colored here, white there;

"No blanks asking race, nationality and religion;

"No evasion such as, 'We can't hire colored today';

"BUT 'first come, first served!'

"Every nation that has won a long hard war, first achieved unity for itself. The only thing that will win this war is unity—not make-believe, not half-hearted unit—but full and absolute oneness of purpose and effort."

Then the Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City:

"If we win this titanic struggle to preserve our way of life, it will be done by breaking precedents and not by hugging stupid traditions. There are a lot of things we have done here in America because it was the time-honored custom to do so, but totalitarism has torn a leaf from the book of precedent, and so also must democracy if we understand and know how to fight fire with fire. If we remember Pearl Harbor with clarity of vision; if the tragic experiences there were valuable, it offers the thought that much we have been doing must cease. We must properly valuate the fanaticism of the Oriental abroad and the loyal and resourcefulness of the black man at home. The lesson learned at Pearl Harbor is that we cannot sensibly place premiums on a particular human coloring either at home or abroad, or either at war or in peace.

Or from the Houston Informer, Houston:

"There is a jubilee song that says, 'I'm going to fight and never tire'." Negroes today may well use that title as their slogan. For it is necessary that they fight determinedly, and almost fanatically, to help win the war, which menaces the democracy we believe in. They must also fight ceaselessly for the abolishment of injustices and discriminations against their people, in order to help bring about in America, the true democracy for which we are now waging battle in the Pacific. For the Negro it is a multiple batttle, and to win it he must be willing to 'fight and never tire'."

Or the Kansas City Call, which says:

"This is no tme for excuses. Our all and the hope of the future as well will be lost if the cunning enemy kills off our attack at the source. The color of a man's skin does not impair the effectiveness of the machine he helps to make or the bullet he fires to guard it. All this talk about race is Hitler talk whether in St. Louis or Berlin. Put every man's shoulder to the wheel in this hour of need.

"Treachery and surprise at Pearl Harbor cost our nation its superiority of naval strength in the Pacific. We have no business needing a second warning to guard our industries, if we value our freedom. There is no guard except it include Negroes whose Crispus Attucks lighted the flame of liberty with his life in the Revolution! A color line at this time is national suicide."

And then from the Journal and Guide, Norfolk:

"In this hour of grave crisis the United States can, as has always been true, depend upon the absolute loyalty and devotion of our 12,000,000 Negro-Americans. Always in every crisis through which the nation has passed, our people have contributed their lives and their labor without stint or limit. They will do so in this crisis. We crave the opportunity to serve—and we do not crave to serve in the softest places. We want to defend our country in whatever manner it needs to be defended, and wherever we are called upon to go. Like all minority groups we have our just grievances. As a special racial group used to repressions, we have greivances over and beyond the average minority, but we are now at war; we are realistic enough to know that what liberties we do enjoy are now at stake; that the dreadful thing that today challenges the United States and all of the democracies is more dangerous, more devastating, than anything that could happen under our present way of life. Whetherfore close ranks, and join fervent patriotism in this battle for America, a battle that must end in complete victory for America and her allies, no matter what the cost."

48a-1942
Amsterdam News
New York, N. Y.

Look Out for "Surrender"!

JAN 24 1942

(An Editorial)

WE have been authoritatively informed that a new weekly is projected for appearance in the near future. Upon equal authority we are told that the paper is to be edited and managed in front by certain ambitious mercenary colored political newcomers—that it is to be backed from behind by certain designing white capital.

These facts speak for themselves. White capital is simply seeking to further exploit the race. The politicians willy-nilly will simply be their pawns to that end. The politicians seek to ride to glory at the price of their people's continued progress and independence. The money interest seeks to make more money out of a people already bled white and to get a larger economic control over them. This is the awful price which the colored people would pay the profiteers and their procurers. No selfish interest dictates that we make this expose. This paper, like all the other leading colored papers has struggled and sacrificed for a generation, to be a mouthpiece of colored Americans. Both ends of this unholy alliance are foredoomed to failure—because colored people as never before realize that their unsubsidized press is the last remaining bulwark of their cause. They know that those who pay the fiddler will call the tune. They know that white capital is neither interested nor concerned in the race's fight for equal opportunity. The reverse is true. They know that white control depends upon keeping them impotent and subservient. They know that the colored employees of white capital — whether their motives are sordid or sacred, must accept for their race the metes and bounds prescribed by their paymasters.

JAN 24 1942

Colored Americans are now aware. They can no longer be led like lambs to the slaughter. Witness the thousands of revolts throughout the country against white domination. No amount of money invested can stay the growth of this movement. Those who would sell their race down the river for a mess of pottage will be found out and destroyed—sooner or later and today sooner than ever before. Colored New York! Colored America! Look out for "Surrender!"

Amsterdam News
New York, N. Y.

PM Closes Harlem Office, Admits 'Muscle-in' Failure

JAN 24 1942

Another dead "dodo" along the trail strewn with the corpses of

NEW YORK

ambitious outside publications seeking to capture the Harlem newspaper field, was announced officially on Tuesday with the statement that the newspaper P M, the afternoon picture tabloid is closing its Harlem office. Despite the strenuous work of Promoter Robert P. Braddicks and an equally competent staff under him, P M's efforts to "muscle in" in the great uptown field just didn't click.

JAN 24 1942

The Harlem office was opened last March and went well-out in its way to secure a large circulation both editorially and pictorially; the tabloid was Democratic to the point of militancy. On numerous occasions double spreads on Harlem's rights and wrongs were featured by the widely admired publication, but with unsatisfactory, consistent circulation results.

Dictated by Economy

Editor Ralph Ingersoll in a laudatory letter to Mr. Braddicks which the latter released on Tuesday, stated that the mounting pressure for economy and the failure of support dictated the decision to close the Harlem office. Deploring the necessity of his action, Mr. Ingersoll states in his letter that "We must be realistic in facing the fact that so long as we operate on a large deficit, so long as the public does not support us, we simply cannot afford institutional promotion."

Whether this factual statement portends the eventual discontinuance of P M which carries no paid advertisement, is conjectured. It is further conjectured that there is a striking coincidence in the closing of the Harlem office 10 days hence, and the rumor that a new Harlem weekly is to make its appearance backed by white capital.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Whites May Start New York Paper

JAN 24 1942

Rumor Links Names of Harlem Leaders with Proposed 48-Page Tabloid.

NEW YORK, Jan. 22—Recurrent rumors, rife now for several weeks, had leading Harlemites speculating this week as to the possible entry into the Negro newspaper field of a combination of white financial interests through the medium of a national 48-page tabloid weekly newspaper.

If the rumors proved to be true, Harlem leaders were asking themselves and one another why white capital proposed at this time to make a bid for Negro readers, since the daily press largely ignores the constructive efforts of Negroes, and why white capital would seek the influence among Negroes which a substantial publication would create.

SEVERAL NAMES MENTIONED

These questions remained unanswered.

The reports so far bruited about indicate that the white backing for the newspaper would probably stem from interested persons in the amusement and journalistic worlds. It is acknowledged that anyone of several white booking offices which have made money out of Negro bands and entertainers might get behind such a venture. It is also surmised that certain white journalists, noting the Negro's reaction to favorable news in some white dailies, have sensed the possibilities of success if they made a direct play through a Negro tabloid.

JAN 24 1942

Although nobody who knows anything is saying anything for publication, names of several prominent Harlemites have been mentioned in connection with the prospective set-up of the newspaper. Charles Buchanan, manager for many years of the Savoy Ballroom has been named as a possible business manager. The Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., pastor of Abyssinia Baptist Church, recently elected to the City Council, is threaded thru most reports as the editor, and William M. Kelley, former managing editor of the Amsterdam News, as city editor. None of these reports has been verified.

CLAIM CHANCES ARE DEBATABLE

The chances for success of a publication owned by whites but staffed by Negroes and published for Negroes are debatable.

For many years, the Chicago Defender was plagued by untrue reports that whites (particularly William Randolph Hearst) owned that newspaper. It was almost impossible to combat the effect of the reports in the field.

The untrue reports gained some substance from the fact that the Defender employed a number of whites in its mechanical department.

JAN 24 1942

The effect of the reports was so menacing to the newspaper that it became necessary finally to discharge the white employees and to publish in the newspaper a statement challenging the reports concerning white ownership. This is a matter of record.

The interpretation of the reaction at that time was to the effect that Negro leaders look to Negro newspapers to fight for them and to be loyal to them.

They don't seem to want to trust the other fellow where uncompromising defense of their vital interests are concerned.

HARLEM'S WEEKLY NEW VERSION OF NEGRO JOURNALISM

Houston Defender
Houston Informer

MAR 7 - 1942

NEW YORK CITY—Rev. A. Clayton Powell, city councilman and pastor of Abyssinian Baptist Church, is the editor of New York's newest addition in the field of journalism, "The People's Voice."

MAR 7 - 1942

The new weekly newspaper, which arrived in Houston Saturday, is edited by Rev. Powell and published by Charles Buchanan, former manager of Chick Webb's orchestra.

A number of novel innovations are connected with the new paper. It is printed on the same presses as PM, New York's tabloid non-advertising afternoon publication.

The new paper will solicit advertising; allow its employees a minimum wage of $25 for editorial workers and $21 for business office workers; spend $1200 a week for publication; place 40,000 copies on the weekly market; establish itself as the "Largest Negro Tabloid in the World" (it is the only one); select a "Family of the Week" (if the family income is less than $100 per month, the Voice will contribute $25 toward their welfare) sell for 10 cents; will feature "Question of the Week," a Town Hall program, and refrain from insulting either race by the use of colored or ofay.

A Negro Gallup Poll is to be developed and concentration placed on war news and war maps and against "society items."

MAR 7 - 1942

Employees have a contract under supervision of the Newspaper Guild of America.

Rev. Powell said: "We'll picket, support unions, fight discrimination and aid every progressive force."

Tribune
Philadelphia, Pa.

Tribune Welcomes New York Weekly To Ranks Of Negro Journalism

FEB 21 1942 FEB 21 1942

DURING these days of bitterness and anguish there is great need for calm and careful presentation of news. There must be thoughtful opinion based on factual information; and no where is this more necessary than in the Negro press. FEB 21 1942

THE TRIBUNE welcomes "The People's Voice", a new weekly newspaper published in New York City, to the fraternity of colored newspapers. It is hoped that this new venture will have a long and useful life as the servant of the people. FEB 21 1942

We are positive that the publishers appreciate their grave responsibility. The publication of a newspaper is serious business. It is most difficult to determine what is best for all concerned at all times, but so long as the fixed policy is to help the general public to a better way of life, despite mistakes often made its existence will be justified.

New York Age
New York, N. Y.

THE CITY OF NEW YORK
DEPARTMENT OF MARKETS
CENTRE STREET
NEW YORK,

MAR 7 - 1942

MAR 7 - 1942

February 24, 1942.

Mr. Fred R. Moore,
The New York Age,
230 West 135th Street,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:-

MAR 7 - 1942

In reply to your letter of February 20th, please be advised that no site has been selected or purchased, nor has Councilman Powell or The Peoples Voice sole authority to accept applications. The sole authority for accepting applications is The Department of Markets; in addition, no one has been authorized to accept deposits on applications.

When the market site is finally selected and approved of by the proper officials, same will be given official publicity. A copy of the release will be mailed you.

No exclusive release had been given any one paper. A conference was asked for and granted.

Thanking you for your interest, I am, MAR 7 - 1942

Very truly yours,

DANIEL P. WOOLLEY,
COMMISSIONER.

FAM:S

Just For The Record: The above letter written to The New York Age by Market Commissioner Daniel P. Woolley, should clear up the mystery surrounding the Municipal Market which Councilman Adam C. Powell Jr., announced in his paper, the People's Voice, as having been purchased. To back up his statement, he designated Miss Ann Petry, of the Voice, to issue and accept applications for stalls in the Market. MAR 7 - 1942

Just For The Record: The New York Age reproduces the above letter showing that the Market site has not been selected or purchased and the Department of Markets is the sole authority for accepting applications.

Amsterdam News
New York, N. Y.

AMSTERDAM
New York STAR-NEWS

2340 Eighth Avenue MAR 7 - 1942 Phone ACademy 2-7800

Founded December 4, 1909

C. B. Powell — President, Editor and Managing Director
P. M. H. Savory — Secretary-Treasurer
Julius J. Adams — Managing Editor
George W. Harris — Associate Editor
Lillian Sharpe Hunter — Circulation Manager
David J. Sullivan — Advertising Manager

Owned and published every Saturday by Powell-Savory Corp., publication office, 14 Stockton Street, Trenton, N. J. New York office, 2340 Eighth Avenue. Brooklyn office, 1660 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. Entered at post office of Trenton, N. J. as second class mail matter.

National Advertising Representative, W. E. Ziff Co., offices, 270 Madison Ave New York; 608 South Dearborn Street, Chicago.

MEMBERS OF THE AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATION AND ASSOCIATED NEGRO PRESS

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

	1 Year	6 Months
In U. S. A.	$3.50	2.75
Foreign	5.00	3.50

MAR 7 - 1942

The Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.

Angelo Herndon Edits New Negro Quarterly

MAR 9 - 1942 MAR 9 - 1942

By Beth McHenry

Friends of Angelo Herndon, the youthful editor of "The Negro Quarterly," whose first issue has just come off the press, have a favorite story they tell about him.

Back in 1935, when his time on bail expired and he returned to Georgia to serve the 20-year sentence he had been given for organizing hungry white and Negro people, those close to him were anxious and worried and heartsick to see him go.

Angelo, with the marvelous patience that comes with deep understanding and great perspective, bucked them up.

"Good heavens," he said, "you'd think I was going to serve the sentence." MAR 9 - 1942

He always knew he wouldn't have to. And when the Supreme Court decision releasing him was made known to him, he just smiled quietly and got ready to leave prison.

Publishing a Magazine Without Capital

That story is so typical of Angelo Herndon.

When the idea of "The Negro Quarterly" was first launched lots of people scoffed and refused to believe that a magazine of its calibre could be launched without capital.



ANGELO HERNDON

But Angelo Herndon doggedly went about the business of organizing the Negro Publication Society which publishes the Quarterly.

He knew that a thing which should be done could be done.

Today the Quarterly is reaping high praise from many quarters.

Before its appearance there was no publication in the country devoted entirely to the review of Negro life and culture.

Its Job Is To Help Win War

MAR 9 - 1942

In its initial issue the Quarterly dedicates itself to the great task that faces all freedom-loving mankind: the winning of the war. The Quarterly is out to help destroy the barriers that now hinder an all-out war effort.

Angelo has a way of phrasing it.

"Negroes, you see, love freedom perhaps even more than most other people. Our people have fought for freedom with their lives and they know what it means to live in slavery. A Hitler victory would return them and all mankind to that slavery. They know what is at stake."

A good example of the "war tone" of The Quarterly is a splendid article by Doxey Wilkerson, Howard University professor, in the first issue. Mr. Wilkerson's article, titled "Negro Education and the War" points up the problem by stating "victory over fascist aggression—this is the supreme criterion by which we now must appraise all aspects of our social, economic and political life." MAR 9 - 1942

A year ago today Angelo Herndon and a few others began organizing the Publication Society. Today the Society has offices at 1 West 125th St. and scores of members are pledged to buy the books which will be published by the Society and subscribe to the Quarterly.

Noted Sponsors Pledged to Aid

On its list of sponsors are people like Herbert Aptheker, L. D. Reddick, Jean Muir, Henrietta Buckmaster, Harcourt Tynes, Dashiell Hammett and Arthur Huff Fauset and many others.

Angelo says that what he likes best about the Society is that it makes possible the publication of Negro literature on a practical basis.

"There is none of the 'philanthropy' that has shadowed all previous ventures in the publication of Negro literature," he said. "The Quarterly belongs to the members of the Society and we have greater

poem by Waring Cuney, which says in part:

"If our dead heroes could see us in '42
They'd say we did our part what are you going to do?"

Angelo also spoke of the role of the Quarterly in combatting Japanese propaganda which is concentrating on the Negro people today—trying to use the just grievances of 13,000,000 Negro Americans to divide the country and defeat democracy's cause.

"The Quarterly sprang into being to help the Negro people 'do their part,'" Angelo Herndon said.

"We've got to lick Jim Crow in order to lick Hitler," he said. Turning the pages of the first issue of the Quarterly he paused at a short

"If our dead heroes could see us in '42

48a-1942
New York Age
New York, N. Y.

Across The Desk

By LUDLOW W. WERNER

MORE TO BE PITIED, I feel, than censored, is Westbrook Pegler, feature columnist of the World Telegram and Scripps-Howard newspaper chain, who during the last week in two successive days showed his abyssmal ignorance of things Negro.

Even though he is a columnist who seems to dote on being cussed and discussed, and even though he feels that he becomes more important by writing things which cause a storm of criticism to fall on his head, I cannot ignore the opportunity which Pegler presented last week in his Tuesday and Wednesday columns. And so, despite the fact that mention of his column merely serves to advertise him, I shall devote this column to some of his drivel.



Ludlow W. Werner

"I should like to challenge," writes Pegler, "one of the premises on which the Negro press of our country operates and from which it addresses its appeal to the Negro people. That is the premise that the white newspapers of our daily press are unfair to the Negro in their treatment of news stories, if not actually hostile to the colored man."

"I say," he continues with his usual air of finality, "the white papers are not anti-Negro but, on the contrary, are scrupulously fair and sympathetic and even sometimes play down news for fear that by the slightest overemphasis they may provide some Communist group or some reckless hotheads of either race with an opportunity to touch off a tragedy. Our white editors feel a grave responsibility and, while it may be, strictly speaking, a mistake to play down news beneath its due degree of emphasis, it is, if so, a mistake made in a good cause and out of good motives."

"It is not supercilious to say," he maintains, "that the Negro press is inferior to the white press. Its inferiority is recognized by many Negro leaders who cite the obvious reason that colored men have come to journalism only recently and have lacked opportunity, experience and encouragement. But lack of cultivated skill and grace does not entirely justify the hostile tone toward the white people of some Negro publications which say they are striving for friendly, prosperous relations between the races but incessantly are guilty of a hostility to white men which is never expressed toward Negroes in our white press.

"Our white press is friendly to the Negro. It is a large order but I defy any colored editor to cite a single paragraph of anti-Negro copy in a New York paper in the last ten years. But we are busily occupied with many concerns and do not concentrate constantly on the aspirations of the colored man, which is the special mission of the Negro press. And inspection of parallel stories on a given event, such as the housing trouble in Detroit, will show that the white press spoke with restraint and a sense of responsibility not to upset the peace while some Negro papers expressed themselves in tones of anger and racial hostility."

Starting with his last point first, it must be plain to all except Pegler that the reason the white press played down the Detroit housing trouble was because the incident certainly put the white man in an unholy light. In that instance, it was the white man who, resentful because Negroes were about to move into a federal housing project, started to show that resentment by picketing, stoning and preventing Negroes from moving into a project financed by federal money, from taxes which Negroes as well as whites paid. It was the white man in this case who was unmasked and his hypocrisy bared to the world. This was the same white man who was shouting loudest that we must beat the Axis, for under Axis rule there would be no freedom or democracy. And yet what was the Detroit white man doing in this case but out-Hitlering Hitler and saying in effect: These houses are too good for Negroes to live in. We'll keep him out, by force if necessary."

So if the Negro papers expressed themselves in "tones of anger and racial hostility," they had every reason to do so. After all, wasn't it natural for Negro papers to be resentful of this incident in the bulwark of democracy? Was this not another instance of democracy at work? Or does Pegler feel that the Negro papers should have played down the incident and counseled their readers to take it lying down?

I wonder if Westbrook Pegler realizes that the Negro has a stake, too, in this democracy and that in this war effort we have two enemies—the Hitler-Mussolini-Hirohito combine on the outside and from within the Southern and Northern fascists, fifth columnists, etc., who would rather see an Axis victory than a real extension to the Negro of democracy, and all that it implies.

As to Pegler's statement that Negroes have come to journalism only recently, he again shows his ignorance. Before he was born, and probably before his father was born, too, Negroes were in journalism. If Pegler weren't so ignorant, or so self-centered, he could have gone back to history to discover that the first paper, owned and published by Negroes, was named "Freedom's Journal," and it appeared as a strictly abolitionist journal, being first issued in New York on March 30, 1827, by two free Negroes, John B. Russworm and Rev. Samuel E. Cornish. The slogan of that first paper was "Righteousness Exalteth a Nation." And Negroes have been in journalism ever since that time. One could hardly call 115 years "recently."

It might also interest Pegler to know that there are men in Negro journalism who can write rings around him and who could, if given the same opportunity that he has, make him hang his head in shame for their excellence of copy. He couldn't reach them with a ten-foot pole.

If the white papers are so "scrupulously fair and sympathetic" to the Negro, why is it that they deny qualified Negroes the opportunity to work on their newspapers? It might interest Pegler to know that Negroes do not want sympathetic treatment from the white papers; they want the same fair treatment, the same courtesies, the same rights and privileges accorded anyone else. In short, the Negro wants democracy—even from the white papers.

Perhaps Pegler doesn't realize it but with the Negro it is a question of democracy NOW or NEVER.

It might also interest Pegler to know that he can be of more service to his readers if he stops trying to "put the Negro in his place" because there is a wide suspicion that his recent attacks on Negro journalism are motivated not by a desire to improve the status of the Negro press but by a desire to discredit the mouthpiece of a minority group which is resentful of the treatment accorded it, particularly at this time.

I repeat, with the Negro it is a question of democracy NOW or NEVER and right here at home. And all the Peglers can't and won't stop the Negro press from continuing the fight.

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

$25,000 SUIT FILED AGAINST PEOPLE'S VOICE

Urban League Secretary Says Tabloid Printed Libelous Stories

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Court action was taken here this week on behalf of James H. Hubert, executive secretary of the New York Urban League, against a local tabloid published by a Baptist minister.

Hubert charges he was libeled through news stories appearing in the newspaper. The suit for $25,000 was filed by Atty. William T. Gavin and named the Powell-Buchanan publishing company defendant.

The publishing company which for the past six months has issued a paper called by its editors "The Peoples Voice," is charged with printing articles "intending to injure plaintiff's good reputation in connection with his position as executive director of the Urban League."

Hubert had branded as "false, malicious, defamatory," stories published in the pocket-size sheet concerning him and his activities. He asks that the $25,000 sum be paid plus costs and disbursements of the action.

Leaders of the New York Urban League have appointed a committee, composed of Dr. Marc Moreland, Rev. Gerald Hamilton, and Ernest Dimitry to investigate charges against Hubert contained in the pages of the paper which is rumored to be partly financed by Marshall Field, III, publisher of the Chicago Sun and New York's PM.

According to a member of the committee probing the charges, "All evidence unearthed so far tends to show that the attack is an attempt on the part of certain individuals to gain control of the league and dictate its policy."

Rev. Hamilton said, "It is to be deplored that 'The People's Voice' is now faced with a suit based on libeling of a citizen's 24 years of unselfish work in Harlem."

He is a member of the nationally famous Hubert family of Georgia which the late Dr. Robert Russa Moten, president of Tuskegee Institute, said was one of the outstanding families in the country.

Hubert organized the Urban League here and had it incorporated in 1920.

Under his leadership the league has widened its scope of activities and become an important factor in matters affecting the New York community.

Time
Chicago, Illinois

No Connection

Sirs:

. . . "One of the speakers at the convention was Marshall Field, backer of Chicago's *Sun* and New York's *PM*. He urged the Negro press to go easy on the race issue. The advice was interesting, since he is also the backer of a Negro paper, a four-month-old Harlem tabloid called *The People's Voice* (to which last week he extended 'another $25,000 of credit')" [TIME, June 15].

I am deeply sympathetic with the efforts of the Negro press to improve the lot of the Negro. Nothing so impairs the moral position of America in the present war as our treatment of the Negro population, and every sincere effort that seeks to ameliorate the present status of the Negroes should be encouraged. The conclusions here stated are, I take it, axiomatic to all loyal and understanding Americans.

This brings me to the excerpt quoted above. I have no connection whatsoever with *The People's Voice*. I did not extend during the "last week" before your issue of June 15 "another $25,000 of credit" or any other amount. *The People's Voice* is printed on the presses which print *PM*, but under a contract which requires that such printing be paid for in the usual way. Bills are due and payable 15 days after charges have been incurred and there is no arrangement for any other credit to *The People's Voice*. . . .

MARSHALL FIELD

New York City

▶ To Marshall Field apologies for an evident error. TIME's statement was based on information that apparently came from the horse's mouth: Publisher Adam Powell told TIME's correspondent covering the Negro publishers' convention that Mr. Field was indeed his backer and had at luncheon only the day before extended him "another $25,000 credit."—ED.

Amsterdam News
New York, N. Y.

We're Called Liars

To the Editor:

Dear Sir—So Westbrook Pegler was right, huh? Take a look at Page 5 of your paper in the right hand corner advertising Negroes to get their skin lighter.

What fake liars you are! Furthermore, you ought to stop glorifying Negro thugs and consider the good Negro element. Or maybe they would be insulted.

AN INSULTED DISGUSTED NEGRO.

P. S.—Don't try to get your boys and their blades after me.

Peoples Voice
New York, N. Y.

Star-News Holds Marketing Forum

The meaning and value of the Negro as a consumer of goods and user of services provided the main themes of the first advertising and marketing forum, sponsored at the Harlem branch YMCA last week by members of the advertising staff of the NY *Amsterdam Star-News*. *Star-News* advertising manager David J. Sullivan presided, introduced a number of outstanding guests during the all-day program. Members of PV's advertising department and other locals, active in the world of business and advertising, attended.

Among the speakers were Si Moscowitz of *Carstairs Distillers;* James A. Jackson of *Standard Oil;* David Geller of *W. B. Ziff Company;* John J. Hagan of *Lloyd, Chester and Dillingham, Inc.;* Emmer Martin Lancaster, adviser on Negro affairs, US Department of Commerce; Frank R. Coutant of *Fact-Finders Associates, Inc.;* Arthur Hirose of *McCall Corporation;* H. H. Kynett of *Aitkin-Kynett Company;* William G. Black of *Interstate United Newspapers, Inc.*

New York Age
New York, N. Y.

Excellent Journalism

Editor, The New York Age:

I want to thank you most heartily for the space given in The Age for my article on President Wright of Lincoln University.

When I saw the news item in the preceding issue covering the statement about Dr. Wright's forthcoming retirement I had practically reached the conclusion that the article had been killed.

I see now that it was probably your method of preparing the way for the subsequent article, which, if I may call it so, is excellent journalism.

Your treatment of the article is not only a compliment to the writer, but a tribute to the subject of the sketch which I believe will be highly appreciated by Lincoln men everywhere.

May I thank you again for this service to Lincoln and the consideration shown the writer. In the future I shall try not to make such heavy demands upon your space.

G. LAKE IMES,
Director, "My People."

Baltimore, Md.

THE FOOD PAGE INTERVIEWS ITS READERS:

Hannah . . . *Helps 8 Unmarried Young New Yorkers Eat Better for Less*



With Hannah's guidance these young PM readers can entertain their friends nicely at modest cost. *Photo by Steven Derry, PM*

"PM Daily" New York, N.Y.

A GROUP of young men at 4 Grove St. in Greenwich Village has solved the vital problems of where to eat and sleep by renting a house and engaging a cook—Hannah. Hannah has been taking care of this household for two years. The draft keeps the personnel in a constant state of flux, but outsiders aware of Hannah's kitchen powers are always ready to fill any vacancy.

There are usually eight men living in the house. Dinner is the only meal served. Hannah is accustomed to adjusting her menus to three or a dozen. When she arrives in the morning she checks the chart in the dining room to see how many have signed for dinner and how many are having guests.

Hannah does her marketing on a cash-and-carry basis. She sometimes shops at the Park Ave., 110th St. Public Market before coming down town. At other times she does her buying at the First Ave. Public Market at 10th St. She likes to buy her meat in the district of Ninth Ave. and 40th St.

"But you can't just shop in one place," says Hannah. "I keep looking around and buy where I can get the best for my money."

Hannah's dinners average 55c a person. The boys could pay twice this amount and not receive the same value if they had to rely on New York restaurants.

In addition to meat, their dinner table always has three vegetables. Hannah bakes her own rolls, which are alternated with corn bread and popovers. The boys prefer some form of fruit for dessert.

Hannah couldn't give PM any definite recipes because she doesn't follow them herself. She did say that she keeps total costs down by never letting anything go to waste. Corn left from one dinner reappears the next day in the form of corn fritters. For these she combines the corn with two beaten eggs and flour to make the batter just stiff enough. Suitable left-over vegetables go into salads. Extra fruits are utilized in gelatin or frozen desserts.

This is a plan other single New Yorkers might adopt in the interest of better living at moderate cost.

48a-1942

New York Age
New York, N. Y.

GREETINGS TO THE PEOPLES VOICE

FEB 14 1942

THIS WEEK HARLEM will welcome another Negro newspaper with Rev. and Councilman Adam Clayton Powell as editor. There has been some alarm among some of the Negro publications because the new paper, The Peoples Voice, will be printed, we understand, by the same plant that prints PM, the daily tabloid, and by the report that Marshall Field, III, and Moe Gale, owner of the Savoy Ballroom, are financially interested in the new publication. This is denied by Editor Powell.

In its nearly 60 years of publication, The New York Age has seen many publications started in New York and for that reason we have no fears about the advent of another newspaper. There are so many shades of opinion among the Negroes of the Metropolis that the existing publications cannot reflect all these opinions. The more competition, the merrier. FEB 14 1942

Politicians will watch the new publication to see if it will be used as an organ for the political opinions of Councilman Powell. It is reported that he is ambitious to become Harlem's first Negro to sit in the halls of Congress, if and when the Congressional Districts of New York State are reapportioned.

Another Harlem editor, Dr. C. P. Powell, it is reported, has also congressional ambitions, along with about two-thirds of all the Negro lawyers in Harlem, so that some lively times are expected during the next Congressional race.

But whether The Peoples Voice will become a political organ or not, the people of Harlem are assured of having their every action and opinion chronicled, now that we have three local newspapers and half a dozen out-of-town national weeklies competing for the New York circulation. FEB 14 1942

We salute The Peoples Voice with its initial issue, and wish for it a long career of unselfish service to the public.

New Newspaper Gets $50,000 White Backing

FEB 21 1942

And from New York City comes word that the new weekly 48-page tabloid which is entering the lucrative Harlem field, has aroused considerable opposition among Eastern weekly editors who have for years tried to crash the field with varying success. Informed sources place newly elected Councilman Rev. A. Clayton Powell, as editor; Sinclair Bourne as managing editor. Joe Christian and Morgan Jensen are also rumored to be in the business set up. A noted New York merchant is backing the new Negro newspaper to the tune of $50,000, according to reports.

New York Age
New York, N. Y.

Agrees With Letter Writer

MAR 7 - 1942

Editor he New York Age:

Congratulations upon the publication of your letter from Thomas Parks in the issue of your paper dated February 28 pertaining to the crimes committed against our race in this so-called democracy. Mr. Parks, in his statement, has voiced the sentiments of the majority of Colored America.

Negroes unite and stand solidly behing Mr. Parks who so nobly has expressed our opinion. We need more men like Mr. Parks.

EDWARD MILLER.
Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

MAR 7 1942

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

NEGRO QUARTERLY OUT

NEW YORK—(ANP)—The first issue of the Negro Quarterly, a new magazine of Negro thought and opinion was scheduled to appear Tuesday. It is published at 1 West 125th Street, New York, by the Negro Publication Society of America, and edited by Angelo Herndon. FEB 25 1942

NEW YORK
New York Age
New York, N. Y.

3 New York Editors Disagree With Daily Worker's War Policy

MAR 28 1942

The degree to which the Negro people should give all-out "Support" to the fight against fascism abroad, proved to be the principal issue in the Schomburg Collections forum on "Publishing Negro News" last Thursday, at the Public Library, 9 West 124th street.

Eugene Gordon, of The Daily Worker, the only daily newspaper in New York, which employs Negroes on its editorial staff, opened the argument by declaring that the Negro press should consider Hitler and the Japanese as the main enemy and that the foes of "Negro rights" in this country should be considered as secondary.

Mr. Gordon sharply criticized the "Double V" campaign of The Pittsburgh Courier and similar slogans of other newspapers. Managing Editors Ludlow W. Werner of The New York Age, Julius Adams of The Amsterdam Star-News and St. Clair Bourne, of The People's Voice disagreed with Gordon. In different words, these three editors said that unless the Negro fought for and received democracy at home he would be in no position to defend it abroad.

Tom O'Connor, of the New York daily PM, indicated how difficult it was for PM in pushing through its twin policy of winning the war and fighting for "Negro rights" to draw the line whenever the campaign for "Negro rights" conflicted with the war effort.

All of the newspaper men agreed that the Negro press was necessary; that its long tradition of struggle from 1827 to present day is glorious and that the Negro press has become an important American institution. MAR 28 1942

This forum on the Negro newspaper and news in the daily press was the last of this season's "Evening's with Negro Authors, with Dr. L. S. Reddick, curator, as master of ceremonies; Francis R. St. John, chief of Circulation Department of The New York Public Library, was present and received an ovation from the audience.

Globe and Independent
Nashville, Tenn.

Newspaper Bias To Minorities Hit By Educator

APR 17 1942

"Edit What You Read" Is Title To Strong Article In Opportunity Magazine For April

NEW YORK—S. Wycliffe Garlington, eminent colored professor of sociology, formerly a teacher at Livingstone College, but who now lives in New York, has contributed an article to the April issue of OPPORTUNITY Magazine, under the title, "Edit What You Read", intended to supplement the efforts of editors of Negro newspapers in keeping before the public the deliberate bias of daily papers in reporting news about Negroes.

Dr. Garlington, while holding that all intelligent persons should read daily papers, says fairminded persons should dismiss from their minds any belief that papers are edited for everybody, that they are an omnibus for everybody to ride. Only a prostitute can be all things to all men, he says. The press, says Dr. Garlington, is edited primarily for "that woefully small phantom minority known as the dominant class which comes first, last and always in the press. America's One-Tench (Negro) is not the only group left out or underrated in what makes news. Over 1,000 trade journals, newspapers of various races and other publications substantiate this fact. Hence, there is no base to doub the failure of the press to satisfy specific interests of the Negro.

"The only reason for the Negro press is an attempt to give proper perspective to what we read in the general press. Despite half-hearted support, our editors do an excellent job of correcting distortions, giving just emphasis and adding suppressed information which champion our right to a stake in the STATUS QUO. But this plausible weekly effort cannot cover all of the material read by Negro America and the impression ceaselessly hammered into its head (via veiled purposes, trickiness of words, useless abstractions, exorbitant ideals, insipid generalities and under or over statement). The crucial situation cautions each and every Negro to edit what he read in the dailies, magazines, journals and books; what he sees on the screen and what he hears on the radio.

APR 17 1942

Dr. Garlington states it would not be so bad if editorial opinion, expressive of the bias of daily newspaper publishers were kept on the editorial page, but holds that "the entire bulk of manuscript, photos, and ads operates under direct orders generally to taboo social criticism. Good, bad or indifferent—the status quo must be preserved.

"All the way from the NEW YORK MIRROR to the NEW YORK TIMES, the Negro comes in for degrading analysis," the professor states, "which could not be called either complimentary or elevating." He states that the newspaper PM, New York daily, is the lone exception, but admits that this fair newspaper is still a voice crying in the wilderness, because too many people do not read PM. "The Negro comes nearer to getting justice in theatre sections than anywhere else," says Dr Garlington, "but even here something is lacking. Expressions demanding or requesting fairplay for men and women of color are practically nil. Thousands of words and photos, telling everybody of the Negro's greatness as a musician will be found, but you will look in vain for exposes on opening up worthwhile radio commercial programs for them. In sports, except in the boxing profession, the same line is true. Such left-handed compliments are used to opiate and detour thoughts and actions for real recognition based on merit. In other departments no attempt is made to pacify; omission and play-down is the vogue."

APR 17 1942

The professor deplores the hypocrisy of trying to glorify the democratic ideal, which the press does constantly, but does nothing to make it a reality. Because this biased practice will be handed down to posterity, the professor holds that something can be done to keep it from having full effect. "Editing what you read," says he "rather than accepting such flapdoodle lock, stock and barrel, will help." APR 17 1942

Negroes must learn to rewrite and re-emphasize in their own minds news they read in the press and not fall victim to evaluating news by the length of the article, the headline it carries nor the position it occupies in the paper. To do so would make the Negro reader fall prey to the un-godly act of under-rating other worthwhile news developments.

Dr. Garlington points out how the New York HERALD-TRIBUNE gave an obscure position to a review of the book, "The Myth on the Negro's Past," because this book breaks down the misconception that the Negro in the New World is without a rich past. The book made front page, in my mental rewriting or editing."

Also this observation was made by the professor: "Four days after a Negro messman who distinguished himself at Pearl Harbor, the 'All the news fit to print' New York Times carried a submerged brief note on a back page. Tiny notes on army camp flareups, housing riots, lynching, ET AL all receive different emphasis when editing what you read."

The professor concludes his brilliant article as follows:

"This type of analysis is particularly needed in the crisis of war as minorities are among the first to be deprived of their rights. Out of such may grow bitter criticism but such is needed to strengthen our democratic order. Without such, we will be getting less and less of what we need more and more—if national unity, the 'four freedoms,' and the ATLANTIC CHARTER are to be realized. It then becomes the duty of each and every Negro to edit what he reads and thereby aid national defense by doing his bit for a Double Victory—over home-made and foreign anti-democratic forces. Otherwise, we may win the war and lose the peace."

Peoples Voice
New York, N. Y.

PV Explores Squalor In Hearst's Backyard

MAY 30 1942

Special

If William Randolph Hearst were to look out of almost any window in his New York **Journal-American** building down on South st he would find under his nose conditions to breed crime and vice equal to the most highly colored accounts purveyed by his daily newspaper in its Harlem "crusade." **Voice** reporters, probing the accuracy of **Journal-American** insistence that Harlem is the worst spawning ground for all that is evil in the city, journeyed down to the daily's own neighborhood last week. They found:

- ghostly, rat-infested tenements, long condemned by the city, stand among countless other old-law buildings;
- a neighborhood of narrow, twisted streets, many little wider than alleys, where the stranger passerby must walk warily and only if there's no other way through;
- gambling joints, operated mainly by persons of alien descent, where longshoremen and seamen are lured and shorn of their earnings;
- neighborhood spots frequented by characters from whom might be drawn more lurid tales of vice than the most seasoned **Journal-American** reporter on Harlem might imagine;
- a waterfront section where exist labor conditions that exceed in horror even the much-publicized "Bronx slave market.

Through such a section as this speed the **Journal-American** reporters enroute to Harlem to dig up and embellish material for the only type of "news" about the Negro community their paper will print.

MAY 30 1942

Just two weeks ago, Nosta Apostolor, who has operated his hot dog pushcart in front of the **Journal-American** building for 20 years, was attacked, beaten and robbed by a white gang scarcely two blocks from the building. The hoodlums, in a truck, then visited a nearby garage and were refused gas by the Negro attendant who then gave aid to the old vendor.

Just three weeks ago the body of a Negro was fished out of the river almost in front of the **Journal-American's** door.

Neither of these items was very noticeable in the **Journal-American.** But the slightest happening in Harlem which can be considered crime news is faithfully recorded—and most often exaggerated.

But more about that next week.



PUBLISHERS Powell and Buchanan of PV affix their signatures to the Newspaper Guild contract covering the staff as Voice Guild Unit chairman Ann Petry smilingly witnesses. Signing made PV second Negro owned newspaper operating with a Newspaper Guild contract. Entire staff is covered by the agreement.

Peoples Voice
New York, N. Y.

Newspaper Guild Blasts Fascism

DENVER—Sharp disapproval of race discrimination and all other forms of native fascism was expressed by the American Newspaper Guild in convention here last week. The body of delegates, representing about 18,000 publications from all over the country, took vigorous slaps at

- discrimination in employment
- the Red Cross discriminatory policy on blood plasma
- segregation in the armed forces.

The motion was spearheaded by the war activities committee of the convention, with Carl Dunbar Lawrence, chairman of the NY Star-News unit and member of the NY Newspaper Guild executive committee, playing a leading part. The complete resolution as adopted follows:

"Racial discrimination is recognized as a serious threat to the unity of the American people behind the war effort and there have been instances of racial discrimination in the matter of employment in war industries and in the blood bank campaign of the Red Cross. The committee takes this occasion to recommend to the convention that we restate with renewed interest the policy of the Guild and the CIO that racial discrimination in all its forms be actively and vigorously opposed wherever encountered. The committee further urges, as an aid to the war effort, that all locals cooperate to the fullest extent with the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice."

48a-1942
Amsterdam News
New York, N. Y.

The Daily Press Also Guilty

It is hard for realistic observers of the national scene to see how the Daily Press could be so purblind on the race situation. The Caucasian press creates and controls the sentiment of the nation. For the most part it seems utterly unaware of the conflicting nature of the issues now rocking the country to its foundations. For the most part it apparently thinks that Colored Americans are so inured to affronts and that the country is so immersed in colorphobia that it can ignore with safety their just grievances and can caricature them with impunity. It pillories them in "Negro" headlines and stories as culprits and criminals. Their achievements and their exploits are not reckoned "good copy" by the daily papers.

APR 18 1942

The reading public consequently gets the false impression of their character and capacity. Public sentiment thus created accordingly condones the injustices done them and creates the vicious circle of damning and degrading them.

The daily press has not kept pace with the radio in pointing out the gravity of the race problem, which the press up until now has been largely instrumental in creating.

But this is war. The daily press must keep up with the drive farsighted Americans are making to unify all Americans in one solid fighting front. "I am an American Day" will be observed by all good Americans on May 17. It will be a great day if the daily press of the nation would turn about face and consecrate itself on that day to the constructive service of all good Americans.

Vol. 1. No. 11 April 25, 194

PEOPLE'S VOICE
AMERICA'S GREATEST NEGRO NEWSPAPER

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NEW YORK
The Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.

Negro Victory Group Raps World-Telegram

The Negro Labor Victory Committee, 217 W. 125th St, replied last night to a red-baiting attack in yesterday's World-Telegram. The World-Telegram article, written by Frederick Woltman, professional anti-laborite, follows the committee's announcement of a victory conference to be held on Saturday, June 27, at the Fraternal Clubhouse, in which 100 or more unions are expected to take part, and a victory mass meeting, at 5 P.M. Sunday, June 28, which Paul V. McNutt, head of the President's Manpower Mobilization Board and other prominent speakers will address.

The statement follows:

The World-Telegram tried by silence and by refusing to print any releases from the Negro labor victory committee to kill the patriotic win-the-war conference in Harlem June 27. It didn't succeed with that. Now it tries to kill the conference by a red-baiting attack upon it which is typical of what Goebbels would do to crush and divide unity in behalf of Negro rights and the nation's war effort.

This unscrupulous attack of the Telegram upon the Negro labor and people's Victory conference is in line with the pro-Hitler defeatist policies of the Scripps-Howard newspapers.

The Negro Victory conference has been called in the interest of the winning the war and in the interest of integrating the Negro people equally and fully into the war effort for victory.

This red-baiting article is not only an attack against the conference but against outstanding trade unions and their leaders but also upon well-known Negro and white community figures, all of whom have made great contributions to the nation's war effort. Many of these unions have received national and official recognition from the government for their patriotic contributions. Among them are the National Maritime Union, the United Electrical Workers, Hotel and Restaurant Workers, and many other AFL and CIO unions.

The World-Telegram is a defeatist newspaper which sabotages our nation's war effort and which is notorious for its anti-Negro policy as expressed in its editorials, news and in the Ku Klux writings of Westbrook Pegler. Naturally the Telegram is opposed to a Conference which supports the victory of our nation and which urges equality of the Negroes in jobs, training, the armed forces, civilian defense, and in our national life.

The Telegram tried to cover its opposition to the patriotic purposes of this conference behind its red-baiting attacks upon the conference and upon Paul V. McNutt, of the government's manpower commission, who will address the conference.

This attempt to discredit a win-the-war conference and also to discredit government officials who are working to win the war is in line with the tactics of Hitler, Goebbels, Martin Dies, and all the other appeasers who are trying to destroy national unity for victory. It is in line with the Telegram's policies against labor and all other patriotic progressive causes.

It is unfortunate that A. Philip Randolph played into the hands of this defeatist, anti-Negro publication by furnishing them with a red-baiting statement against the Conference. Such a divisive statement by Mr. Randolph will be used by the defeatist enemies of the Negro people to disunite them, split their just struggles for equality in the war effort, and to attack our war effort. Such an attitude weakens the struggle for the very 8-point demands which the Negro people adopted at the Madison Square Garden rally

The Negro victory conference more than ever will redouble its efforts to unite the Negro people, labor and all other fair-minded Americans in the interest of victory over Hitler and in the interest of full Negro equality which is so essential to that victory. It stands for the unity of the American people irrespective of religion, race, color, creed or political affiliation against Hitler. It will cooperate with all sections, organizations and movements of the people, Negro and white, who truly fight for the interest of the Negro people and for victory. It urges the widest turn-out and support to this conference as an answer to the defeatist enemies of the Negro people and of the nation.

Amsterdam Star-News
New York, N. Y.

New Rights for Negro To Come from War

Read how the Pullman Porters' threatened march on Washington helped give Negroes a bigger share in the national defense program and how Negroes are uniting in a spreading movement against discrimination—in the July Reader's Digest. Prominent Negroes who have seen this powerful article say that every Negro who is interested in the achievements of his race will want to read it and pass it on to his friends. Also in the July Reader's Digest:

	Page
The Nazis know they'll be licked	18
Condensation of Seversky's great new book that outlines a sensational plan to win the war	119
Easy ways to teach children lessons that otherwise would take years to learn	26
Survivor tells how blood-mad Nazis killed innocent Poles	87
Can you believe the cigarette ads?	5
No room for snobs in a Democracy	14

Also 31 other exciting features from leading magazines and books condensed for pleasant, profitable reading—

In the July Reader's Digest

At all Newsstands

Get your copy today

Reader's Digest

Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Executives Ask No Reduction In Advertising

Forum Conducted By New York Paper First Of Its Kind

NEW YORK — That wartime advertising is imperative, if the consumer is to bridge the gap between the technological gains being made now and the multiplicity of new products which will be offered for sale in the post-war era, was the consensus of advertising men meeting in the first New York Amsterdam Star-News advertising and marketing forum held at the Harlem Y. M. C. A. Wednesday of last week.

Advertising agency executives, marketing representatives of industry, and newspaper advertising staffs were in attendance at the all-day meeting. David J. Sullivan, Star-News advertising manager, presided.

"The public demands advertising because they want to know how to win the war and information about the industries directly concerned with production for the war effort," it was decided.

Forum participants further decided that an increase in wartime advertising by industry must of necessity include Negro newspapers on the various company schedules since cooperation of every sector is required for successful prosecution of total war. Industry was also warned that successful sales in the rich Negro market of the post-war era can only be assured by advertising in Negro owned media today.

JUN 27 1942

Amsterdam Star-News
New York, N. Y.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

By WILLIAM G. BLACK,
Sales Manager, Interstate United Newspapers

Dear Sir—My office has been flooded with letters from most of America's Negro publishers requesting that we, at Interstate United Newspapers, check with the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. to find out if they were sufficiently responsible for the insult to Dorothy Maynor as recited in Miss Ilka Chase's best seller, "Past Imperfect," to warrant a nationwide boycott of Camel cigarettes by Negro Americans.

JUL 18 1942

Inthis regard, the writer contacted Mr. S. Clay Williams, chairman of the Board of Directors of the R. J. Reynolds organization. In the lively exchange of letters which ensued from the photostatic and original copies of letters sent you by your readers and then sent on to us were sent to the makers of Camels, so that they could see first hand how much Negro Americans resent being denied their rights as Americans to appear on commercial radio programs and all other types of racial prejudice.

We are convinced that the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. was in no way responsible for this insult to the race in general and Miss Maynor in particular. The insult was made by someone not connected with the makers of Camel cigarettes and not authorized to set or determine the policy of the R. J. Reynolds Co.

In view of the foregoing and because of the fact that the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. is one of America's biggest employers of Negroes, plus the fact that it has a clean bill of health with the Federal Government as regards employes' working conditions . . . plus the fact that we need all of our fighting energies to help lick the Axis in this war at home and abroad, we herewith request that you pass the word along to all organizations in your community, civic, social, church and fraternal, asking them not to start a war at home by boycotting Camel cigarettes, because we feel that an organization headed by a man as astute and fair-minded as Mr. S. Clay Williams has shown himself to be, will always see to it that the Negro is treated fairly by the makers of Camel cigarettes.

With best wishes and the assurance that we present a solid front to all our enemies at home and abroad, we are

Very truly yours,
INTERSTATE UNITED NEWSPAPERS, INC.

48a-1942
Amsterdam News
New York, N. Y.

Hypocrisy of the Daily Press

IN THE MIDST of the heated campaign to force the National and American baseball leagues to forego lily white policies and admit Negro players to participate in the great American pastime, it is indeed strange to see daily newspapers here in New York City so active in the cause. It is to the well being of the entire commonwealth that baseball renounce its prejudices and system of exclusion of Negro athletes, and on that score any help that can be had is badly needed and most welcome.

Nevertheless, it still seems queer that such newspapers as PM, The Daily Mirror, The News and The Post should be so "het up" over the matter when these papers do not have Negroes employed in any editorial capacity. While we do not intend to launch another fight within the framework of the current campaign for recognition of Negroes in the national American game, we do maintain that keeping one's own doorstep clean would be the decent and equitable thing to do.

There are, as among baseball players, hundreds of capable Negro newspaper workers, reporters, editors, sports writers, cartoonists, photographers, editorial writers, desk men, advertising solicitors and others, who are being discriminated against just as cruelly as Negro ball players, by the same daily newspapers which yell loud and long for justice for the Negro from the owners of the big league clubs and who do not apply the same principles in their own institutions.

Unless Negro newspapers and other publications provide the opporunity, these workers will never get a chance to work at their avowed profession. Not long ago a young reporter, who has worked for the Star-News, took a good story to one of the daily papers, which harps continually on the question of giving the Negro a break as an American citizen. The managing editor read the story and then told the reporters: I honestly didn't think a Negro newspaperman could write a straight line."

Whether this viewpoint is universal in the editorial offices of the daily newspapers is not known to us. But we do know that such a statement, even the suggestion, is a rank insult to a growing profession that is responsible for influencing more than 13 million citizens of this nation along the right lines. That Negro ball players should be of prime concern to daily papers which refuse to hire Negroes in any capacity except as glorified "maintenance men" is incredulous to us. We still can't see our way clear to reconcile these two extremes.

In New York City, only one newspaper, The Daily Worker, has Negroes employed in capacities higher than that of janitor. In the case of The Worker, the political reason stands out like a sore thumb. PM, most militant of the daily press front in New York City, thunders every day for justice for Negroes from national, State and local government; it exposes discrimination in high and low places, points out remedies, presents all phases of Negro life, but the sordid. It is exemplary in its presentation of news about the Negro (for Negro consumption) yet has an all-white staff writing this news.

The Negro's interest in journalism heightens each year as opportunities steadily increase; but these opportunities are wholly within the structure of the business of Negro publishing and not among the whites, who insist on maintaining as lilywhite a policy toward the black man as ever could be devised by baseball. If baseball is forced to lower its bars against colored players, then the daily press should be forced to do likewise in the case of qualified Negro newspaper workers. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. We would like to see the day when Negro editors held forth in the editorial sanctums of metropolitan papers; when Negro reporters covered important beats for daily papers; when white and colored writers worked side by side on both Negro and white papers. But that day—a Utopian dream maybe, will never come so long as the dailies practice such hypocrisy as in the present drive on the major leagues.

New Masses
New York, N. Y.

BETWEEN OURSELVES

WE HAVE received so many comments from our readers praising the story by Sam Hakam, "I Rode the Convoy to Russia" (August 25 issue), that we feel impelled to tell you a little about the author. He has been a radio operator since 1929 and is a charter member of the American Communications Association, CIO. The experiences he described are not particularly novel to him: he was radio operator on the freighter *Lehigh* which was torpedoed by the Nazis off the coast of West Africa on Oct. 19, 1941, the second American flag ship to be sunk during the war. Hakam is one of the many ACA operators whose experiences under attack have served to provide valuable proposals on safety of life and property at sea: these experiences have been embodied in the ACA's Safety Plan, parts of which have been adopted by the Federal Communications Commission and the United States Navy.

Hakam comes from a family rich in fighters: his brother Harry waged war against the Axis in Spain for two years as a member of the Lincoln Brigade. Two other brothers are members of the National Maritime Union—one, Solly, is an oiler, and Abe is an Able-Bodied Seaman. Another brother, Louis, is a sergeant in the United States Army. "And Poppa and Momma are buying war bonds," Hakam adds.

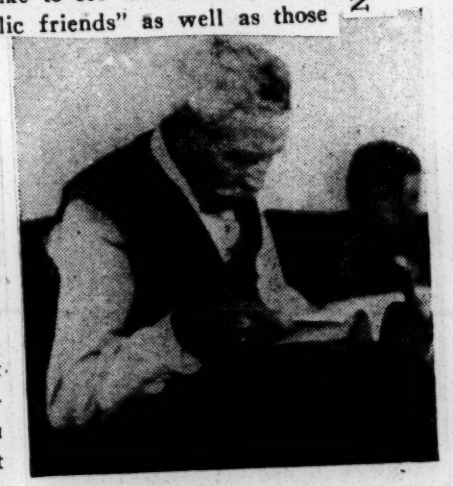
While he was in the office he told us the story of a colleague who went down in the Caribbean and was rescued after several days in a lifeboat. He urged his friend to write the story for us, but the latter felt he had nothing much to say about it. "It was just a routine torpedoing," his buddy explained.

PLANNING of a special issue devoted to the Negro People in the War has now been completed, and we are glad to announce that it is scheduled for publication in the coming weeks. One of the striking features of the issue will be a group of letters, now published for the first time, dealing with Negro troops in the Civil War. The letters were written in 1863 and 1864 by Capt. John W. Ames, of the Eleventh Regular United States Infantry. The New York *Tribune* of July 23, 1863, noted the nomination of Captain Ames to head the Second Regiment of Colored United States Volunteers. Captain Ames was a "graduate of Harvard, a son of Judge Ames of Boston, and grandson of Fisher Ames." The recruiting of the Negro regiment took place in Philadelphia, where, according to the *Tribune*, the "black enlistment movement is a complete success, commanding the hearty approval of loyal people of all classes." You will find the letters an exciting revelation by an officer who was himself skeptical, at the start, of the brilliant fighting qualities of the Negro volunteers.

REMEMBER the old ad—"Tired? Worn-out? Need a rest?" Anyway, we don't need a medical degree to give you some advice. Take off September 18-21 and come up to Chesters' Zunbarg, at Woodbourne, N. Y., with the rest of the crowd. It's one of those NM weekends that have delighted hundreds of our readers. You know the people, and you know the kind of program we put on. You'll loll about, if you want to; or you'll listen to a recital by a concert artist, if you want to; you can, if you're so constituted, join in the sports program, which includes everything from archery to tennis; and if you have the yen you can listen to one of our editors or writers on some of the current political or literary topics of the day. Some of the *Of V We Sing* artists will be there as well as Virginia Blake, from *It's About Time;* Bill Korf, the dancer, Ira Stadlin, the leading comic of *Pens and Pencils,* and Stanley Praeger, NBC radio actor. For further details about transportation, prices, etc., look up the ad on Page 25, which also carries a coupon for use in making your reservations. And write right away or you'll be too late. Chesters' is a pretty commodious place but it won't hold all the people who want to come, judging from the number of reservations already on hand. Don't say we didn't warn you.

A BALTIMORE reader, expressing appreciation of Samuel Putnam's article on Brazil in last week's issue, notes that in one respect the article is misleading. He calls attention to a sentence which seems to imply that diplomatic relations between Brazil and Japan still exist. Actually, of course, diplomatic relations with Japan were broken off following the Rio conference.

A constituent of Rep. Vito Marcantonio sends his considered approval of the article, "Hey, Marc," by Sasha Small, published in last week's issue. "Of course," he adds, "you can't say everything in one article that should be said about as fine a guy as Marc, but it was a good job just the same." The correspondent adds that he would like to see more such profiles of "public friends" as well as those NM often carries of public enemies.



George Aspden

Mr. Aspden is one of NM's oldest readers. He writes us from Grandview, Calif., that he has been taking the magazine for twenty-five years. He celebrated his ninety-sixth birthday last April. "I think the nations have learned a good deal the last few years," he writes, "and I would like to live and see the new world of freedom that will follow the war." That Mr. Aspden is still in there fighting is shown not only by the fine letter he wrote us, but by the $5 bill he sent to open his twenty-sixth subscription to the magazine.

Harlem Opens Ban Drive Against 'News'

AUG 14 1942

Daily Worker
N.Y. City

The People's Voice, Negro newspaper edited by Councilman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., announced in its current issue that Harlem is conducting a five-day boycott of the New York Daily News for reporting incorrectly that Harlem was "out of bounds" for white service men.

Police Commissioner Lewis Valentine declared shortly afterward that there was no truth to the report. "There are no areas or locations within this city," he said, "that the armed forces are barred from entering."

AUG 14 1942

The Harlem boycott was announced by The People's Voice in a two-line, five-column, front-page headline reading, "Harlem Citizens Ask, 'Boycott Daily News'." The story was accompanied by a picture showing a picket line with boycott placards.

The Daily News article purported to bear on the problem of a "vice cleanup."

AUG 14 1942

"The article misinformed that the Army and Navy definitely had 'declared Harlem out of bounds for white service men'," the People's Voice stated.

New York Age
New York, N. Y.

THE PEOPLE'S VOICE AND LABOR UNIONS

SEP 5 1942

WE REGRET to hear of the difficulties our neighbor, The People's Voice, has been having during the past two weeks. We think the advent of this publication to Harlem has stimulated interest in journalism generally and the competition has been good for the other newspapers. Only the war has prevented all the papers from capitalizing on this added stimulus.

SEP 5 1942

Our regret over PV's difficulties is coupled with amazement because of the numerous reports as to the cause of these difficulties.

The most common is that the white union printers refused to get the paper out when they saw a vigorous denunciation of the police, and New York officials in general, for their handling of the so-called Coleman case.

A white woman, Ann Coleman, and her brother, Charles, brought about the arrest of eight Harlem youths on the serious charge of rape and felonious assault. One of the boys is said to have snatched the woman's purse as the couple were waiting for a Lenox avenue bus. He was pursued by Charles Coleman to the roof of a Lenox avenue apartment, where several other Negroes set upon and severely beat him. When Coleman failed to return within a reasonable time, the woman became alarmed but instead of calling a policeman, followed her brother into the building, whereupon she was alleged to have been seized and criminally assaulted by the eight youths who were subsequently arrested.

The Peoples Voice and the Negro Labor Victory Committee, investigated the case and charge that there was no attack on the woman, intimate that the couple was in Harlem for a "thrill" when the alleged robbery occurred—around 4 a. m.—and was much the worse for drink. They also alleged that the Negro youths were severely beaten by the police when apprehended.

The printers are said to have objected trenuously to the inflammatory nature of the tory, as written by PV's reporters and demanded that it be modified. This the editor refused to do, hence the impasse.

Another version of the newspaper's difficulties is that they were principally financial,, that it was costing about $3,500 weekly to publish the paper, that the income was several hundred dollars short of this amount, and so as a result the printer refused to go on unless more money was forthcoming.

We don't know yet, just what the truth is but if the first version is correct it is a strange commentary that organized labor, of which this paper has been a champion, should be the cause of so much trouble.

Our contention is that no Negro newspaper can be completely independent unless it has its own press. The New York Age is the only Negro publication with its own press. We feel that a strong publishing business in Harlem, giving employment to more Negroes, would be a bigger asset to the community than having a more elaborate paper published in a white shop over which Negroes have no control and where few if any Negro mechanics are employed.

We are sorry to learn of the troubles of our competitor but it should be a lesson to other newspapers who are printed in white shops.

New York Age
New York, N. Y.

OPPORTUNITY MAGAZINE

ALTHOUGH there has been no formal announcement of a change in the editorship of Opportunity Magazine, published monthly by the National Urban League, some doubt as to its future was felt by friends of the League because of an editorial in the current issue by Elmer A. Carter, who concluded his editorials by announcing:

"And with this issue the Present pilot steps down from the bridge of the ship that carried his name on the masthead. It has been a pleasant albeit at times a stormy voyage. He hopes that it has not bees without benefit of the Negro and to the nation."

OCT 24 1942

This announcement that Mr. Carter is retiring from the editorship of the magazine without any announcement as to whom his successor would be has caused many people to wonder if the publication would suspend for the duration of the war. Although we were unable to get confirmation or denial of this reported suspension from officials of the League, we feel that a special effort should be made by the Negro public to keep this publication alive, because it is one of the few serious journals of public opinion we have and because it is filling a real need in the life of the race.

We know that all Negro publications are feeling the pinch of the war, but now more than ever before they need the whole-hearted support of their public. Only through the increasing support of the Negro people themselves, whom they serve, can any of them hope to survive should the war last another year.

OCT 24 1942

A committee should be organized immediately to conduct a subscription campaign for Opportunity Magazine to assure its continued publication.

48a-1942
New Masses
New York, N. Y.

NEW YORK

Between Ourselves

FEB 2 5 1941

IT WAS a fine birthday party that NM was given at Manhattan Center last Sunday afternoon and it is good to be thirty years old. From the moment Ruth McKenney opened the anniversary meeting and read the congratulations sent by Paul Robeson as typical of the scores of telegrams received from friends throughout the country—and throughout the world—NM's celebration was warm and heartfelt. Exciting and inspiring to the editors, sitting on the stage, was the participation of the 4,500 in the audience. For the celebration, as editor Joseph North said when he spoke for NM's entire staff, was in honor of an American institution which has been kept alive and vigorous by those who believe in it and need it.

FEB 2 5 1941

In retrospect, the afternoon seems so full that a bare report of events cannot recapture its significance. "What is it that makes these meetings distinctive, something that could not be reproduced by any other group of people in America?" asked Earl Browder in his historic speech, the last before his outrageous sentence was upheld by the Supreme Court. His answer was more than a tribute to all those who have supported and encouraged NM, and its predecessors, the *Masses* and the *Liberator*, for thirty years. As Earl Browder emphasized, "The NEW MASSES represents this great creative movement of the people . . . the NEW MASSES will go ahead, it will move forward, in the forefront of the people." He pointed out it was no accident that the ruling class of the imperialist world denies everything progressive in its past, and by embracing defeatism and reaction, reinterprets its own history to raise Aaron Burr as a hero, Benedict Arnold as a model for our children, the slave-holders of the pre-Civil War South as the flower of our culture, while it besmirches the tradition of Washington, Paine, Jefferson, Douglass, and Lincoln. Only those who know that the people themselves cannot be destroyed, their creative genius can never be gainsaid, are able to create an atmosphere "out of which have been able to grow most of the living manifestations of American culture today." And so the banner of NM, product of that confidence in the future of the working class and its allies, "will be standing at the celebration of the final victory of the people over all the exploiters and oppressors" which will come before it is time to celebrate another thirty years of the magazine's history.

The other speakers paid tribute to NM's thirty years' war. Dr. Harry F. Ward, formerly chairman of the American League for Peace and Democracy, constant fighter for everything that democracy implies, told of his thirty years' participation in NM and in the struggles reflected in its pages. And, he added, the distinguishing characteristic of the magazine's history is not that he disagreed at times with the editors—for unless a magazine could stimulate thought and discussion it would serve no purpose—but that disagreement meant sinking one's teeth into solid, challenging debate on subjects that led to clearer understanding and decisive action. In contrast, disagreement with the liberal weeklies led to no such result, since these publications deserted all semblance of upholding any progressive idea tentatively advocated during less strenuous and decisive times.

The tribute paid to NM by Dr. Max Yergan, chairman of the National Negro Congress, pointed to NM as the constant, vigilant fighter for the very basis of democracy—the full social, political, and economic equality of all oppressed people, and particularly the Negro people. Throughout this country, Dr. Yergan said, NM leads in every struggle for the basic rights of this great section of our population; throughout the world, it more and more becomes the spokesman of the millions deprived of fundamental liberty.

Particularly brilliant were the two new dances presented by Anna Sokolow and her group, dedicated to the Spanish people's poet, Garcia Lorca, and to Sylvester Revueltas, Mexican composer, who died last year. Miss Sokolow's solo, "Exile," with music by Alex North and sung by Arno Tanney, was received enthusiastically as a high spot in her consistently fine contributions to the dance. In addition, Earl Robinson, composer of "Ballad for Americans," presented sections of his new opera based on Carl Sandburg's *The People, Yes* with the American People's Chorus and Michael Loring as soloist.

FEB 2 5 1941

Two of the artists associated with the magazine for almost its entire history spoke a few words of greeting. Robert Minor, the great cartoonist of the last war, formerly foreign editor of the magazine, and now a political leader affectionately and appropriately named "Fighting Bob" by the Spanish vets, pointed out that NM carried on where the Abolitionists of another day left off. William Gropper, whose cartoons for twenty-three years have provided the magazine with brilliant and incisive political comment, explained that the best in art could be found only with those men and women who had something to say and needed to say it—and that those artists had always found NM the medium through which they could talk to the people of America.

FEB 2 5 1941

It was a wonderful birthday party. The collection, taken by Bruce Minton, successfully launched the present drive for funds to carry on the magazine. Thirty years have passed. With confidence and excitement, NM enters its second thirty years. The birthday party gave the staff of NM great joy. It also reaffirmed the responsibility entrusted to them by those whose ambitions and thoughts are expressed in the magazine. The people—yes.

In an early issue NM will publish the article many people have been waiting for. It is the story of how a responsible publisher and book club can foist a tremendous hoax on the public—Jan Valtin's (nee Richard Krebs,) *Out of the Night*, the most recent addition to the camarilla of poison pen writers such as Isaac Don Levine and Benjamin Stolberg.

Negro Paper's Subway Ads Are Banned

Daily Worker, N.Y.
DEC 12 1942

Three hundred copies of a poster advertising **The People's VOICE**, a weekly Negro newspaper, which had been accepted for subway advertising on the IRT and IND divisions of the New York City Transit System were rejected last week, it was learned yesterday.

The Board of Transportation, according to an explanation offered by the New York City Subways Advertising Company, with whom the newspaper had signed a contract, regarded the poster as "inflammatory" and likely to "cause trouble." Previous approval of the poster by the advertising agency was explained as a "mistake" made by a junior executive.

DEC 12 194

The controversial poster shows in the lower right hand corner the figure of a lyncher, rope in hand, being bombarded with newspapers (the "Voice") from an airplane.

The Greater N. Y. Industrial Council, CIO, this week unanimously passed a resolution calling for representatives from the National Maritime Union, the National Negro Congress, Negro Labor Victory Committee, the People's Voice, and the CIO Council, to appeal to the Board of Transportation for a change in its decision

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

Connally Voted No. 1 Sucker

Dec. 5, 1942

NEW YORK — The title of No. 1 Lollypop in the U.S. Senate went to Sen. Tom Connally (Dem., Tex.) last week as a result of a coupon poll conducted by the newspaper PM.

The election was held in connection with the Senate's action in "ignoring a world at war to engage in a silly, undemocratic, time-kiling filibuster" against the Anti-Poll Tax Bill.

election at which all your constituents over 21 were allowed to vote—thanks to the poll tax—were sneering at a Senator who won his seat for 40 years at elections in which all of his adult constituents were allowed to vote. (Senator Norris, whom Connally chided, during the filibuster, for being defeated for re-election.)

"You, who don't believe in democratic rule of the majority, either in your home State—where the poll tax prevents it—or in the U.S. Senate—where your filibuster prevented it—were ridiculing one of the great statesmen of democracy.

Dec 5 1942

"You have won the fight to drag the U. S. Senate down to your level and that of your associates, Doxey and Bilbo, by wiping out, in this issue, rule by majority vote."

Gets Giant Lollypop

Connally polled 236 of the 535 votes cast and received from PM as a token of his victory, a 10-pound, raspberry-flavored lollypop on a broomstick handle. Three feet in circumference, the lollypop bears the legend: "No. 1 Lollypop, U.S. Senate; C'm cm Suckers."

Runner-up in the voting was Sen. Theodore Bilbo (Miss.), 145 votes, followed by Senators Kenneth McKellar (Tenn.), 67, and Wall Doxey (Miss.), 43.

Army Record Cited

PM cited the army record of Connally, whose Spanish-American War regiment "never left Florida," and whose World War regiment "had just received sailing orders when the Armistice was signed. He is 65 and the son of a prosperous Texas farmer who fought for the Confederacy.

In an editorial open letter to Connally, John P. Lewis, managing editor, said in part:

"You, who never have won an

Lawyers Rap AP; Condemn The FBI

12/3/42

NEW YORK, N. Y.—(SNS)—At a meeting this week of the Executive Board of the National Lawyers Guild of which Robert Walker Kenny of California is president, the filing of a brief as friend of the court was authorized in the government's suit against the Associated Press.

In a resolution adopted by the board the Guild declared that "The contention of the Associated Press that the Government anti-trust suit against the press is a violation of freedom of the press is without foundation."

The executive board will appoint a special committee to study and report on the general question of freedom of the press and the dissemination of news in war time.

12/3/42

JUSTICE DEP'T CRITICIZED

Condemnation of the Department of Justice was formulated in a report to the board by William Hastie, Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War and Thurgood Marshall, special counsel of the N. A. A. C. P.

Sharply criticizing the manner in which special U. S. attorneys appointed by the Department of Justice have presented evidence in lynching cases the report said:

"In the states with the worst lynching records, criminal prosecutions of the memberse of the mob never go further than a perfunctory investigation by either a coroner's jury or by a grand jury, ending with the decision that a person lynched 'came to his death at the hands of parties unknown.'"

CONDEMN ACTIONS

12/3/42

"During the past year the U. S Department of Justice for the first time has been investigating several of the lynchings. The lynching at Sikeston, Missouri, January 25, 1942, was investigated by the United States Department of Justice and presented to the U. S. Grand Jury, which refused to indict either the members of the mob or the state officials involved. Due credit should be given to the present United States Department of Justice for this much. It is quite evident that more vigorous action must be taken by the members of the Department of Justice presenting these cases to the Grand Jury. The report of the Grand Jury on the Sikeston lynching includes a statement that begins with a rehearsal of evidence presented to it of the crime alleged to have been committed by the victim of the mob and then proceeds to find the victim guilty of the crime for which he was charged by stating that 'in this instance a brutal criminal was denied due process.' This was of course beyond the scope of the Grand Jury investigation and was unnecessary, uncalled for and indeed is contrary to the facts revealed by other investigations."

The report further cited instances of violence against Negroes in uniform by civilian and state officials

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

Atlanta School Heads Confer In New York City

NEW YORK, City —(SNS) — The presidents of Atlanta University, Morehouse College and Spelman College, with members of their trustee boards, met here at the Hotel Theresa in a specially called meeting this week.

Dr. Rufus E. Clement of Atlanta, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays of Morehouse and Dr. Florence M. Read of Spelman, it was learned, all had previous engagements in the city at the time the meeting was called, and this was given as the explanation for the New York session.

It is reliably reported that the special meeting of the school heads was to consider a Government proposal to locate a huge clerical training center on the adjoining campuses of these famed schools.

RAP SOLDIER ATTACKS

12/3/42

"An attack on a Negro soldier or sailor in uniform is a direct attack on our government. Unless the federal government is willing to protect its soldiers and sailors on leave as well as while on duty, it is impossible to maintain the proper morale among Negro soldiers and sailors and their families, and the authority of government itself is seriously undermined. It is impossible to develop combat efficiency in Negro soldiers nad sailors while denying them basic civil rights during the period of their training.

"One of the most serious consequences of congestion on segregated public carriers is the almost daily conflict between colored soldiers and white fellow passengers, whether traveling on duty or on furlough the colored soldier experiences the indignity of segregation. Moreover, he is often ordered to move from seats customarily set aside for Negro passengers so that white persons may be seated. With increasing frequency he is denied accommodations altogether when there are sufficient white persons waiting to fill the entire vehicle.

"In October, in Montgomery, Alabama, a Negro Army nurse was beaten and her nose broken by city policemen because she refused to vacate the rear seat of a bus so that white passengers might be seated. At about the same time in Norfolk, Virginia, two Negro sergeants were beaten and jailed for a similar offense. In some large camps a short furlough may be worthless to the Negro soldier because local transportation officials will prevent him from boarding trains or bus so that space maybe available for white passengers."

HAVE RIGHT TO WORK

"It is certainly agreed that American citizens have a right to go about their work without molestation by either civilians or state authorities. There are several instances where white workers incited by bigots have refused to work with Negro workers and in some cases have even committed assaults upon Negro workers. In some plants in the state of Alabama, white and colored workers are going to work armed in anticipation of racial outbreaks.

"Now that the Ku Klux Klan is under indictment by the federal government, smaller organizations, such as Vigilantes, Inc., being sponsored by the Talmadges of Georgia have come into existence. It is the duty of the federal government to ferret out the leaders of these subversive elements aimed to prevent Negroes from working in defense plants."

New York Daily News
New York Mirror

OUR DAILY PRESS

WE HEAR A GREAT DEAL these days about how understaffed are some of our dailies because of the pressure of the draft. While a minority of our daily press (notably PM, the Post and Worker) have editorially pleaded for racial tolerance, not one of them has passed up an opportunity to at least generally advocate a program of industry, labor and government which will weld and knit the nation into a unified whole.

DEC 19 1942

That is good preaching from a worthy text.

DEC 19 1942

But how about these newspapers finding some room in their editorial departments—for qualified Negro journalists. The only Negro in recent years to hold a position with a daily (outside of the Worker and PM) was Ted Poston, now with the Office of War Information. Even Poston, generally recognized as an ace newsman, had no desk at the Post, but worked on special assignments relating to Negroes. Less people than the daily newspapers' personnel managers think, would raise objections to contact with Negroes as newspapermen. The idea is for the papers to give it a try.

DEC 19 1942

Yes, it is time for many, many great American interests to begin to practise what they preach.

Charlotte, N. C., Star of Zion
June 25, 1942

The Negro Press

It is a dastardly and cowardly thing which Westbrook Pegler and some of his sympathizers, notably the Hearst papers, have attempted to do: to stigmatize certain outstanding Negro newspapers as being disloyal and engaging in subversive practices. This infamous libel is all the more reprehensible when it is realized that white newspapers, with but few exceptions, have ignored the commendable achievements and important activities of Negroes to the extent Negro newspapers have been absolutely indispensible in telling the story of amazing progress which Negro Americans have made. Moreover, Negro newspapers have had to wage a relentless fight for the right of Negroes to work and fight for the preservation of our nation and democracy, because white newspapers the nation over have been consistently silent on this battle, with a few notable exceptions like the Louisville Courier-Journal and the Chicago Tribune, to mention just two.

Life Magazine, in its June 15 issue, while portraying a vivid and gratifying picture of "Negroes at War" takes a "dirty dig" at Negro newspapers by saying "The sensational Negro press has done its best to magnify affairs such as this (referring to clashes between whites and Negro soldiers in the South) into 'race riots,' but there is every indication that cooperation and friendly feeling between the races is higher than ever in the Army."

To this we reply that if "that cooperation and friendly feeling between the races is higher than ever," and we believe it is, it is almost wholly due to the persistent fight of the Negro press, which promoted and brought it about rather than hinder it. The white press has done little enough.

Charlotte, N. C., Observer
January 3, 1942

OBSERVER NEGRO CARRIERS MEET

Hold Annual Banquet; Joe Maxwell Wins $10 Prize For Best Record Of Year.

The annual banquet of the Charlotte Observer Negro carrier organization held last night at Fred Kemp's dining room was attended by some 50 persons. J. Frank Handly, head of the Fairview Homes project, was the speaker. He told the carriers that if they wanted to get anywhere in the world they would have to do it the hard way. He was introduced by James Reid, who served as master of ceremonies. Hill, secretary of the local Negro Y.M.C.A., accompanied the speaker and spoke briefly.

Richard Massey, an assistant representative, was chairman of the committee on arrangements and spoke briefly. He presented $10 to Joe Maxwell for the best record of the year.

Entertainment followed at Second Ward High school. Doris Lowery gave a piano solo. Robert and Vancey White put on a jitterbug number. Jesse Lipscomb sang a solo, and prizes were given the couples for the best performance on a stunt.

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
OCT 15 1942

Editorial On Negro Inserted In Cong. Record

Says Society Of Unity Needed In National Peril

OCT 15 1942

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(ANP)—Senator Joseph F. Guffey on the floor of the senate last week introduced an editorial, "The Negro and the War," which appeared in the Charlotte, N. C., Observer. This editorial was based on one previously appearing in the Pittsburgh Courier.

"Such safe, sound, reasonable and conservative judgment and leadership in Negro men of standing and influence should be met by similar leadership on the part of the white race in America to effectate a society of unity and cooperation in these times of national peril," said the editorial.

"There are scores of fine, constructive, influential and characterful Negro leaders of Charlotte who are working to these good ends.

MEN OF INTELLIGENCE

"They are men of intelligence and morality who have the best interest of their country as well as their people at heart. They deserve the encouragement and the earnest and sincere help of the white people here in their efforts to promote good-will and understanding and to put down racial and inflammatory elements.

"In the emergency of war, new aspirations for larger latitudes of freedom are born within minority groups everywhere, and all the more so among such groups in those particular nations which espouse the cause of liberties of all people within a universal democracy.

"In the present case, the Negro aspires to participate more fully in the destiny of the country of which he is a part. He aspires all the more, as a consequence of that participation, to share in the rewards of life in democratic America.

"In a problem of this character and of this magnitude, it becomes the dominant group to try to think itself into the status of the minority ground and to appropriate its legitimate ambitions.

TOLERANCE ESSENTIAL

"Only in so doing can one arrive at any intelligent or fair conclusion as to what constitutes justice, what is fair and right and moral as well as what is socially and politically expedient.

"Above all, the situation calls for temperate and considerate judgment on the part of the best thought and strongest character within both races, unless a situation that now threatens to become serious actually soon becomes intensely grave.

"Tolerance and reasonableness in approach is primarily essential.

"The nation will get nowhere with this problem if hot-headed and loose tongued agitators on either side are called to put together the framework of a structure that will make for improved race relations.

"The counsel of wisdom, the spirit of moderation and compromise, the attitude of give and take, the resolution of moral conviction and the soul of Christian understanding—all of these must move with final authority in any successful effort to build up between the races a society of unity and effective solidarity of interests and purpose."

THE NEGRO PRESS

By V. V. OAK
Wilberforce, Ohio

Dec. 3, 1942

There is no other institution in Negro culture that has made so rapid an advance or that has helped so whole-heartedly in the acceleration of the progress of the Negro as its press. There have been occasions when the press seemed to show a waning influnce over public opinion as was true in the 1940 Roosevelt election campaign when Republican dollars were voicing the editorial opinions of many of our newspapers, but, by and large, the Negro press has always stood as the champion of the people it was serving and rendered unusually effective and faithful service to the cause of America's neglected and mistreated one-tenth. The first two articles of this series will be devoted to a brief study of the Negro press of yesterday and the remaining eight to an analytical study of the Negro press of today.

I: Ante-Bellum Newspapers

Dec. 3, 1942

The first Negro newspaper was published in New York on March 16, 1827, by John B. Russwurm and Samuel E. Cornish who began the publication under the name of *Freedom's Journal*, changed later to "*Right to All.*" While it had a short life of only three years, it was a forerunner to Garrison's *Liberator* and was militant in its fight against slavery. In 1830, Russwurm was captured by the Colonization Society and sent to Africa. In January 1837, Phillip A. Bell of New York started *The Weekly Advocate*, selecting Samuel E. Cornish as its editor. Two months later, the name of the paper was changed to *The Colored American*, and, like its predecessor, it took up the fight against slavery. This paper was finally discontinued in 1842. Some of the other publications of the period were *The Elevator* (1842), published in Albany by Stephen Myers; *The National Watchman* (1842), in Troy by William G. Allen and Henry Highland Garnett; *The Clarion* (1842), successor to *The National Watchman*, in Troy by Henry Highland Garnett; *The People's Press* (1843), in Troy by Thomas Hamilton and John Dias; *The Mystery* (1843), in Pittsburgh by Major Martin R. Delaney; *The Genius of Freedom* (1846?), in New York by David Ruggles; *The Ram's Horn* (1847), in New York by Willis A. Hodges and Thomas Van Rensselaer; *The North Star* (1847, in Rochester by Frederick Douglass; and *The Impartial Citizen* (1848), in Syracuse by Samuel R. Ward. All of these early newspapers were militant in their general policies and were started by men of strong character who were primarily interested in educating their readers at all cost, rather than in making the newspaper a business success. As a result, there newspapers, with the exception of the *North Star* (renamed *Frederick Douglass' Paper* in 1850 and finally closed in 1864), had short lives ranging from two months to five years.

The North Reformer (1833), published by William Whippers; *The Mirror of Liberty* (1837), by David Ruggles; and *The Anglo-African Magazine*, by Thomas Hamilton were the only magazines published during this period. All of these were short-lived. To this group may be added *The Christian Recorder*, a religious weekly that was first started as a quarterly in 1841, then changed to a weekly in 1848 as *The Christian Herald*, and finally took its present name as *The Christian Recorder* in 1856. It is the only publication that has maneged to survive thru the Civil War.

Dec. 3, 1942

II: Newspapers from the Civil War to The Close of First World War

"From the year 1866 on," observes I. Garland Penn in his book, *The Afro-American Press*. "Afro-American newspapers were being founded in almost every state, some of which died an early death, while others survived many years. Some dropped their original name, and, under another, exists today." 1 By 1880, there were thirty Negro newspapers. Seventeen of these were published in the South serving our ninety per cent or close to six million Negroes out of the total Negro population of six and one half million; the remaining thirteen were published in the North serving only half a million Negroes. What actually happened was that many of the northern papers also served the people of the South, a situation which is true even to this day and which will be discussed fully in a later article. 12/3/42

America's interest in the Allies and her final entry into the European conflict gave further impetus to the growth and influence of Negro newspapers. At least twenty-four newspapers were started between 1900 and the close of the First World War (1919), and half of these were started during the duration of the War. At the end of the First World War, there were 220 newspapers and 230 religious, fraternal, college, and other miscellaneous periodicals, making a total of 450 periodicals. 2 The circulation of most of the now well-trenched newspapers like the *Philadelphia Tribune* (1884), *New York Age* (1885), *Afro-American* (1892), *Journal and Guide* (1900), *Chicago Defender* (1905), *Amsterdam News* (1909)—now *Amsterdam Star-News*, and *Pittsburgh Courier* (1910) was increasing rapidly.

1 Garland I. Penn. The Afro-American Press. Willey and Co., Springfield, Mass., 1891, p. 107.

2 Negro Year Book, 1918-19, p. 461.

Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Okla

The Governor's Amendments

MAR 8 1941

The Black Dispatch wants to go on record opposing all of Governor Phillips' proposed constitutional amendments. Casting aside all of the propaganda and state objectives of the chief executive, we see nothing in the governor's proposals other than a deliberate and planned effort on the part of Governor Phillips to retain control of state government at the expiration of his official tenure.

If State Question No. 300, relating to a Board of State Regents, jumps the election hurdles, Governor Phillips and his henchmen will for the next ten years be in complete control of the school bloc. This is the most sizeable vote in the state, and it is this organization which the chief executive has sought to seize control of since the day he went into office.

MAR 8 1941

In the Old Age Assistance proposal, the governor takes the roof off the pension structure and makes it possible for Oklahoma to soon have a "Ham and Eggs" campaign such as has threatened California for many moons. We predict here and now that if State Question 299 passes, the next gubernatorial campaign will see candidates running for governor in Oklahoma who will promise the aged from $200 to $300 per month.

As we see the subtle conspiracy springing out of the governor's economy amendments, we predict Governor Phillips will later on be a candidate for the United States Senate and his chosen friend running for governor. You see when we amend the constitution creating the nine-man board of regents, we have fixed it so that those nine men will control education in the state for the next decade. Those nine men will be named by Governor Phillips. All college presidents except the president of the A. & M. college at Stillwater (who is named by a board provided for under the constitution) and their faculties, will be under a complete domination and control of this nine-member board.

This means that for the next ten years Governor Phillips will be able to tell that nine-member board to do some things they may be inclined to do. In fact, we suspect the members of such a board will receive their appointments following solemn agreement to do certain vital and definite things.

MAR 8 1941

The school bloc and the aged bloc are the two strongest political groups in Oklahoma. A candidate running for governor making wild promises to the aged and who at the same time may have the school bloc in his grasp, is invulnerable.

Of course, no one is going to say he does not believe in an economy program. Governor Phillips goes to the people with the proposal that he will balance the budget with State Question 298. He talks long and loud about a cash basis upon which he longs to place state government. Certainly an overburdened citizenship wants to be relieved of tax difficulties, but one could just as well expect to find a hi-jacker at a prayer meeting as to discover a patronage grabber, as is Governor Phillips, sincerely interested in governmental economy.

Before one can clear his way for analysis of these proposals he must understand at the outset what is intended by the governor and his advisors. Does what they actually have in mind obtrude above the surface?

Does it not seem a bit strange that the governor in one breath would close the gate on all state expenditures except the general revenue funds and at the same moment open the social security gate so that every crack-brained idiot in the state may hereafter mislead and befuddle the aged? Does that look honest and economical?

Let us examine for a moment State Question 299. All that is proposed in this amendment is that it alters Section 1 of Article 25. The language of this section remains intact except that it provides for the payment of social security above the $30 limit and makes it possible for the legislature from time to time to revise Oklahoma laws so as to conform with federal participation.

It is all right to provide for federal participation but in this campaign the old people will be whipped into a frenzy to vote for the amendment because pro-amendment orators will freely tell them, and have already started a campaign of lies saying pensions are going to be raised higher. Keep in mind, the amendment does not raise old age pensions one cent higher, it simply makes it possible so to do, through the medium of the initiative or the legislature.

MAR 8 1941

As we said at the outset, the governor shuts one gate and in the same moment opens wide another gap. The danger lies in fixing it so that under our constitution hypocrites may hereafter prey on old people and make them victims of their chicanery as has been done in Texas, California and other states. This is our number one view, looking at Governor Phillips' economy program.

Now, getting down to the budget balancing amendment, we think this is the point where every Negro who has children in school should wake up and take notice. Oklahoma has a state debt of $33,667,681. Everyone knowing anything about Oklahoma's sources of revenue realizes everything we collect in the way of taxes is earmarked except the general revenue funds. The general revenue funds represent only 29.6% of the state revenues.

What we are attempting to say here is that if Governor Phillips or any other Oklahoma governor balances the state budget, the job will be done out of the general revenue funds. Everything else, under our law, goes to definite, fixed uses and purposes.

For instance, the governor cannot balance the budget out of the state highway funds, where 18% of the state tax must be allocated. The same thing is true of the Counties and Road Fund (12.3%), Old Age Pension (4.9 per cent), Unemployment Compensation (8.6 per cent), Common Schools (4.7 per cent).

But the governor can balance the budget and start pinching off several million dollars per year from the general revenue funds. It is from the general revenue funds that the legislature appropriates the moneys allocated to the institutions of higher learning and the eleemosynary establishments supported by state government. It will be recalled that the governor and the state superintendent last year had a titanic struggle regarding the $11,500,000 appropriated out of the general funds as aid to the common schools of this state. Under the terms of Senate Bill

No. 22, passed during the Phillips administration, it is absolutely impossible at the present time to erect separate school buildings in many sections of the state. Without support of a budget balancing law, such as is proposed at this time, Governor Phillips arbitrarily sought last year to ruthlessly hack and destroy primary and secondary aid without looking back to see the chaos left behind. The story of how the chief executive had to back up from that sorry expedition to upset the educational structure of this state is well known to the taxpayers.

The legislature also gets its money for Langston university and all of the other institutions out of the general revenues. Out-state scholarships come from this source. Boley, Taft and all of our tax supported institutions get their appropriations out of this 29.6% of state revenues, and out of this fund also Governor Phillips must pinch the thirty-three million dollars when he balances the budget. We intend, if we have the time, in our next issue to show more in detail how Senate Bill No. 22 has almost gutted the Negro schools of the state, and if this budget balancing amendment is passed we predict that Oklahoma's separate schools will sink to the depths of Mississippi school schedules.

MAR 8 1941

Negro school teachers, who last year were pinched terribly during the period when they could not cash their warrants, will remember that Governor Phillips sought then to casterate $2,065,000 from the general school aid funds, appropriated by the legislature. The governor did finally separate $1,300,000 from the legislative appropriation. This murderous dive into school finances affects teachers' salaries and every phase of school work.

One strange item in the Budget Balancing Amendment in paragraph three, which many people may not have noticed, is the provision for gubernatorial authority to raise current debt obligations up to $500,000. The existing statute provides for only $400,000, and so we find hidden in this amendment the authority for Phillips to write $100,000 more patronage checks.

And while we are on this economy subject, it should be pointed out that the governor has been fairly handy with job hustling. If the people of this state are foolish enough to give him this extra $100,000, we expect to have an investigator watching every chicken house in Oklahoma.

The state auditor's records show during the month of December 1940 the following "investigators" were named by Governor Phillips. We list also their monthly pay checks:

MAR 8 1941

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE	
Fred Lowe, Investigator	$200.00
S. D. Anderson, Investigator	200.00
R. P. Findley, Investigator	200.00
J. Z. Armstrong, Investigator	200.00
Roy Nichilson, Investigator	150.00
Jack Walsh, Investigator	200.00
Foster Estes, Investigator	200.00
Charles Bledsoe, Investigator	150.00
STATE BOARD OF PUBLIC WELFARE	
Vernie Creatwood, Special Investigator	250.00
A. W. Jones, Ch. Spec. Investigator	200.00
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY	
T. R. Husted, Dir. Investigator	300.00
Milo Beck, Investigator	150.00
Buck Seran, Investigator	150.00
R. A. West, Investigator	150.00
SPECIAL ATTORNEWS	
W. O. Coe	500.00
C. C. Hatchett	500.00

In that salary list of investigators and attorneys we find the governor of this state spending almost $200,000 per year for investigators, some of whom put in their time clubbing confessions out of Negroes, and the attorneys are employed to fight the federal government. It will be interesting to know that Vernie Cheatwood, the investigator whom W. D. Lyons, Hugo Negro, charges clubbed him into insensibility, is employed in the Public Welfare Department. Most assuredly the Public Welfare Department has assumed unusual functions during the Phillips administration.

MAR 8 1941

Keep in mind, this is only the salary of these political carbuncles. No record is made here of their travel expense and other costs piled up with their various activities. It is safe to assume that the present governor is spending a half million dollars in this outrageous manner, and yet he comes to the taxpayers of this state talking about economy. "Consistency, thou art a jewel."

We want to discuss now the " Board of State Regents." If this amendment is passed, State Senator Ritzhaupt will be in absolute and complete control of Langston university during the rest of his political life. Langston university will be constitutionally shackled under the yoke of patronage What nonsense it is to say that we will continue the present regents boards when if this amendment passes there will be nothing for the poor regents to do. Here's the authority to be granted the governor's coordinating board, in the language of the amendment:

"The Regents shall constitute a coordinating board of control for all State institutions described in Section 1 hereof, with the following specific powers: (1) it shall prescribe standards of higher education applicable to each institution (2) it shall determine the functions and courses of study in each of the institutions to conform to the standards prescribed (3) it shall grant degrees and other forms of academic recognition for completion of the prescribed courses in all of such institutions (4) it shall recommend to the State Legislature the budget allocations to each institution, and (5) it shall have the power to recommend to the Legislature proposed fees for all of such institutions, and any such fees shall be effective only within the limits prescribed by the Legislature."

How can anyone on the outside of an insane asylum assume there will be anything left for boards of regents, as now constituted, to do anything whatsoever? Such a suggestion is an insult to the intelligence of the electorate. Surely no responsible citizen of this state would serve on such a board. This writer resigned from such a regent board during the Marland administration when it became apparent that the State Board of Affairs was to sustain the same relationship to the Taft Board of Regents, we headed, as will Governor Phillips' coordinating board relate to existing regent boards, if this proposed amendment passes.

MAR 8 1941

Section 3 of this proposed amendment is, however, the intended crime which should turn every Negro taxpayer against the Amendment. This is the way it reads:

"Section 3. The appropriations made by the Legislature for all such institutions shall be made in consolidated form without reference to any particular institution and the Board of Regents herein created shall allocate to each institution according to its needs and functions."

Get that! No more appropriations for Langston university. This board, to be named by Governor Phillips, and which for the next ten years will control Langston university and every other school in this state, is to command the legislature to give them a blank check for schools. This board, unknown to anybody, and certainly a board that will not be responsive to the will of Negro taxpayers, will decide in their own judgment what Negroes may have.

This board will dictate the type of education Negroes are to receive. It can, under the proposed amendment, fix tuition fees which may prevent half the students now at Langston university from enrollment. This board can, under the authority granted by this proposed amendment, abolish Langston university by the simple method of not allowing funds to run the school. In fact, we are told that this board is expected to abolish several of the white teachers colleges by such a method.

Negroes generally are too far removed from government. The proposed coordinating board will shove the educational function so far away from the influence and reach of black citizens, we tremble to think of its terrible potentialities. We have already talked too long on this subject. The suggestion of the Black Dispatcsh is that citizens of this state should vote emphatically against all three of Governor Phillips' proposed constitutional amendments.

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Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Okla

Rules Covering Essay Contest In Negro History--1942

MAR 28 1942

FEB 28 1942

Editor Roscoe Dunjee, of the Black Dispatch, is giving away $15 in cash prizes, to the young man or woman, preparing the best 1500-word essay on Negro history. Ten dollars will be given for the best essay on ancient history, and $5 for excellence and thoroughness in preparing an essay on the Negro in modern times.

The eligible contestants are limited to high school students enrolled in the public or private high schools of Oklahoma during the school year 1941-42.

FEB 28 1942

Here Are The Rules Prepared By Director F. D. Moon

1. The essay must be original, and must represent the work of the student submitting essay.
2. All sources of material must be properly documented.
3. There must be evidence that the writer is thoroughly familiar with his subject.
4. The essay must not be less than one thousand words, or more than fifteen hundred words.

FEB 28 1942

5. The essay must be presented in good form, using acceptable English and correct spelling.
6. The judging of the contest will be based on straight thinking, logical structure, adequate expression, good form, originality, style, and diction. Grammatical correction is a necessity.
7. The decision of the judges will be final.
8. The contest closes March 15. For any essay to be accepted, the envelope containing the same must be postmarked not later than March 15, 1942.
9. Mail essay to F. D. Moon, 600 North High Street, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

FEB 28 1942

Suggestions For the Student

It is recommended that those who enter this contest make a thorough study of the formal and informal essay, giving special attention to the structure and style of this type of essay.

Study of the following will enable the contestant to understand and acquire the spirit of the essay: Thoreau's "The Beanfield"; Morley's "Safety Pins"; Martin's "Father and His Freshman Son"; Selections from Lamb's Essays of Elia.

MUZZLING THE NEGRO PRESS

WESTBROOK PEGLER, columnist for the New York World-Telegram and the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain, who once wrote a column in defense of lynching, has started a campaign to muzzle the Negro press, which has for the past year been demanding that this government give democracy to its citizens at home as well as to the countries of Europe and Asia.

In his column, "Fair Enough," of April 28, Mr. Peglar devoted his entire space to the Pittsburgh Courier and The Chicago Defender, which he said were "reminiscent of Hearst at his worst in their sensationalism, and in their obvious inflamatory bias in the treatment of news they resemble the Communist Party's Daily Worker and Coughlin's Social Justice." Continuing, he says:

"In neither paper is there any writing of the slightest distinction to substantiate in the field of journalism, at least, the cry that discrimination, alone, retards the colored man's progress. The written, or editorial matter, is of lower mediocrity, at best, in the presence of unlimited opportunity for superior colored writers to show their ability and some of the advertisements constitute a sordid exploitation for revenue only of that ignorance among the colored people, which, with some justice, they decry as the white man's doing . . . In the editorials they tell him he is a very high grade human being, but in the ads alongside tsey play him for a superstitious, ignorant fool, for money . . . These Negro papers agitate violently and, I think, to the same dangrous degree that was alleged against Charles E. Coughlin's weekly, particularly in their appeal to colored soldiers whose loyalty is constantly bedeviled with doubts and with race-angling of news . . . One may doubt the sincerity of a colored journalist who in one column praises the intelligence of his readers and bids them be proud of their race and in another advertises a skin cream under the illusory and ignoble promise that it will turn him more or her less white."

While this attack is directed at only two of the Negro newspapers, we may expect that similar attacks may be forthcoming against other papers published in behalf of the Negro.

Publishers like Roy Howard, who represent powerful interests, now use the technique of launching campaigns against things they don't like through such columnists as Westbrook Pegler. It will be remembered that it was Mr. Pegler who started the attack against organized labor which resulted in the Smith-Vinson Bill to suspend present labor legislation for the duration of the war.

Like all propaganda, the Pegler article is a mixture of truth with fiction but the fact that it can see nothing good in these newspapers is evidence of a hostile attitude. He knows that the reason Negro newspapers carry so little and such poor quality advertising is because many of the large advertisers and agencies discriminate against these newspapers in the placing of better copy.

The best way to stop the protests of Negro publications is for th government to remove the injustices complained of and to give fair and equal treatment to all its citizens regardless of race or color.

Letters from World-Telegram Readers

By Lester B. Granger, Executive Secretary, National Urban League.

Westbrook Pegler's comments on the sins of the Negro press (World-Telegram, April 28) are ill-informed and misdirected. The most loyal supporter of Negro journalism must admit its serious faults. Any intelligent and honest critic, however, will recognize that these faults, if not mere reflections of those to be found in the American newspaper field generally, grow from the peculiarly adverse conditions under which Negro Americans live.

If Negro newspapers overemphasize racial discrimination as practiced against their readers, it is because the white press generally shirks its own responsibility by keeping silent. Not a dozen important dailies in the United States even pretend to report honestly and fairly the aggressions of America's white majority against the citizenship rights of Negroes. If the Negro editor seems sometimes to [illegible] to extenuate a Negro's infraction of the law, it is because the white press almost invariably magnifies, distorts or ignores the facts.

If a Negro newspaper, hard-pressed for advertisers; accepts contracts from business houses of doubtful repute, its sin is hardly as serious as that of the white daily carrying a full-page strike-breaking ad from an antiunion employer or a help wanted ad marked "white Christians only."

Manhattan.

By Walter L. Blair.

As a constant reader of your paper I earnestly desire to express my emphatic disapproval of the sentiment expressed by Mr. Westbrook Pegler in his column of April 28. I do not pretend to be an authority on good journalism, but I think I am a fair interpreter of human sentiment as expressed; therefore I feel that I am much closer to being "fair enough" than the columnist in saying that his criticism of the Negro press—namely, the Chicago Defender and the Pittsburgh Courier—is unjustified and prejudicial. Even if these papers fail to set the highest standard in journalism, it's unfair to vilify them because they dare to speak out constantly against the injustices perpetrated against the Negro people, especially at this time when they are doing their share as loyal and patriotic citizens to preserve democracy for us all.

I would like to know what authority the writer has in making the following statement: "If tomorrow they should win everything that they profess to advocate, they would die for the lack of the segregated circulation which they exploit with profit, personal satisfaction for their operators and some political power, which is always pleasing to ambitious men of all races."

To assume that the publishers of these papers are selfish and insincere, to my mind, is not a "Fair Enough" statement but totally unfair.

The surest method of effecting reform is through the channels of intelligent and nonviolent agitation, and if the Negro press failed to play such a role the publishers would be unworthy of being members of the Negro race. I fail to see how they could take a complacent attitude on the Negro question when so many obvious injustices exist and their people are denied the full rights that all American citizens are entitled to.

Manhattan.

By Eric G. James.

Mr. Westbrook Pegler presented to his readers his opinion that the Negro press, as represented by the Chicago Defender and the Pittsburgh Courier, is "exploiting the war emergency to push the aspirations of the colored people." He goes on to mention that these papers agitate to a dangerous degree, particularly in their appeal to colored soldiers, "whose loyalty is constantly bedeviled with doubts."

A newspaper is without doubt a cultural product, and as such is a reflection of a particular social environment. This being so, it is not to be construed that the Negro press is "imitating very effectively the most humiliating phase of the white man's press," but instead reflecting at the moment the dynamics of Negro mentality.

Mr. Pegler thinks it a cheap trick for Negro journalists to tell the Negro what a high grade human being he is and at the same time print ads alongside that "play him for a superstitious ignorant fool." Negroes are not as superstitious as is usually thought, nor are they more ignorant than others who have been given similar economic opportunity. . . .

Let Mr. Pegler check on last-minute activity in the Philippines and the Negro troops serving under General MacArthur.

It is difficult to understand why the so-called white press displays such traditional ignorance in Negro problems.

Manhattan.

By March on Washington Movement.

The March on Washington Movement takes vigorous exception to Westbrook Pegler's vicious analysis of the Negro newspapers in their presentation of the just grievances of the Negro group of citizens as expressed in his column April 28.

Mr. Pegler's indiscriminate and arbitrary linking of Negroes in the same category as the Fascist and Communist groups is a vicious and inexcusable misinterpretation of the position, attitude and aims of 14,000,000 loyal native-born American citizens who have participated fully—nay, disproportionately—in the upbuilding of this country and who have spilled their blood in every struggle undertaken by it from the so-called Revolution to the present war.

The Negro is not to be confused or identified with those minority pressure groups who are truly exploiting this emergency for special privileges. It must be clearly stated and clearly understood that Negros are seeking only equality of treatment and opportunity—only those fundamental American rights and obligations which are guaranteed and imposed by the Constitution and which are their heritage under our democratic form of government.

Manhattan.

"Pegler's Challenge Shows Need For Victory On Home Front"--Rouzeau

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

By EDGAR T. ROUZEAU

The outcome of any struggle can depend quite often on such a little thing as knowing what the fight is all about. If the slogan, "Double Victory," is to have any practical meaning for the Negro after this war is over, it is essential now that he should understand just what his fight at home is all about. Too often, in our home battles, we show a tendency to fight blindly. The result is a free-for-all in which we run the risk of hurting our own cause by injuring those with whom we are supposedly aligned against a common danger.

MAY 16 1942

There was a clear demonstration of this futile style of blind fighting when Negro newspaper men jumped to their typewriters after a hasty reading of the recent attack against the Negro press in general, and the Courier and the Chicago Defender in particular, by the Scripps-Howard columnist, Westbrook Pegler.



Edgar Rouzeau

ATTACK LAUNCHED ON ALL PAPERS

The merits and demerits of Mr. Pegler's "Case" against the Negro press have already been taken up for this paper by the able pen of George Schuyler. This is not intended as a repetition, but for the purposes of this article it is necessary to recall that Mr. Pegler suggested that all Negro newspapers should be banned, and the reasons which he gave were certainly applicable to any Negro newspaper worthy of its existence.

The fact remains that, in New York alone, the writers handling the attack for two local weeklies did not catch the import and were so obtuse as to suppose that the sheets which they represented were not included in the attack.

One of the two weeklies carried a story to the effect that The Courier and The Defender had been viciously attacked, and then proceeded to reproduce Mr. Pegler's article. The second weekly handled the attack in a disgusting manner, using it as an opportunity to hand itself unjustified shoulder pats.

MAY 16 1942

VEILED ASSAULT ON RACE WOMEN

"We accept no skin-bleaching ads," said one of its editors glibly, commenting on Mr. Pegler's tirade against this type of advertising in Negro newspapers. In regards to another of Mr. Pegler's paragraphs concerning "good luck" ads, the writer made the same boast for his paper but neglected to add that the sheet on which he works is still very young and has not yet had the opportunity to build up sufficient circulation to command attention in the national advertising market. This infant paper recently reduced the number of its pages by one-third, suggesting that if "good luck" ads were to walk into its front office they would be welcomed with open arms.

MAY 16 1942

A revolting point in Mr. Pegler's article was the veiled insinuation that all women of the Negro race were of easy virtue. This point was completely overlooked by most of the writers. To bring out the insult without breaking a storm around his head, Mr. Pegler turned to a gossip column in The Defender and exercised great care and much cunning to extract three sentences which, by themselves, tended to show that Negro housewives were not adverse to committing adultery while their husbands were away at work. Mr. Pegler's purpose would have been served by less injurious gossip from the same column, but it appears that this was not his intention.

By holding up Negro womanhood to public ridicule, under the guise of flaying Negro newspapers for their 'effective imitation of gents room journalism," Mr. Pegler has done his best to rip away the foundation of the Negro family structure upon which the cultural claims of the race must necessarily depend.

PEGLER ISSUES CHALLENGE

Consideration of race, if nothing more, would have restrained Mr. Pegler from extracting three such items from the gossip columns of the smaller white dailies and stringing them together in such a manner as to lend the impression to a Negro audience that all white women are cheap and tawdry.

This smear on Negro womanhood, plus the suggestion that Negro newspapers should be banned, were the two salient points of the attack. It is true that Negro newspapers provided Mr. Pegler with his weapons, but his false and deliberate misinterpretation of the motives upon which Negro journalism is based constitutes a blow below the belt.

Mr. Pegler has given the Negro press both a warning and a challenge. He has said, in effect: "I dare you to hang out any more of our dirty linen while we are scolding the neighbors about theirs. If you do, I'll get someone to repress you." If this means anything, it means that Negro newspapers pursuing their destiny, which is essentially to destroy themselves after helping to build an America in which colored newspapers will not be necessary, must be prepared to fight for their very existence until that aim is achieved.

NEED UNITY

This time, the attack was leveled against the Negro press, but tomorrow the target may be the Negro church, the NAACP, or the Negro social service organization. Each time it arrives, the attack must be met and overcome, and certainly not by converting it into a free-for-all, for in that there is too much risk for those upon whom we must depend for mutual strength.

It is only incidental that Negro writers provided the demonstration last week of how these battles on the home front should not be fought, and the only point to remember is that there is positively no room in a two-front war for jealousy, conceit and opportunism. Only for unity.

Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

FAIR ENOUGH

By WESTBROOK PEGLER.

MAY 12 1942

Expected Reactions

NEW YORK, May 12—When, on a recent date, I discussed the Chicago Defender and the Pittsburgh Courier, Negro weekly publications of wide circulation among the colored people, I naturally expected some unreasonable reaction along with some calm and intelligent discussion of the points of criticism.

The point of my essay, proved by citations from these two papers, was that they expressed a low cultural level which was not a compliment to the aspiring millions of colored Americans for whom and to whom they undertake to speak and that they insulted the intelligence and character of their Negro readers by publishing advertisements of various luck charms, good luck incense and books on "unusual love requirements and ancient sexual practices." I offered the opinion, also, that a Negro editor is lacking in sincerity and is imposing on his readers when he bids them be proud of their race but sells space to an advertiser offering a skin cream under the illusory and ignoble promise that it will turn them more or less white.

One colored man wrote that he had long wished that someone would "take a crack at the yellow journalism of Negro newspapers," adding, however, that he shuddered to think what their headlines would be, concerning me, next week.

"Many liberal Negroes are painfully aware of the harm caused by the confusing and misleading statements of these publications but there is little that can be done about it under the present Negro leadership," he said. "They'll twist your column around and say you advocated abolition of Negro newspapers."

MAY 12 1942

Over-Fair Are We

Nobody has said exactly that but one communication from an organization called the "March on Washington" movement, said my analysis "of the just grievances" of Negroes was "vicious" when the fact is that I did not analyze such grievances at all. This one also said I had linked Negroes in the same category as the Fascist word and Communist groups although there was not a word in the whole discussion which even hinted at such a connection. This was a plain, deliberate lie, but our editor printed it nevertheless, so overfair are we.

So my colored correspondent who said the column would be twisted clearly called the turn although I didn't need him to tell me. I got used to this sort of thing in writing of criminals and dictators in the union racket, every factual, provable word of which has been fairly ignored by the culprits who have constantly howled "labor baiter" to divert attention from their guilt.

But I have been shocked to receive a press release from Howard University in Washington, which is supposed to be a center of Negro intelligence, upholding the Defender and the Courier in the practices cited on the pathetic ground that they are "heroic defenders" of the colored people.

They Can Do Better

"He," meaning me, says this press release from the university, "gave no basic reasons why Negro newspapers are 'inferior' to white publications," and says these reasons can be traced to the segregated place of the Negro. But it is my point that these papers tend to secure that segregation by exploiting a Negro world far apart from the whole community of the United States and that the Negro press, in its pride of race, should be careful always of its racial mission to express the highest qualities of the colored people, not the lowest, in its own particular field, which is journalism. It would be a pathetic admission by Howard University that these two papers do represent the best ability of colored men in journalism because, if we are arguing from the basis of my professional opinion, they are very inferior to the standard white journalism. I hope Howard does not say that the standard represented by the Defender and the Courier is the best the colored people can produce and I know it isn't, myself. This standard is just trash and is imitative, and in a crude way, of all that is discreditable or least admirable in the white press.

MAY 12 1942

The university even says the Negro editor must stoop to "trite and detestable matter" by way of appealing to the Negro masses so as to acquire power and influence among those masses "who need his teachings most," which strikes me as an argument for deliberate degradation of the leadership by clever men who know better so that the clever men may use the masses according to their own versatile ethics and personal ambitions.

The university further explains that these papers are "big business" and then say that this big business must resort to "sordid exploitation" of the credulity of its mass clientele so that it may live to befriend them. At this point I have to ask myself whether Howard University is for the colored man or against him, respects his intelligence or regards him as a very low-grade person. The argument doesn't make the university's position quite clear to me.

Fair Enough

APR 8 1942
APR 38 1942

By Westbrook Pegler

Of late I have been studying two of the most vigorous papers of the Negro press, namely the Chicago Defender and the Pittsburgh Courier, both old publications and well-known among the colored population, but widely unknown to the white people. Both are exploiting the war emergency as an opportunity to push the aspirations of the colored people and they are standard reading among colored men in the armed forces.



New York N.Y.

As journalism the Defender and the Courier compare ill with the standard white press of the country and are no compliment to the people whom they purport to represent. They are reminiscent of Hearst at His Worst in their sensationalism, and in their obvious, inflammatory bias in the treatment of news they resemble such one-sided publications as the Communist Party's Daily Worker and Coughlin's Social Justice.

For example, the Defender runs a story of a Chicago colored woman charged with carrying a pistol and with mayhem in that she bit the cop who arrested her for forcing a white man into an alley at the pistol's point and compelling him to strip to his underwear.

World-Telegraph

This incident would appear to have been a stickup, but the Defender editorializes the news by saying that the white mar had improperly accosted the colored woman. This might have been the correct origin of the incident, but the paper offers nothing but its own flat assertion and the intent plainly is to cast in the role of injured innocence a woman on the prowl with a gun at night who admittedly did stick up a man, disrobe him and fight the cops. As a figure of maidenly virtue she is unconvincing, still less so when, in court, being held in $5000 bond, she attacked the bailiffs, one of whom "barely missed being cracked over the head with a lamp."

The Defender also imitates very effectively the most humiliating phase of the white man's press, that degrading specialty known as Gents' Room Journalism which originated in New York, and from there poured its pollution into many otherwise normal dailies throughout the country and by radio into the air.

In a gossip column by "Nosey," the Defender archly asks, "Did the driver of what taxicab go in what flat with what chic t'other day and stay a long time?" and, again, "Wonder if that post office employee knows that every morning after he has gone to work that a certain barber comes by for breakfast. If the postal employee wants to have some fun he should stay home some morning. And we would like to remind that lady whose husband works on the Sante Fe to be careful about those parties she has as soon as hubby leaves on his run."

In neither paper is there any writing of the slightest distinction to substantiate in the field of journalism, at least, the cry that discrimination, alone, retards the colored man's progress. The written, or editorial matter, is of lower mediocrity, at best, in the presence of an unlimited opportunity for superior colored writers to show their ability and some of the advertisements constitute a sordid exploitation for revenue only of that ignorance among the colored people which the Defender and Courier constantly decry, and with some justice, as the white man's doing.

The Defender advertises Luck's Genuine Magnetic Lodestones at a dollar a pair, one to attract, the other to repel; Zodiacal incense to invite good luck and a book at $2 which, it is intimated, will impart to the reader power to be victorious in all undertakings.

The Courier offers similar opportunities and three books on Unusual Love Requirements and Ancient Sexual Practises. Such ads, though profitable, being acceptable in only a very limited publication field, plainly place on the intelligence of the colored reader a much lower estimate than the editors express in their editorial matter.

* * *

In the editorials they tell him he is a very high grade human being, but in ads alongside they play him for a superstitious, ignorant fool, for money.

World-Telegraph

In the publication business most foreign language papers, contrary to their professed purpose of Americanizing their readers, strive to segregate them so that they will remain a profitable, specialized circulation field for advertisers and politicians. Once Americanized, they quit reading foreign-language papers which then lose their reason to be.

APR 25 1942

These Negro papers agitate violently and, I think, to the same dangerous degree that was alleged against Charles E. Coughlin's weekly, particularly in their appeal to colored soldiers whose loyalty is constantly bedeviled with doubts and with the race-angling of news. If tomorrow they should win everything which they profess to advocate, they would die for, lack of the segregated circulation which they exploit with profit, personal satisfaction for their operators and some political power which is always pleasing to ambitious men of all races.

One may doubt the sincerity of a colored journalist who in one column praises the intelligence of his readers and bids them be proud of their race and in another advertises a skin cream under the illusory and ignoble promise that it will turn him more or less white.

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

The Globe Trotter

By Cliff Mackay

Paddywhack Pegler

MAY 3 - 1942

UNDISPUTABLE IS THE fact that there are forces and people in America who are more determined to see that the "Four Freedoms" are not extended to this nation's black citizens, than they are to see the United Nations emerge victors in the present globe encircling conflict.



Any person, any agency, who with proper foresight points out the incongruity of America's war aim to make secure these freedoms for other peoples throughout the world while withholding them from the largest minority among its own citizens, immediately becomes the target of hostile attacks from these forces.

MAY 3 - 1942

No agency has been more active in pointing this out than the Negro press. It has been on the battle front fighting for the ideal of democracy while many of our great white newspapers were complacently joining in the lulling chorus of the America Firsters.

MOTIVES NEVER CONCEALED

It was not unexpected then to witness an effort hidden beneath an avalanche of insidious lies and artful half-truths to smear the clear cut motives of the Negro press. These motives have not been concealed. They have been out in the open, written in plain English for all to see and understand.

The fight of the Negro press has been clearly an echo of the stirrings for freedom within the breasts of black men called upon to make the supreme sacrifice for democracy, while still being denied an equal opportunity to enjoy its benefits. It has been and still is a campaign to secure the blessings of democracy for all of America's citizens. That and nothing more.

Those who stand stubbornly against granting these blessings to some Americans merely because their faces are black, last week found a new champion for their Nazi-like cause in the person of Westbrook Pegler, often referred to as the most violent "anti" in American journalism.

CHARGES UNSUPPORTED

Contrary to the best traditions of journalism, Pegler in a column syndicated through many leading white newspapers, proceeds to smear and ridicule Negro newspapers, without even bothering to secure, or purposely ignoring any information about them.

In the first part of his insidious propaganda piece, he flatly accuses the Negro press of resembling, "the Communist party's Daily Worker and Couglin's Social Justice" and then writes 2,000 words without offering a single iota of evidence to support this unwarranted and slanderous charge.

Instead he proceeds to slur the ability of Negro journalists in general, making the blank charge that the material they produce "is of lower mediocrity"—a charge so ridiculous on its face, it fails to even merit argument. Negro journalists have attended, for the most part, the same schools as did the white, and in most instances emerged in the top brackets of their classes, where competition is based on brains, not color.

MAY 3 - 1942

AGAINST BATTLE AT HOME

Cleverly concealed between the lines of Pegler's scurrilous attack is his real peeve with Negro journalists. He is not actually at odds with the mechanics of their writing; it differs little, if at all with that used by all American newspapermen, irrespective of color.

What does stir Mr. Pegler's filthy invectives is WHAT Negro newspapermen are writing.

He is completely out of sympathy with the campaign for Double Victory, at home and abroad, called for by the Pittsburgh Courier, one of the newspapers he names. His real alarm is not over the column by "Nosey" carried by the Chicago Defender, but by the demand voiced by that great newspaper to "Remember Pearl Harbor — and Sikeston Too."

He was aghast when Secretary of Navy Knox gave indication that he might do away with the Jim Crow policies to which the Navy in the face of growing manpower shortages has so tenaciously clung.

He was shocked to see that the Army was actually moving toward democracy in granting loyal black Americans more equitable opportunities to fight and die for thier country—all as the result of the constant, unrelenting demand of the the Negro press.

MAY 3 - 1942

PEGLER'S REAL FEAR

His fear, shared by all who are against making America a democracy in truth, is that the continued crusade of the Negro press against flagrant discriminations, might result in the smashing of these undemocratic barriers, through which so many of his friends stand to profit.

Pegler is against the CIO, because the CIO has insisted that no workman should be barred on the superficial and un-American excuse of color. He is against Mrs. Roosevelt, because America's greatest First Lady does not just lip service to democracy, but has clearly shown she sincerely believes in it.

Pegler is against Secretary of Interior Ickes, he was against Aubrey Williams, Nathan Strauss and Clark Foreman when these gentlemen held responsible positions in the government. He was against them becaues they had in common a REAL and FIRM belief in democracy, not just for persons with white skins, but for all Americans. And when they began to practice democracy as well as talk it, Pegler cried to the high heavens, resorting to the old trick of name-calling, branding all as Communists.

MAY 3 1942

NO CAUSE TO APOLOGIZE

The Negro press has no cause to apologize or feel injured by Pegler's petty outburst. In truth, it is a compliment to the tremendous influence Negro newspapers are wielding in the double-barreled fight for democracy.

The Negro press in becoming the target of Mr. Pegler's ire, is placed in an illustrious company of true believers in democracy who have fallen victim to his sneer-punch poisonous pen. No better indication is needed that these newspapers are doing a first class job of serving those whose interests they represent.

Dothan, Ala. Eagle
April 29, 1942

Fair Enough

The Negro Press

BY WESTBROOK PEGLER

NEW YORK — Of late I have been studying two of the most vigorous papers of the Negro press, namely the Chicago Defender and the Pittsburgh Courier, both old publications and well-known among the colored population, but widely unknown to the white people. Both are exploiting the war emergency as an opportunity to push the aspirations of the colored people and they are standard reading among colored men in the Armed Forces.

As journalism the Defender and the Courier compare ill with the standard white press of the country and are no compliment to the people whom they purport to represent. They are reminiscent of Hearst at his worst in their sensationalism, and in their obvious, inflammatory bias in the treatment of news they resemble such one-sided publications as the Communist Party's Daily Worker and Coughlin's Social Justice.

For example, the Defender runs a story of a Chicago colored woman charged with carrying a pistol and with mayhem in that she bit the cop who arrested her for forcing a white man into an alley at the pistol's point and compelling him to strip to his underwear.

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Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

FAIR ENOUGH

By WESTBROOK PEGLER.

Negro Press, Again

NEW YORK, May 17. — One thought leads to another, and so my discussion of the Negro journalism brings me to a phase of the racial problem which is seriously agitating the Negro press. In brief, the Negro papers are excited about the arbitrary deportation of Japanese and native Americans of Japanese ancestry from military areas of the Pacific coast.

"We are at war with Japan," says a press release from Howard University, of Washington, D. C. "Japanese citizens of the United States have been placed into what approximates concentration camps. White American citizens who may be descendants of Japanese receive similar treatment."

"We are at war with Germany and Italy. There are many thousands of American citizens who are Germans and Italians, or descendants of those nationalities. From all reports they continue to receive that freedom which every white American is entitled to. Why the inconsistency?

"Ignorant white persons of the Balkan states become voting citizens entitled to all rights and privileges. And yet the most educated and respected natives of India, China, Japan and many sections of Asia are not considered fit to become American citizens. Why?"

One Man's Views

A colored journalist entitled E. P. H., writing in the Los Angeles Tribune, a Negro paper, deals more intimately with the question.

"Because, to me, it represents the first major, overt government-approved act against the Bill of Rights, I was fearfully opposed to a mass evacuation of people who are, on the basis of a few cases, considered 'dangerous and a menace to the common good.'" This writer says "Such generalization and resultant persecution of a whole community on an excuse of criminal charges, either real or trumped up, is familiar to most of us. While, occasionally, it has been on a political basis, usually it has been on a racial basis. But in all these instances the government, by numerous and sundry gestures and vague quoting of American ideals, has maintained the appearance of being against discrimination on the basis of race, color, creed or previous condition or servitude.

"But, to visit evacuation neighborhoods and talk with neighbors of the 'evil, treacherous Fifth Column menaces' who are being summarily moved away, who have been adjudged guilty without any trial at which to claim innocence was to acknowledge an event with all earmarks of a legalized community lynching. American citizens are prisoners of war, surrounded by sentries."

No Other Solution

All points in both of these citations seem to me to be painfully true, but neither offers any less painful solution of a dangerous military problem. We know that some American natives of Japanese birth were traitorous spies who helped a treacherous enemy slaughter our people at Pearl Harbor and that many native American children of Japanese were educated by their parents to be Japanese, not Americans. Our government's military action, then, in removing these people was dictated by alarm or fear and military urgency. To try even one such case and exhaust all the appeals would have taken a year and any attempt to try them all individually would have prevented a military precaution ordered by the judgment of men having the patriotic responsibility of defending their country against a combination of mighty enemies.

What would Howard University and E. P. H., the Negro essayist, have done instead? They don't say, although the university's comments might be taken to suggest that all naturalized Americans from Germany, Italy and the Balkan countries now with the enemy and all descendants of these immigrants also be placed in the concentration camps.

In that case, of course, we would have no Army or Navy, no war industries and not much free population left to fight and work.

Or should these people have been let alone against the judgment of the Army and to the mortal military peril of our whole population, including the Negroes, who, under a conquering Hitler, would be shipped to Africa as slaves in a Nazi empire while our western coast became a colony of Japan?

Gadsden, Ala. Times
May 3, 1942

Sorry Representation

Westbrook Pegler wrote a column the other day dealing with outstanding Negro newspapers in the North and said some things that should have been said long ago, for the benefit of the Negro and all his friends.

Pegler pointed out that while these newspapers editorially treat the Negro as a person of the highest intellect, they treat him as a moron by the vicious propaganda they aim at him and by the fakery that is permitted in the advertising columns.

There apparently is no attempt whatever to render constructive service to the Negro race, the whole emphasis being placed upon arousing prejudices and creating the false impression that there is no justice in the world for the Negro.

All this is deeply unfortunate. There is a place for an intelligent, constructive and helpful Negro press and it is an unhappy situation when the leading journals, edited by Negroes for Negroes, proceed upon the theory that the way to get circulation is to keep the Negro mad and discontented while the way to get advertising is to permit the use of the columns for every sort of devious scheme designed to trick the Negro out of his hard-earned money. At least this is the practice of the newspapers referred to by Pegler, which lead in circulation throughout the country.

There are a large number of intelligent Negroes and they are entitled to a more intelligent press when this press pretends to speak for them. As matters stand they are more hurt than helped by the papers which protest most loudly their devotion to the race.

48a-1942

PEGLER

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

Pegler Challenged To Prove Colored Press Subversive

MAY 5 - 1942

NEW YORK, N. Y.—(SNS)—Westbrook Pegler, sour columnist for the Scripps-Howard papers, was challenged this week by the N. A. A. C. P. to prove that the Negro press is subversive and opposed to the war effort.

In his column printed in New York April 28, Pegler told of his examination of the Pittsburgh Courier, and the Chicago Defender, and strongly intimated that these and other Negro papers were in the same class with Father Coughlin's Social Justice, which has been denied the use of the mail because of alleged subversive tactics. Pegler made some criticisms of the two Negro papers, but twice mentioned Social Justice, and twice pointed out that Negro papers were read by colored soldiers in Army camps.

After characterizing Pegler's observations on the Negro papers as superficial, the NAACP's letter to the New York World Telegram declared:

"We challenge Mr. Pegler, or anyone else, to find a single disloyal or subversive line in any Negro paper. We challenge him to find any slurs upon President Roosevelt. We challenge him to find any assertion that the Japanese were provoked into this war. We challenge him to find any praise of Hitler or the Axis powers. We challenge him to find any suggestion that America ought to stay out of the war—that this is not our war. We challenge him to find any reflection in the Negro press of the Axis propaganda line."

"The Negro press has urged loyal support for the war effort. It has never been critical of the war effort, but only of the way in which Negro American citizens are being denied an opportunity by their country to participate fully and on an equality, and with dignity in that war effort."

"Does Pegler say that these protests are subversive?"

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

Attacks On The Negro Press

MAY 5 - 1942

Journalism is not above criticism, although some newspapers should refrain from criticising each other.

Twice last week two newspaper columnists, one considered a Southern liberal and the other a chronic cynic, openly accused the Negro press of spreading disunity. One, Westbrook Pegler, of the Scripps Howard syndicate, went so far as to fling slurring indictments against the Pittsburgh Courier and the Chicago Defender, and inferentially against the total Negro press.

The WORLD takes exception to both the criticisms of Mr. Pegler, and John Temple Graves of the Birmingham Age-Herald, specifically against their charges that the "Negro press is more dangerously subversive" than the Axis-spirited "Social Justice" and other poison sheets.

The Negro press has rejected any status quo doctrine as a war policy which would deny the Negro a full and equal chance to help win the war. Is that subversive?

It will resist to death any moves of suppression by those who would deny the voice of democracy a chance to be heard and to express itself towards winning the war.

May 1, John Temple Graves wrote in his front-page column published in the Birmingham Age-Herald:

"We wonder if it is wise to teach some people to read since they can't understand what they read. Last week we wrote of a section of the Negro press and leadership as 'more dangerously subversive' than Father Coughlin and Social Justice. But the anonymous nitwit (referring to a reader who had written in, thinks we are a champion of this press."

Mr. Graves than quoted the Danville (Va.) Record as agreeing with him that, "All the groups now stirring up internal strife, especially the Negroes, are objects of Axis propaganda."

It is a general opinion of both the enlightened white press and the Negro press that many barriers hindering the war effort must be eliminated. Many of them are racial, or stem from those, who are more anxious to hold down the Negro than to crush Hitler and the fascist-axis.

Against these evils the Negro press has fought, as has, we repeat any, number of white leaders on the enlightened side of the war.

The WORLD is not adverse to criticism. It does not close its eyes to weaknesses in the Negro press.

But neither, Mr. Graves nor Mr. Pegler, in our opinion, has proved his case that the Negro press is "dangerously subversive."

MAY 5 - 1942

In several recent columns Mr. Graves has spearheaded a propaganda attack on Negro leaders and the Negro press. He has predicted, or suggested, friction between the two races without the least factual support for his ideas or beliefs.

It was first status quo with Mr. Graves, then suppression of "a section of the Negro press," and now it is diverting attention from racial consciousness to the national program of winning the war.

The Negro press long before a substantial part of the general press was supporting, advocating, and rallying behind the American victory program.

It is more than clear that the purpose of such writings is to separate the Negro people from their leadership and to break their confidence in their own press.

Not one word is being said either by Mr. Graves or by Mr. Pegler against certain powerful general newspapers in Chicago, New York, and Washington, and an especially big-name head of a newspaper empire which have echoed the Axis propaganda and tried venally to discredit the American war program.

MAY 5 - 1942

The WORLD does not intend to engage in controversy over the Negro press. For that would divert its attention away from its duty as a standard race paper "supporting those things which it believes in the interest of its readers."

Negro Labor News
Houston, Texas

WESTBROOK PEGLER'S TIP TO NEGRO NEWSPAPERS

MAY 2 - 1942

Westbrook Pegler, news columnist, famed for his crusade against the evils existing in this country, took a crack at two of the leading Negro newspapers in the Scripps-Howard publications, April 29. The noted journalist went in a round-about way of "beating the devil around the bush" to warn the Negro papers that they were getting out of line by agitating the racial angle of the war and the power of these papers in being felt to the detriment of the war program.

He gave his tip to the Negro in the following statement: "They (Chicago Defender and Pittsburgh Courier) are reminiscent of Hearst at his worst and their sensationalism, in their obvious inflamatory bias in the treatment of news, they resemble such one sided publications as the Communist Party, Daily Worker and Couhglin's Social Justice."

Possibly many colored people will agree with Mr. Pegler on his point and criticism of the papers for their inflamatory and loose discussions since we have entered the war. The Negro press may criticize Pegler for his attack and charge him with attempt to muzzle the Negro press but, we think it should be accepted as a dose of bitter medicine for our good. The Negro papers have the same responsibility of helping to create unity and keeping up civilian morale as any other paper. They should be accorded the same privi-

lege of printing the news as other papers, considering that the treatment and demarkation of the news is left entirely to the editors.

This paper has previously warned there was too much loose talk among Negroes for the good of the race and, that too many editors were anxious to print a story for the "scoop" without considering the damage to the race.

We too, believe the time has come when Negro papers should adopt the policy of educating the public along economic and political lines. They should extol the virtues of their people instead of playing up their baser life. The papers should discourage race prejudice not only against the Negro but against any other people.

The Negro must understand that the newspaper editor is the "quasi" official of our government and that upon them is a great responsibility for the protection and welfare of the people. The Negro papers must weigh carefully their editorials and news articles in this time of war. Our every utterance must be dictated with sound judgement rather than emotion.

Outraged Wave of Protests Follows Pegler's Sour Blast

People's Voice

Last week PV expressed its own opinion of Westbrook Pegler's column in the *World-Telegram* of April 28. The reaction of individuals and organizations was immediate and violent. A storm of eloquent protest, letters, releases and phone calls deluged the Voice office. The NAACP characterized Pegler as a "sour columnist"; Lester Granger of the Urban League called his comments "ill-informed and misdirected"; Thomas L. Brown of the Interracial Club referred to Pegler as "that well known enemy of labor and democratic rights"; Dorothy L. Funn, Brooklyn school teacher, protested against his "vicious attack." Here are details:

● **NAACP declared:** "We challenge Mr. Pegler, or anyone else to find a single disloyal or subversive line in any Negro paper. We challenge him to find any slurs upon President Roosevelt. We challenge him to find any assertion that the Japanese were provoked into this war. We challenge him to any suggestion that America ought to have stayed out of the war—that this is not our war. We challenge him to find any reflection in the Negro press of the axis propaganda line . . . the Negro press has never been critical of the war effort, but only of the way in which Negro American citizens are being denied an opportunity by their country to participate fully and on an equality, and with dignity in that war effort . . ."

● **Lester Granger of the Urban League:** "If a Negro newspaper, hard-pressed for advertisers, accepts contracts from business houses of doubtful repute, its sin is hardly as serious as that of the white daily carrying a full page strikebreaking ad from an anti-union employer or a help wanted ad marked, 'white Christian only.' If the effect of 'lucky stone' advertisements contradicts the Negro editor's appeal to the intelligence and racial pride of his readers, this by no means matches the impudence of a Westbrook Pegler pretending to have any concern for or understanding of the unbearable problems which confront and confuse Negro citizens in an imperfect American democracy."

● **Thomas L. Brown, president of the Interracial Club, 360 W. 125 st.:** "Of course, the Negro press is 'one-sided.' Shame on it, indeed, if it were not! As long as jimcro flourishes, as long as the Negro people remain an oppressed minority in America, the Negro press must continue and extend its battle for equal rights and equal opportunity . . against Pegler and his kind, we choose to defend the Negro press."

● **Naxiae Perrault, New Haven, Conn.:** "I loved the Voice article on Pegler."

● **James H. Dowell, 322 St. Nicholas ave.:** "Hereafter I shall always refer to the column 'Fair Enough' (whose name doesn't mean a thing) as the 'Gents Room' column. For Pegler didn't say a thing about lynching, murder of soldiers, and civilians and failure of defense industries to give employment to Negroes."

● **Dorothy K. Funn, Brooklyn school teacher 52 Putnam ave.:** "It's high time the Pealer in the white press be exposed for what they are. It might be worthwhile at this time for PV and other Negro newspapers to initiate a campaign against these disrupters, the spokesmen for the enemy. Mr. Pegler follow the Hitler pattern very closely. He continously uses his column for scurrilous attacks upon labor, the Jewish people, the Communist party, the government's policies and spokesmen. Now he stands fully revealed for what he is with his latest attacks against the Negro. . . . To want to work and fight for one's country's continued existence is not and never can be termed sedition, although that is what Mr. Pegler would have the American public believe . . ."—ANN PETRY.

Pegler Hits Negro Press Unfair Blow

People's Voice

The Negro press is in a lathery dither this week after perusing the bilious "Fair Enough" column by Westbrook Pegler in the Scripps-Howard papers of Tuesday. For his subject matter Pegler chose the

New York Times
New York, N. Y.

The Watchtower ..... *By Roy Wilkins*

WESTBROOK Pegler wrote one true item in his column on the Negro press April 28. That was his assertion that the Negro press, with its advertisments of "Lucky Magnetic Stones" and "Good Luck Powder" and "Success Books," is doing a disservice to its readers and misrepresenting their intelligence to the world at large.



Mr. Wilkins

All the rest of the column was typical Pegler stuff, topped off with a vicious opinion that the Pittsburgh Courier and the Chicago Defender are in the same category as Father Coughlin's Social Justice.

Most readers will agree that some of the advertisements carried in the Negro press should be barred from its columns. There was a time when many of the papers needed any kind of advertising copy to keep alive. That is not true today and it is especially not true of our larger papers like the Courier, the Defender, the Star-News, the Afro-American, the Journal and Guide, the Call, and others.

These papers are money makers and some of them are big money makers. Everyone familiar with the publishing business knows that with economical management a 24-page newspaper which retails for ten cents can make money on circulation alone. It will not make a fortune, but it will make money.

Have Made Fortunes

The Courier and the Afro have made fortunes for their owners. In its hey-day the Defender was the greatest money maker of them all, for there was a period some twenty years ago when one man drew more than $1,000 a week in salary from the Defender. The late Robert L. Vann and Ira F. Lewis brought the Courier up to where it paid them handsomely, judged by any standard. The Murphy family in Baltimore has not been anywhere near starvation for lo, these many decades. All these papers own their own buildings and complete, modern printing plants. They have large, well-trained staffs.

The point is, they don't need the money they get—say, $1,000 to $2,000 a year—from these dubious advertisements. They can make it easily without that revenue. There is the further fact that these ads may be cutting them off from bigger and better linage since advertising agencies for high class products (seeking any excuse for not going in Negro papers) may judge their reader market by the "Lucky" ads.

Need Not Worry

The Negro press need not worry about Pegler's opinion of its editorial matter. The better and larger Negro papers are well-written. Some of their columnists write better than Pegler. They supply news and pictures that Negro readers can find nowhere else.

Pegler's charge that Negro papers are subversive because they carry news of, and editorial protests against, the mistreatment of Negro soldiers and the denial of democracy to Negro citizens is absurd, but dangerous, because there are many signs that special pressure is to be clamped down on Negro periodicals that yell for the rights due their people. Idiotic and impossible as it may seem now, there may come a time when Negro papers will be persecuted for protests against the shooting of Negro soldiers, the brutality of white military police, the denial of war industry jobs, and the whole miserable system of segregation, discrimination and humiliation in the armed forces fighting for the Four Freedoms.

Pittsburgh Courier and the *Chicago Defender*, No. 1 and No. 3 in Negro circulation. Herewith excerpts from Pegler, accompanied by comment by this writer:

"Of late I have been studying two of the most vigorous papers of the Negro press, namely the Chicago Defender and the Pittsburgh Courier, both old publications and well-known among the colored population, but widely unknown to the white people. Both are exploiting the war emergency as an opportunity to push the aspirations of the colored people and they are standard reading among colored men in the armed forces.

As journalism the Defender and the Courier compare ill with the standard white press of the country and are no compliment to the people whom they purport to represent. They are reminiscent of Hearst at His Worst in their sensationalism, and in their obvious inflammatory bias in the treatment of news they resemble such one-sided publications as the Communist Party's Daily Worker and Coughlin's Social Justice.

(Ed. note: Pegler unfortunately or deliberately chose two of the sloppiest-edited Negro papers. He passed over the creditable "Journal and Guide," the well-edited but messily-made-up "Afro-American." Several smaller rags do a good job of publishing.)

"The Defender also imitates very effectively the most humiliating phase of the white man's press, that degrading specialty known as Gents' Room Journalism which originated in New York, and from there poured its pollution into many otherwise normal dailies throughout the country and by radio into the air."

(Ed. Note: Gents Room Journalism (a peglerism) is current with better white papers. No imitation. Floyd Snelson, an Ethiopian gentleman, wrote keyhole gossip for his "Hotel Tattler" before Winchell had quit his vodvil hoofing for a gossip spot with McFadden's Porno-"Graphic.")

"In neither paper is there any writing of the slightest distinction to substantiate in the field of journalism, at least, the cry that discrimination, alone, retards the colored man's progress. The written, or editorial matter, is of lower mediocrity, at best, in the presence of an unlimited opportunity for superior colored writers to show their ability."

(Ed. note: Mediocre writing? Unfortunately true. But a paper mediocre-ly edited is unable to develop any other brand of writer. Good Negro writers cannot earn decent salaries with Negro publishers. But that does not mean that we do not have plenty of them hidden away. George Schuyler writes for the Courier, is a better writer than Pegler, is a better thinker.)

"The Defender advertises Luck's Genuine Magnetic Lodestones at a dollar a pair, one to attract, the other to repel; Zodiacal incense to invite good luck and a book at $2 which, it is intimated, will impart to the reader power to be victorious in all undertakings.

The Courier offers similar opportunities and three books on Unusual Love Requirements and Ancient Sexual Practices. Such ads, though profitable, being acceptable in only a very limited publication field, plainly place on the intelligence of the colored reader a much lower estimate than the editors express in their editorial matter."

(Ed. note: This "Good Luck" advertising is a sure sign of a second rate paper. BUT—big national concerns refuse to advertise in Negro papers, depriving them of the lucrative source of revenue which Pegler papers enjoy. On the other hand, PV, an infant sheet, refuses to accept such trashy copy, yet manages to exist. "Courier," "Defender" could do likewise, should do likewise.)

"These Negro papers agitate violently and, I think, to the same dangerous degree that was alleged against Charles E. Coughlin's weekly, particularly in their appeal to colored soldiers whose loyalty is constantly bedeviled with doubts and with the race-angling of news.

(Ed. note: Here Pegler jumps completely off the track. The Negro press publishes the news of Negro soldiers being beaten, enduring jimcro, being MURDERED by white Americans. No need to agitate. Merely printing the actual news of a Fort Dix is sufficient.)

"One may doubt the sincerity of a colored journalist who in one column praises the intelligence of his readers and bids them to be proud of their race and in another advertises a skin cream under the illusory and ignoble promise that it will turn him more or less white."

(Ed. note: Again the Negro press feels itself forced to accept whatever ads it can get. It is barred by prejudice from securing large ad accounts (how often has Pegler seen Chesterfield, Camels, the whisky ads, Macy's, Gimbel's, et al, in a Negro paper? In New York, Chesterfield has taken a half page ad in a small local Italian paper with 2,000 circulation. The Star-News, with some 20,000-odd circulation, is overlooked.

OVERALL COMMENT: Pegler is correct in his scathing indictment. But—he gives the impression that the entire Negro press is inadequate. PV, for instance, accepts no skin-bleaching copy. The Negro press is now, always has been, always will be, the spearhead in the fight of the Negro for a square deal in America and the world. The Negro press, including the "Courier" and the "Defender," has consistently spotlited the achievements of the black man, has fought his battles, has defended him against lies and sundry unfairnesses. Aside to Pegler: When last did the Scripps-Howard chain of papers publish anything about the Negro other than crime news?)—JOHN LOUIS CLARKE.

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

LET PEGLER TRY BEING BLACK—THEN WRITE COLUMN ON NEGRO PRESS

MAY 14 1942

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The writer is pastor of Second Congregational Church, and qualified by training and experience to interpret Negro thought and opinion)

By REV. J. A. G. GRANT

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—(SNS)—After reading from his columns for some time, I have been impressed that Pegler is primarily a very fine columnist and is generally or at least means to be fair in his analysis of the happenings of the world but in his recent attack on the Negro Press, I firmly believe that he is not sincere in the least. In his stand, his aim is simple—to keep the facts of the Negro's status in the United States from the eyes of the world.

We do not occupy as a race a position like any other minority group or any other people on earth to the country which we call ours. Every other nation could exist and has existed with the minority groups but there is no United States of America without the Negro. He was in the beginning of the country. The comman blood of the great fathers of the United States runs through his veins as it does his white brother. The glories and responsibilities of America are as keenly felt by him as by any other citizen.

MAY 14 1942

The Negro has had little to say in the making of the laws of his country and little to do in the molding the sentiment of the nation. But in recent years the Negro Press, dating back to 1827, has become active in exposing racial discriminations in our country, believing that in so doing, the Voice of All America will become aware of racial injustices and demand fair play for all. In Pegler's attack not once did he say that the Negro Press was "Lying" but that it was biased. So granting that it is biased, even as he is, should the press cease to publish the acts in our country against this minority group?

MAY 14 1942

Of course I don't wish Mr. Pegler any harm, but I would like to see him turn 'Black and have kinky hair' just for a month and travel throughout this country from the north to the south. Then return to his race and rewrite his article on the Negro Press. I have been reading the Negro papers many years and have for the first time to see any sign of disloyalty.

Our country is trying to meet the demands for greater opportunities for the Negro in all phases of the War Department but what the press is striving for is a complete victory for race equality in our country and will not complete its job until it has been realized.

Syphilis is a disease that cannot be cured by painting the sores the color of the natural skin, but it takes an internal cleansing. Let the press present facts until the nation tires of discrimination and any man may aspire and secure any place in our country for which he has fitted himself. Prejudice is as deeply planted as syphilis but like syphilis it can be cured and that from within not from without. Pegler suggests that we should just smile under these conditions and say "Oh it doesn't hurt."

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution
May 3, 1942

ATLANTA NEGRO EDITOR RESENTS PEGLER SLUR

Editor, Constitution: I read with amazement the unwarranted and scurrilous attack made upon the Negro press which appeared in your publication dated April 29, in the column, "Fair Enough," written by Westbrook Pegler. Mr. Pegler, though not mentioning our publication, the Atlanta Daily World, by name, implies the insidious charges lodged against our contemporaries, the Pittsburgh Courier and the Chicago Defender, apply to the whole of the Negro press in general.

As an editor of a Negro newspaper, I not only resent Mr. Pegler's wholly unsupported charge that our publications "resemble the Communist party's Daily Worker and Coughlin's Social Justice," but challenge him to produce a single line in any of the 406 Negro journals in the United States that calls for the Negro to be anything but the loyal American citizen he has remained throughout every crisis in which our nation has found itself.

Cleverly concealed between the lines of Mr. Pegler's outburst is his real peeve with Negro newspapermen. He is not at odds with the mechanics of their writing; it differs little, if at all, with that used by all American journalists, irrespective of color. What does stir Mr. Pegler's ire is what Negro newspapermen are writing.

He is completely out of sympathy with the campaign for double victory, at home and abroad, called for by the Pittsburgh Courier. His real alarm is over the demand voiced by the Chicago Defender to "Remember Pearl Harbor—and Sikeston Too."

His fear, shared by all who are against making America a democracy in truth, is that the continued crusade of the Negro press against flagrant discriminations, might result in the smashing of these undemocratic barriers to national unity.

The Negro press has no cause to apologize or feel injured by Mr. Pegler's petty outburst. In truth, it is a compliment to the tremendous influence Negro newspapers are wielding in the double-barreled fight for democracy.

No better indication is needed that these newspapers are doing a first class job of serving those whose interests they represent.

CLIFF MACKAY,
Managing Editor,
Atlanta Daily World.

Atlanta.

Anniston, Ala. Star
May 7, 1942

Sorry Representation

Westbrook Pegler wrote a column the other day dealing with outstanding Negro newspapers in the North and said some things that should have been said long ago, for the benefit of the Negro and all his friends.

Pegler pointed out that while these newspapers editorially treat the Negro as a person of the highest intellect, they treat him as a moron by the vicious propaganda they aim at him, and by the fakery that is permitted in the advertising columns.

There apparently is no attempt whatever to render constructive service to the Negro race, the whole emphasis being placed upon arousing prejudices and creating the false impression that there is no justice in the world for the Negro.

All this is deeply unfortunate. There is a place for an intelligent, constructive and helpful Negro press and it is an unhappy situation when the leading journals, edited by Negroes for Negroes, proceed upon the theory that the way to get circulation is to keep the Negro mad and discontented while the way to get advertising is to permit the use of the columns for every sort of devious scheme designed to trick the Negro out of his hard-earned money. At least this is the practice of the newspapers referred to by Pegler, which lead in circulation throughout the country.

There are a large number of intelligent Negroes and they are entitled to a more intelligent press when this press pretends to speak for them. As matters stand they are more hurt than helped by the papers which protest most loudly their devotion to the race.

The American Red Cross has been granted priorities for production of a limited number of mobile canteens, disaster relief units and ambulances. Emergency disaster relief units were especially designed for use as ambulances, mobile canteens, for rescue and evacuation work, and as mobile highway first aid stations.

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

World-Telegram Turns Down NAACP's Answer To Pegler's Attack On Press

MAY 12 1942

NEW YORK—(SNS) —Declining to print the NAACP's challenge to Westbrook Pegler for his attack on the Negro press April 26, the New York WORLD-TELEGRAM said it was because "we believe it would serve no great purpose to continue the controve

MAY 12 1942

The NAACP sharply scored Pegler as a "sour columnist" and dared to prove that the Negro press is subversive. Attempting to excuse Pegler's nasty criticism as constructive, the WORLD-TELEGRAM said: "It will be generally agreed that his column was intended to point the way to a better press and thus to improve conditions in that field."

"We fail to understand how calling the Negro press subversive and holding it up to ridicule can 'improve conditions,'" the NAACP said this week. "Mr. Pegler would do well to examine his own labor-baiting record while he is searching for things to improve."

The Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.

Negro Organization Assails 'Telegram'

NAACP Blasts Refusal to Print Reply to Pegler's Slanders

MAY 15 1942

By Eugene Gordon

The New York World-Telegram yesterday was blasted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for refusing to publish an answer to Westbrook Pegler's recent attack on the Negro people.

Pegler, Scripps-Howard columnist long notorious as a labor-baiter, on April 28 compared the Chicago Defender and the Pittsburgh Courier, two of the nation's largest and most progressive Negro newspapers, to Father Coughlin's "Social Justice." "Social Justice" had just been denied mailing privileges because of subversive activities.

Pegler in the same column questioned the Negro people's general intelligence and ridiculed Negro women for employing beauty methods advertised in the Negro press.

MAY 15 1942

The blast yesterday was sent by Walter White, NAACP secretary, to Sidney B. Whipple, assistant to the executive editor of the World Telegram. Whipple said that Pegler had been interested only in raising the standard of Negro journalism!

Whipple had also told Mr. White that the reason why the NAACP's answer to Pegler's attack had not been published was that "too much time" had elapsed between the publication of the column and receipt of the answer. Whipple had added that the World-Telegram editors "believe it would serve no great purpose to continue the controversy."

"There is no controversy, since you permit Pegler to say in your columns what he has to say and then refuse the right to reply in those same columns, to those who disagree with him," White wrote. "We always understood a controversy existed when the right to answer was permitted the other side."

MAY 15 1942

Since the receipt of Whipple's letter, Mr. White wrote:

CITES JOB JIM CROW

"The attitude of the World-Telegram and Westbrook Pegler is all the more disheartening and dishonest in that you combine in attacking Negro newspapers because they do not measure up to your standard of journalism, while you do not give employment on the World-Telegram, or any other Scripps-Howard newspaper that we know of, to a single Negro reporter, linotypist, member of the editorial, the executive or the business staff, even though many Negroes buy and read the Scripps-Howard papers."

White Columnist Answers Pegler's Tirade On Press

Pittsburgh Courier

Pittsburgh Courier

By LEE CASEY

(Reprint from the Rocky Mountain News)

In his column in The News last Wednesday, Westbrook Pegler added the Negro press of America to the list of things he doesn't like. He bases his dislike on a study of two weeklies, the Chicago Defender and The Pittsburgh Courier.

MAY 9 1942

He found they compare ill with the standard white press of the country, are "reminiscent of Hearst at his worst in their sensationalism," are like the Communist Daily Worker and Coughlin's Social Justice in their "obvious, inflammatory bias in the treatment of news," and distasteful because of their inclusion of gossip columns and acceptance of substandard advertising. Their editorial matter he found "of lower mediocrity" and he considered their appeals to colored soldiers dangerous because of 'race-angling news.'



Lee Casey

"If tomorrow these papers should win everything they profess to advocate, they would die for lack of the segregated circulation they exploit with profit," he concluded.

A copious anathema, indeed. And, like most blanket indictments, unjustified.

I read the Chicago Defender occasionally, and The Pittsburgh Courier almost every week. I also see the Colorado Statesman and the Denver Sun.

It strikes me that, considering the job they have to do and what they have to do it with, the performance of these publications is highly creditable.

They appeal to a minority group, to be sure. But that is true of many other publications, including newspapers and magazines designed for circulation among special groups. All minority publications necessarily select and even emphasize the items of special interest to their special readers. The so-called Negro press is no exception.

MAY 9 1942

But there is one vital difference. The Negro—using that term to designate American citizens with some admixture, offer a very slight admixture, of African blood—is a member of a compulsory minority. Subscribers to publications written in the interest of special groups are what they are—Methodists, brokers, fishermen—by choice. The Negro is set apart not by his own volition but by ignorance and the prejudice that stems from ignorance.

MAY 9 1942

In view of that anamalous situation that is, in a democracy—it is the particular function and duty of the Negro press to remind Negroes of the honor and dignity of their traditions and of the achievements of men and women of their group, present as well as past.

Mr. Pegler calls that "race-angling" the news. Maybe that's the right term. In any case, the Negro press has a job to do and is trying to do it. It makes a special appeal, but that is its objective. A rational person shouldn't expect to find encomiums on Democratic candidates and unpleasant truths about the GOP in a Republican campaign organ.

As for the merits or demerits of the Negro writers whose work Mr. Pegler regards as "of lower

48a-1942
The Union
Cincinnati, Ohio

When Westbrook Pegler landed on two of our gigantic publications last week, namely, "The Chicago Defender" and the "Pittsburg Courier," he sowed seed that will bring an additional harvest of damnation upon his head, long hardened by ungloved hands. The American Newspaper Guild once called him "everything but a child of God." His article, published on this page, has attracted the attention of the N. A. A. C. P., which has flown to the defense and challenged Mr. Pegler, not to mortal combat, but to prove his assertions in regard to disloyalty.

MAY 10 1942

The journalistic attack,
Will have its comeback,
So "lay on McDuff,"
We'll all enjoy the stuff." Dabney.

Washington Post
Washington, D. C.

Fair Enough

By Westbrook Pegler

Howard University Answers Pegler

WHEN, on a recent date, I discussed the Chicago Defender and the Pittsburgh Courier, Negro weekly publications of wide circulation among the colored people, I naturally expected some unreasonable reaction along with some calm and intelligent discussion of the points of criticism.



PEGLER
MAY 2 1942

The point of my essay, proved by citations from these two papers, was that they expressed a low cultural level which was not a compliment to the aspiring millions of colored Americans for whom and to whom they undertake to speak and that they insulted the intelligence and character of their Negro readers by publishing advertisements of various luck charms, good luck incense and books on "unusual love requirements and ancient sexual practices." I offered the opinion, also, that a Negro editor is lacking in sincerity and is imposing on his readers when he bids them be proud of their race but sells space to an advertiser offering a skin cream under the illusory and ignoble promise that it will turn them more or less white.

One colored man wrote that he had long wished that someone would "take a crack at the yellow journalism of Negro newspapers," adding, however, that he shuddered to think what their headlines would be, concerning me, next week.

PEGLER
MAY 12 1942

"MANY LIBERAL Negroes are painfully aware of the harm caused by the confusing and misleading statements of these publications but there is little that can be done about it under the present Negro leadership," he said. "They'll twist your column around and say you advocated abolition of Negro newspapers."

Nobody has said exactly that but one communication from an organization called the March on Washington Movement, said my analysis "of the just grievances" of Negroes was "vicious" when the fact is that I did not analyze such grievances at all. This one also said I had linked Negroes in the same category as the Fascist and Communist groups although there was not a word in the whole discussion which even hinted at such a connection. This was a plain, deliberate lie, but our editor printed it nevertheless, so over-fair are we.

So my colored correspondent who said the column would be twisted clearly called the turn although I didn't need him to tell me. I got used to this sort of thing in writing of criminals and dictators in the union racket, every factual, provable word of which has been airly ignored by the culprits who have constantly howled "labor baiter" to divert attention from their guilt.

MAY 12 1942

BUT I HAVE been shocked to receive a press release from Howard University in Washington which is supposed to be a center of Negro intelligence, upholding the Defender and the Courier in the practices cited on the pathetic ground that they are "heroic defenders" of the colored people.

"He," meaning me, says this press release from the university, "gave no basic reasons why Negro newspapers are 'inferior' to white publications," and says these reasons can be traced to the segregated place of the Negro. But it is my point that these papers tend to secure that segregation by exploiting a Negro world far apart from the whole community of the United States and that the Negro press, in its pride of race, should be careful always of its racial mission to express the highest qualities of the colored people, not the lowest, in its own particular field, which is journalism. It would be a pathetic admission by Howard University that these two papers do represent the best ability of colored men in journalism, because, if we are arguing from the basis of my professional opinion, they are very inferior to the standard white journalism. I hope Howard does not say that the standard presented by the Defender and the Courier is the best the colored people can produce and I know it isn't, myself. This standard is just trash and is imitative, and in a crude way, of all that is discreditable or least admirable in the white press.

The university even says the Negro editor must stoop to "trite and detestable matter" by way of appealing to the Negro masses so as to acquire power and influence among those masses "who need his teachings most," which strikes me as an argument for deliberate degradation of the readership by clever men who know better so that the clever men may use the masses according to their own versatile ethics and personal ambitions.

The university further explains that these papers are "big business" and then says that this big business must resort to "sordid exploitation" of the credulity of its mass clientele so that it may live, to befriend them. At this point I have to ask myself whether Howard University is for the colored man or against him, respects his intelligence or regards him as a very low-grade person. The argument doesn't make the university's position quite clear to me.

Globe and
Independent
Nashville, Tenn.

PEGLER, THE PHARISEE

One of the friends, if any, of Westbrook Pegler, had a piece in the Chicago Sun recently, in which the writer stated that Pegler was considerably disturbed because his letter-writing public was becoming less vitriolic than generally toward Pegler's diatribes.

This peculiar desire for incurring public hate for his writings explains the kind of being Pegler is. Although engaged in the daily grind of publicity, himself, this columnist doesn't feel that his act is going over big unless he is receiving an abundance of mail from an outraged public, calling him the kind of villain he has so slavishly labored to be.

The recent column Pegler wrote in which he cracked down on Negro newspapers in general and the Chicago Defender and Pittsburgh Courier in particular, was intended to arouse the ire of Negroes and get them to incur hate for Pegler of the same intensity that organized labor, the millions of friends of Mrs. Roosevelt, and practically all decent Americans have for this newspaper man, so pungently punctured by the Hon. Harold L. Ickes, as a newspaper "calumnist."

MAY 8 1942

Pegler is disturbed over the fact that Negro newspapers are dedicated to fighting the traitorous Fascists of the United States with as much zeal as the young men of their flesh and blood are dedicated to fighting Fascists on foreign soil. No viewing with alarm the fact that Negro newspapers are turning on the light and exposing American Fascism and pointing to the hindrance to this nation being able to win a foreign war against Fascism until it has liquidated our homegrown Fascists, will bring Pegler or any of the gang for which he is mouthpiece and press agent what they desire. Negro newspapers are not going to break faith with the Negro boys fighting and dying on battlefields in this war for freedom, the vindictive and mendacious bleatings of Westbrook Pegler to the contrary notwithstanding.

Pegler, in the course of his attack on Negro newspapers, presumed to condemn our publications for running advertisements of firms selling goods and services

of doubtful value. In doing so he takes on the role of Pharisee similar to that of the publishers of the daily newspapers he serves—papers that assail "numbers kings" and yet get big money from publishing daily in their papers, the gambling devices by which alone the "numbers kings" are able to carry on their "business."

We seriously doubt that any of the alleged nostrums advertised in Negro newspapers do any more public harm or are of less value to those who patronize them than the suggestions for betting on race horses, which are published regularly in the newspapers Pegler serves. Nor do they do any more public harm than the painstakingly published stock market quotations by which a large section of America's ruling class indulge in their favorite form of gambling.

No realist can see any difference between playing the stock market and playing the numbers, except the dishonest evaluation put on the two forms of gambling by newspapers publishers with the same distorted ideas of what is right and wrong that Pegler has.

Pegler, in glorifying the papers he serves for not permitting "harmful" advertising to appear in their columns, cannot make anybody with ordinary common sense believe that this is because his newspaper bosses are men of higher integrity than the publishers of Negro newspapers.

The highest medical authorities have discovered that cigarettes are deadly poisonous to human beings. This fact has neither caused the big dailies to stop raking in the big revenue for publishing cigarette advertising nor even to give deserved publicity to this sensational discovery about cigarettes which eminent medical authorities have made.

Pegler, affecting patriotic indignation over the discovery of criminals in the labor movement, is at the same time almost silent over the round-up of dangerous criminals among the champagne-guzzling royalists of this country—the crowd caught in an alliance with Hitler as creators of monopolies to render Hitler invincible in war through the use of instruments of war, access to which was to be denied to the soldiers of the United States.

Westbrook Pegler, mouthpiece of the Big Boys of Big Business, can continue to tickle the vanity of those whose bidding he does so slavishly. But he can rest assured that the Negro press, in array with the other progressive forces in the United States, will neither ask nor give quarter in the battle against the anti-democratic forces of the United States.

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

The Globe Trotter • By Cliff Mackay

MAY 24 1942

Mr. Pegler Again

HAVING WIELDED HIS little journalistic sword without any appreciable effect for the past several years against organized labor in general and against all persons embued with the democratic idea of bringing about needed social changes it now becomes increasingly clear Westbrook Pegler, sour Scripps-Howard columnist is determined to drive Negro newspapers from the field.



Those of us in the Negro journalistic field were mistaken in believing that Pegler's initial blast was just an isolated attack by a chronic knocker widely known for his fascist tendencies.

Since the first outburst, two more articles have appeared definitely indicating that it has fallen Pegler's lot to be the spearhead of the "spring offensive" against the very journals, which have been the most vigorous in their ardent support of democracy.

NAMED TWO PAPERS

In his first shot, Pegler levelled both barrels at the Pittsburgh Courier and the Chicago Defender, dishing up with his usual venom, the absurd complaint that these journals in no way compare with the standard set by the white press and that the writing was of the lowest mediocrity.

MAY 24 1942

This writer took exception to this line of argument, contending that Pegler's real "beef" was not with the mechanics of the writing, but the persistent plea made week after week by these writers that American democracy be made effective for not just a select group of this country's citizens, but for all the people.

In substance the aims of these writers are exactly the same as those voiced by President Roosevelt as the motives behind the prosecution of this war.

LUMPS ALL TOGETHER

In subsequent articles Pegler has omitted the names of the Courier and Defender and with his usual sloppy journalistic methods, seeks to lump all of the 406 publications serving black Americans into the same general hopper with the between the lines implication that all should be consigned to the rubbish heap.

In the last of his three scurrilous utterings Pegler pretends to be puzzled over why Negro newspapers should become excited over what has been done by the government in the matter of removing all Japanese, both alien and American-born from our Pacific shores.

The point at issue was the contention that if it is expedient to move the Japanese from the vital areas, it should likewise be necessary to remove the Italians and Germans, with whom we are also at war.

MAY 24 1942

JUST CONSTERNATION

Any other interpretation wuold be to adroitly admit that racial prejudice was the basic motive behind this action. And too, even though Pegler knows absolutely nothing of the penalty imposed on a person born with a black skin in America, it does seem that even he could visualize the consternation of Negroes at this drastic racially-biased action.

This consternation comes not from any sympathy with the Japanese as such, because they are as much our enemies as they are other Americans. It springs, rather, from purely selfish, racial reasons.

With sound basis for their argument, Negroes contend that if whole communities of yellow people, most of whom were born in this country, can be arbitrarily uprooted and moved to other sections what is there to prevent black people from becoming victims of the same sort of action. Particularly is this alarming when it is done by the federal government.

UPHOLD AGE-OLD MYTH

By allowing German and Italian aliens and naturalized citizens to remain within these vital areas, we find the government upholding the age-old myth that white is right and can never be wrong.

Granting that the fear of Fifth Column activity was the chief factor in moving these people, it is puzzling why an equal fear would not result in similar action against the thousands of German and Italian aliens, who not only reside near vital areas, but are often welcomed as workers by war industry employers, who refuse to hire native-born Americans, whose faces are black.

Neatly side-stepping this very obvious inconsistency in federal policy, Pegler proceeds to pounce upon this justified alarm of aminority group as a case in point to illustrate his previous silly and unsupported charge that Negro newspapers are "seditious in nature" and that they "agitate violently."

DO NOT CREATE ISSUES

The "agitation" of Negro newspapers did not bring about the heinous lynching at Sikeston, Mo. They were not responsible for the fatal riots at Fort Bragg and Fort Dix, nor the brutal and unwarranted slaying of Sergeant Thomas P. Foster at Little Rock. The sordid Sojourner Truth homes riot at Detroit was definitely not their making.

MAY 24 1942

Negro newspapers do not create the issues. They merely seek to interpret their demoralizing effect on a people more than anxious to do their part in winning this war for democracy. Theirs is the contention that if the ideal of democracy is worth sending thousands of men abroad to defend, it is also worth a whole-hearted defense here at home.

Pegler's effort to twist and distort these motives into meaning that Negro editors are seeking to sabotage our country's war effort is just another filthy example of the type of lying journalism which for lack of better name could very appropriately be termed Peglerism.

PEGLERISM

VITROLIC PEN LAUNCHES OPENING ATTACK ON NEGRO PRESS FOR REACTIONARIES

BY HORACE R. CAYTON

Pittsburgh Courier

I GUESS THAT most of you saw or heard of Westbrook Pegler's article. Pegler held up the Negro press for ridicule and not too delicately suggested that, as it was going to faithful black soldiers and as its contents were as inflammatory as Father Coughlin's "Social Justice," it should be suppressed for the duration. Lots of things Pegler said had some merit but the criticism should be leveled at the American press in general, or at least a great deal of it, and the dishonesties which Pegler accuses the Negro press of really are best epitomized in his own life.



Mr. Cayton

Pegler is the creature of two persons. One is Roy W. Howard of the Scripps-Howard Syndicate and the other is Frank Knox of Rough Rider and Rough Rider Navy fame. Until 1933, Pegler had been an uninspired, and unremarkable reporter, war correspondent, and, finally, sports editor for the United Press. He was then picked up by that citadel of liberalism, the Chicago Tribune, to write on sports. As a sports writer Pegler was more of an arm chair philosopher and was even able to work in some reactionary venom in the reporting of horse races. The possibilities of the development of Pegler as a mouthpiece for big business interests and anti-liberal thought became apparent to Frank Knox who got in touch with little Roy Howard of the News and the World Telegram and Pegler was signed up at a modest salary of $30,000 a year and half of all syndicate sales in excess of $60,000.

MAY 9 1942

PEGLER APPROVED LYNCHING OF MAN

MAY 9 1942

Howard, however, did not want to buy a 'pig in a poke' so he asked Pegler for a couple of sample articles to see if he could articulate the particular type of reaction that Howard wanted to buy. This was needed because Howard already had Heywood Broun, a great liberal, whom he wanted to keep because he got circulation but felt that it was necessary to counteract any influence Broun might have by some one who would state the case for the reactionaries.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

SO Pegler submitted a couple of sample pieces including one which approved the lynching by a mob of a man in San Jose. Howard thought this hit just about the right political level for his paper and it was also agreeable with the Colonel, so Pegler was taken on. The article on lynching was the third to appear under Pegler's by-line in his new column. Liberals all over the country who had not gotten wise to Howard and who had always thought of the Scripps-Howard papers as being fairly decent sheets were shocked and there was great indignation and gnashing of teeth. This was grist in the mill of both of these eminent publishers because it meant increased circulation.

FIRST BLAST IS A TRIAL BALLOON

From then on Pegler's role was set—he became the mouthpiece for the interests and philosophies of the publishers. Whether Pegler said what he did because he believed it, or because he was astute enough to know what his bosses wanted him to say about every subject one can't tell. The evidence is, however, that he has never missed on a single point and has consistently expressed what these two publishing geniuses wanted said. Pegler has been against large income taxes, he has fought the Newspaper Guild, he hates Senator Wagner, and under the guise of fighting corruption and communism, he has been one of the country's worst labor baiter.

MAY 9 1942

NOW, my friends, he has worked around to the "brother in black" and I predict that he starts a series on him similar to the ones which he wrote to try to break the unions. But the point to remember is that Pegler is really articulating the point of view of the people who made him. If he is not, in this specific instance, it is the first time that he has gotten off the reactionary "line." The suggestion that the Negro press be suppressed may well be a trial balloon of the forces of reaction who have never been interested in democracy for the Negro or in fighting for democratic war.

ILL-INFORMED AND MISDIRECTED

Pittsburgh Courier

Dear Editor:

MAY 9 1942

Westbrook Pegler's comments on the sins of the Negro press (World-Telegram, April 28, 1942) are ill-informed and misdirected. The most loyal supporter of Negro journalism must admit its serious faults. Any intelligent and honest critic, however, will recognize that these faults, if not mere reflections of those to be found in the American newspaper field generally, grow from the peculiarly adverse conditions under which Negro Americans live.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

If Negro newspapers over-emphasize racial discrimination as practiced against their readers, it is because the white press generally shirks its own responsibility by keeping silent. Not a dozen important dailies in the United States even pretend to report honestly and fairly the aggressions of America's white majority against the citizenship rights of Negroes. If the Negro editor seems sometimes to try to extenuate a Negro's infraction of the law, it is because the white press almost invariably magnifies, distorts or ignores the real facts.

If a Negro newspaper, hard-pressed for advertisers, accepts contracts from business houses of doubtful repute, its sin is hardly as serious as that of the white daily carrying a full-page strikebreaking ad from an anti-union employer or a help wanted ad marked "White Christian only." If the effect of "lucky stone" advertisements contradicts the Negro editor's appeal to the intelligence and racial pride of his readers, this by no means matches the impudence of a Westbrook Pegler pretending to have any concern for or understanding of the unbearable problems which confront and confuse Negro citizens in an imperfect American democracy.

Sincerely yours,

LESTER B. GRANGER

TOO DAMN FAIR

BY WEST BROKE PEGLER for ANP

MAY 2 2 1942

Editor's Note: The name of the author of this article, Mr. Restbroke Pegler, has a most familiar ring. Is he not widely read syndicated columnist who took an editorial wallop at the Negro press in an article published last week in white daily newspapers? At any rate, the Associated Negro Press feels it is doing the nation a service to exclusively release Mr. Kegler's article in which he reveals why he is an undisputed authority on Negro life and activities).

Weekly-Review

Well, boys, here I am again,—a full fledged expert on the 13 million Negroes in America. I know more about these American Negroes than they know about themselves. You may wonder how I got to be such an expert. Well that's easy. I used the same deep study techniques that enabled me to blossom out as America's foremost authority on the labor question after a few years of study.

Birmingham, Ala.

I won't say that it wasn't a hard job. Besides becoming a labor wizard and writing my fine column six times a week, for a measley 20 or 40 thousand dollars a year, I had to study the Negro question very hard. Yes, sir, I studied it very hard. I read copies of two newspapers for six weeks, and since I already had a very good background—it is true that I know almost everything to begin with—I soon qualified as an expert on the Negro.

MAY 2 2 1942

To a great student and expert like myself, the Negro question is easy to master. My many thousands salary helps, too. Of course when a man makes 20 or 40 thousand dollars hi-jacking the poor laboring man, I won't stand for it, and I intend to tell the American people about it in my loudest voice; and if I am modest about myself, I must say that I am a pretty loud boy. It is easy for a man with my background and brains to understand the American Negro, especially if in addition to background and brains, and three months study, he also has an income of 20 thousand dollars a year—or more.

I'll tell you why it's easy for me to understand the Negro. I understand the ignorant rascals, who don't know how well off they are, don't have the gumption to make money. Why, I believe even one of them was bellyaching because he said the average Negro family income was about $400 a year. That means $80 a head. Now, in the years when I make $20,000 a year, I am making as much as 50 Negro families. And if I should happen to make $40,000 in a year, which wasn't impossible. I would have made as much as 100 families of Negroes.

Now, any man who makes as much as 100 Negro families is bound to have more than 100 times as much sense as each of these families. Of course some of their smart-alecks might try to pull a fast one on me, and say that because I was born a white man, and a loud-mouthed white man at that, I had 100 times a better chance. But did I? I was was born in Minnesota ,and I went to high school at Lane Tech in Chicago. While I was in high

school the state was spending about $150 a year on my education, and besides my fataer got a pretty expensive education too. I know some of these Negro upstarts will say that my old man had a better chance in life than the Negroes' pappys who were educated at an expense to the state about 45 cents a head a year, if at all; but that's just being plain unAmerican.

Then they are always belly-aching about their health. Why don't they take care of their health? I didn't give 'em tuberculosis or syphilis. Sometimes when I am sitting on the verandah of the Tamarack Country club, I think of how lucky those Negroes are to be permitted to be permitted to live in cities like New York and Chicago. They were lucky because just the pure luck of needing rough labor on cotton farms brought them to this wonderful country in the ... place, so they could learn ... wonderful English language ... I am master of. They were lucky to be freed because my grandfather was fool enough to believe what the big bankers in New York said about keeping the Union together. They were lucky that a big war broke out in Europe in 1914, so that they could be brought north, and work for four years before industry shut down in their faces when it didn't need them any longer. They're lucky to be able to live in these fine cities, and if they have tuberculosis and syphilis, it's their own fault..

MAY 22 1942

What if 16 times as many Negro girls in the adolescent years die of tuberculisis as among the white girls? What if the juvenile delinquency rate is five times as high for Harlem as it ought to be? What if the Negroes can't get jobs, because of both of the unions, I cuss out and the big industries who help me make $40,000 a year? They have no business belly-aching about it. Things are getting better and better in every way for the Negro, and just think how bad off he'd be if he was in Africa. Even if he's got tuberculosis here, and can't get in sanitariums, there aren't any sanitariums in Africa for him to go to.

This is a wonderful country. Any country that will reward a loud mouth and six weeks of hard work to become an expert on everything ,including the Negro, is a wonderful country.

The Negroes just don't know when they are well enough off. I know when I'm well off. I am doing pretty well for myself, and I don't want to see anything happen to this country, or my salary. I want things to stay like they are. I want the labor unions to stay in their places, and I want the Negro to stay in his place, and I want my salary to stay in its place.

Negroes are always clamming to be religious, but if their leaders were really religious they would not keep talking so as to make really religious people like myself get angry, and so lose my religion. I'm a Christian myself, yes sir, I am a follower of the humble Nazarene, of Jesus Christ himself. I expect to get to heaven in my time, because I'm really not a rich man. I'm just a hard-working newspaper man with blisters on his fingers from writing, and on his brain from studying the Negro question so hard . I love my fellowman; I know that God made of one blood all nations of the world, and that Christ told us to share with the poor. Well I do share even with the Negroes. I give money to charity, and I am sure some of it goes to help those Negroes making from one fortieth to one one-hundrerth of my salary. But what irritates me is that those smart Negro leaders try to take Christ literally. Yes sir, you would think that they really believed that Jesus Christ meant what he was saying when he said it, and that he was crucified between two thieves, and amidst the poor and wretched, because he actually believed in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

These Negro leaders, always belly-aching about the wrongs of their people, give me a pain in the neck. Fair enough to them?

I'm too damned faid!

working for the Axis.

Pursuit Of Democracy

BY MARJORIE MCKENZIE

PEGLER FIRES OPENING GUN IN MOVE TO SUPPRESS ALL NEGRO NEWSPAPERS

ON APRIL 29, tens of thousands of the otherwise uninitiated American newspaper public were introduced to the Negro press in the widely syndicated column of that arch foe of organized labor, Westbrook Pegler. His attack, which names specifically only The Pittsburgh Courier and The Chicago Defender, will be answered variously by editors and readers alike, but it happens to be the kind of vicious document that must be challenged with the same subtlety and sophistry if not the same deviousness, employed by the author. There is no use wading in with hot denials of his criticism of our sensational and sometimes biased methods of reporting Negro crime and police brutality; there is no excuse for the bad taste and actual perfidelty of gossip columns in any newspaper; there is nothing to do but blush over the references to magnetic lodestones, zodiacal incense and sex literature. Mr. Pegler doubtless thinks that by basing his attack on these irrefutably vulnerable spots that he is sounding the death knell of a truly vigorous Negro press. It is foolish not to understand that his efforts are not unrelated to other moves under consideration for the suppression of Negro papers generally.



M. McKenzie

RACE ANGLING A NECESSITY

Behind these considerations lies the much mulled over question in government councils of how Negro morale for the war is to be improved, or more accurately stated, how Negro morale for the war is to be improved under the status quo. It cannot be done, according to Mr. Pegler, as long as Negro papers "agitate violently . . . particularly in their appeal to Negro soldiers whose loyalty is constantly bedeviled with doubts and with the race angling of news." Our papers will all plead guilty to a charge of race angling the news. They are the only channel through which it is done for us. How else would we know about the unjustified shooting of Negro soldiers in camp by white M. P.'s, about the violence of southern towns in their treatment of Negroes in Army uniform, how else from a proper interpretation of newly announced plans for segregation by our Government? There are so many bases for race angling and as long as they exist, so will the need for Negro papers.

MAY 9 1942

WHAT Mr. Pegler has tried to do is minimize the importance of the Negro press by making it seem to be inferior and ridiculous. He has described a situation partially without explaining any of it. The vast majority of Negroes live in the South. If they have been fortunate enough to acquire any education, it was obtained in inferior, segregated schools. Superstition and ignorance have been fostered among them by the white man as a technique to keep them in poverty and a source of cheap labor supply. It is, therefore, not inconceivable that the lodestones are necessary bait to attract the attention of people thus exploited. The loss of dignity by the editor is worth it if these same lodestone buyers begin to read and understand the major purposes for which the paper exists, can begin to face their problems and realize something of the nature of the forces operating against them.

PEGLER'S SALARY EQUALS PAY OF 743

Columnist Pegler's charges that all of our editorial writing is less than mediocre are simply false. Most of the circulation of Negro papers is among educated, northern, urban Negroes, who also read the white dailies and demand comparable standards. For his own involved, ungrammatical viciousness, in six columns per week, Mr. Pegler earns over $50,000 a year. The Department of Commerce advises that 72 Negro newspapers, employing a total of 743 persons, had an average monthly payroll of $68,979. This is scarcely the "unlimited opportunity" referred to by Mr. Pegler for a show of ability by Negro writers. Their opportunities are further limited by the fact that the recent self-described Aryan Mr. Pegler need not fear them as competitors. Obviously his boss would not hire them—as writers.

IF Negro papers were to win "what they profess to advocate," such discrimination in employment would cease. Negro editors would gladly substitute a limited, segregated circulation for the truly broad area of "unlimited opportunity." Until such time, there is a distinct premium attached to being white and Negro editors doubtless will continue to accept advertisements for bleaching creams. Actually, white firms will give them very little copy.

ENEMIES OF LABOR ARE OUR ENEMIES

The most dangerous assertions made by Mr. Pegler are those which link the Negro press with the recently suppressed Social Justice of Father Coughlin. Negro papers may be inflammatory, but there are no more ardent supporters of democracy. However, the most effective way to arrest the growing integration of Negro thought and increasing success in action, is to silence the Negro press. Such a procedure by those so interested in Negro morale, would have results which they cannot possibly have imagined.

ONE warning to be recognized in this attack is that the enemies of organized labor are the enemies who oppose us. It should serve as further proof that we must identify ourselves with labor wherever and whenever we can. A final benefit to be derived from Mr. Pegler's comments should be an agreement among Negro editors to organize for their mutual protection. This is no time for petty rivalry and jealousy. They may soon need a united defense.



By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editor)

PITTSBURGH COURIER

WESTBROOK PEGLER "FRONTS" FOR FA[illegible]ISM

For ten years Westbrook Pegler, Scripps-Howard columnist, has been a hatchet man and "front" for American fascism. In the fall of 1933 he shocked intelligent people by condoning the lynching of two citizens at San Jose, Calif. Grateful reactionism rewarded him recently for his sustained attacks against organized labor under the guise of smelling out a few gangsters among thousands of honest trade unionists. A few days ago he was fretting because the Secretary of the Interior did not go brawling with some small town editor over an alleged insult. Now he has attacked the Negro press, particularly *The Chicago Defender* and *The Pittsburgh Courier*. Seemingly he has just discovered that there is a Negro press although numerous other white people are aware of it.

PITTSBURGH, PA.

Pegler's opinion is that these two newspapers "compare ill with the standard white press of the country and are no compliment to the people whom they purport (?) to represent." He pretends to be greatly shocked because one of these papers carries a gossip column. He ridicules them for carrying advertisements "acceptable in only a very limited publication field." He declares that "In neither newspaper is there any writing of the slightest distinction." He insinuates that Negro newspapers strive to segregate their people "so that they will remain a profitable specialized circulation field for advertisers and politicians."

MAY 9 1942

Pegler professes great concern because of these papers' alleged "appeal to colored soldiers whose loyalty is constantly bedeviled with doubts and with the race-angling of news," and insinuates that the same action should be taken against them as the Federal Government has taken against *Social Justic*. This fits in too snugly for coincidence with views held by many higher ups in Washington who dislike the truths Negro newspapers have been publishing about the workings of fascism in America where Negroes are concerned in war service, civilian and military.

KNOWLEDGE LIMITED

Pegler's knowledge being so limited, it is a pleasure to inform him that the combined circulation of Negro newspapers is 1,600,000 copies weekly, of which nearly a quarter million copies are sold by *The Pittsburgh Courier*. The readers of the Negro press also read the white press and so are able to make a better comparison than Pegler. These 1,600,000 Americans know that in the Negro newspapers they will not be ridiculed and lampooned, will not have their hopes and aspirations misrepresented and misinterpreted, and will not find news of their various noteworthy activities completely ignored. They know that the Negro press was born and continues to grow because the white press has persisted in flouting the cardinal principles of journalism where colored citizens are concerned. If the white press had not insisted on treating the Negro in the news as he is treated in American society, there would have been no Negro press. It is another product of Negrophobia and the color bar.

Editorial for editorial and column for column we are not afraid to place any of a dozen Negro newspapers alongside the leading white newspapers. Significantly enough, Pegler is not specific in this regard, preferring to dwell upon the quality of advertisements and gossip columns. As for *The Pittsburgh Courier* writing we are willing to let the public decide. Suffice to point out that three of our writers have had two or more books published which have won wide acclaim, one has been an editor for twenty years, one is a Harvard-trained lawyer and former editor, one is vice-president of a large insurance company and author of a history of insurance, one is a social worker and another has had her column termed the best of its kind by an authority.

MAY 9 1942

Negro newspapers do carry gossip columns but the most widely syndicated column in the white press is the Winchell gossip column. There are a dozen others of the same type read avidly by millions of white readers. These gossip columns are about the only writings some white people read. It is a major American pastime, so why condemn Negro newspapers for carrying what so many readers desire?

UPHILL ADVERTISEMENT FIGHT

In view of the uphill fight the Negro newspapers have been waging for decades against the color discrimination practiced by most white advertisers, Pegler's atack is particularly galling. To survive a Negro newspaper would have to charge at least twice what it does if it had no advertising, and few readers would be wiling to pay it. The price now charged is high precisely because most white businesses have refused to buy advertising space in Negro newspapers despite the large circulation of many. Only in recent years has there been any definite trend for the better, and that has been slight considering the growth of Negro newspaper circulation. Many kinds of advertising copy would probably be rejected if other white advertisers did not persist in maintaining the color bar. Take all department store, theatre, cigarette, liquor, financial and patent medicine advertising out of the average white newspaper (advertising which largely ignores Negro newspapers) and it would have to go out of business or boost its price three or four times what it is. Incidentally it is this loss of advertising revenue due to the war that has caused some big 5-cent magazines to go to ten cents.

MAY 9 1942

Imagine Pegler believing that Negro newspapers strive to segregate their people! They need not strive to do what Pegler's kind has already done. From the Atlantic to the Pacific racial segregation has long been the rule in almost every activity. Far from striving for segregation, the Negro newspapers have been the only publications in America to consistently fight AGAINST segregation. Indeed, it is their spirited fight against segregation in the Army, Navy and elsewhere that has stirred up certain fascist-minded politicians in Washington to attempt to curb them. And this fight against segregation is what seems to arouse Pegler's ire the most, causing him to place the Negro newspapers in the same category as *Social Justice*. If the Negro newspapers had remain ed mum about color discrimination and racial segregation in the Government and industry, and concerned themselves only with urging a war against fascism abroad, no one would be concerned with their writings, their advertisements or their gossip columns except Negroes. But they have challenged America's least reputable but most persistent "way of life," so Pegler and his ilk want them suppressed.

MAY 9 1942

The Negro press does not have to "race-angle" the news. The white press and white America does that. Nor is it the Negro press that has undermined the loyalty of Negro soldiers. The Negro press has merely reported in big type on Page 1, the unbelievable crimes committed against Negro soldiers which the white newspapers have buried in small type on Page 24, if they carried it at all. It is unnecessary for the Negro press to seek to arouse Negro soldiers and sailors when white superiors, fellow soldiers, police and civilians are doing such a thorough job. It was not the Negro press that shot down and beat up Negro soldiers from Ft. Dix to Camp Claiborne. It is not the Negro press that has fought for continued discrimination in the Navy and segregation in the Army.

Men like Pegler and his associates who reach millions of white peole daily could do much to end racial discrimination and segregation and thus make America truly democratic. They know what is being done to the Negro 24 hours a day, in and out of the Services, but they cravenly remain mum, leaving the battle for democracy at home to the Negro press. The fight for equality of rights and opportunities, without which democracy is a hollow farce, is carried on consistently and persistently by a devoted band of angry, eloquent men and women without the money and influence of such fascist fronts as Pegler. But they cherish the conviction that they are as right as the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, and the determination to carry on until racial separatism is ended in America.



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Men like Pegler and his associates who reach millions of white peole daily could do much to end racial discrimination and segregation and thus make America truly democratic. They know what is being done to the Negro 24 hours a day, in and out of the Services, but they cravenly remain mum, leaving the battle for democracy at home to the Negro press. The fight for equality of rights and opportunities, without which democracy is a hollow farce, is carried on consistently and persistently by a devoted band of angry, eloquent men and women without the money and influence of such fascist fronts as Pegler. But they cherish the conviction that they are as right as the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, and the determination to carry on until racial separatism is ended in America.

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

Pegler's Rantings

MAY 6 - 1942

WESTBROOK PEGLER, COLUMNIST for many metropolitan daily newspapers, is woefully lacking in the sound judgment he is reputed to have if he and his ilk believe that his effort to discredit influence of reputable and progressive Negro newspapers will prove the least effective.

Truly, Pegler's rantings as exhibited in his column of a few days ago under the caption, "Negro Press Is No Credit to Race It Praises, Exploits," is the most vivid example of the good an ill wind can blow, that has come to attention in many months.

Judging from aroused resentment to the unwarranted thrust the rabid columnist directs at the Negro press, even at this time, only a few days after Pegler's article appeared, circulation of Negro newspapers indicates a marked increase, and strange as it may seem, many of these subscribers are members of the majority racial group.

Such well edited, ably-staffed and highly effective newspapers owned and edited by Negroes, as the Chicago Defender, Pittsburgh Courier, Balto. Afro-American, Norfolk Journal and Guide, Kansas City Call, Atlanta Daily World, Philadelphia Tribune, California Eagle, St. Louis Argus, and scores of other publications whose mechanical arrangement, live news matter and vigorous editorials compare favorably with old established white publications, are highly admired and readily acceptable to Negroes in every nook and cranny of this land. Members of the racial group whose cause these Negro newspapers espouse at all times, fully understand, but for the expose of injustices and the vigorous contention for exact equal rights as continually waged by their newspapers, a certain unfair, prejudiced and altogether selfish element among our citizenship would wipe the entire Negro racial group from the face of the earth. Fairminded white people, not only in northern states, but throughout the southland, read Negro newspapers with interest, and lend encouragement in various forms to their support.

MAY 6 - 1942

Verily it doth appear that Pegler is just about "out of soap," in his rantings and vitriolic thrusts at persons, organizations and institutions. Negro newspapers need not express surprise that they should come in for a share of unwarranted criticism, when no less persons than members of the United States Supreme Court, and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of our President, have recently come in for a share of maliciously hurled invectives from the pen of Columnist Pegler.

MAY 6 - 1942

In our estimation, Pegler is in the class with a woman of a certain city in whose mind all filthy gossip concerning her neighbors and acquaintances originated. The slanderous rantings of the ruthless female became of such general knowledge, even when some true report gained circulation from the mouth of this female gossip, the report was promptly discredited. Pegler has exhibited such promiscuity in his ruthless, rabid, unwarranted attacks in recent months that the public is according his rantings very little serious consideration.

In view of the fine support given our national government in these critical times by Negro newspapers everywhere, and the excellent part these publishers have played in encouraging their clientele to stand loyally by in our effort to defend democracy, it is extremely doubtful that any who read Pegler's thrust at the Negro press will be caused to turn a suspicious glance at so effective institutions throughout our land.

—From The East Tennessee (Knoxville) News.

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

A South Carolina Journal Speaks Up

MAY 30 1942

Since Westbrook Pegler made his attack on the Negro press this newspaper has eyed with interest the attitude of white journals in South Carolina, two of which carried his column, for opinion. The first it has noticed who cared to speak to the Calhoun Times of St. Matthews.

Reviewing the columnist's expose on labor and motion pictures the Times concludes: "Mr. Pegler, however, got completely out of his medium when he attacked the Negro newspapers for condemning, in their advertising space, cream and lotions for whitening of the colored skin. Our newspapers have only recently seen fit to deny space to fakirs; and the Negro press is comparatively new.

"The 'Lighthouse and Informer,' a paper for the colored, published in Columbia, and a creditable sheet, insists that the Negro press took Mr. Pegler's attack as evidence of its growing importance.

MAY 30 1942

"Dr. Johnson once said that a woman preaching is like a dog walking on its hind legs; it is not done well but you are surprised to find it done at all. The Negro newspaper is doing better than was expected of it."

From The Columbia (S. C.) Lighthouse and Informer

The Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.

Pegler Rapped As Sixth Columnist

'Labor Defense' Rebukes World-Telegram for Slurs Against Negroes

MAY 18 1942

Westbrook Pegler was declared to be the "enemy of national unity" and the "founding father of the sixth column" in the United States by the national board ofthe International Labor Defense.

Dr. Max Yergan and Robert W. Dunn, members of the board, have communicated this decision to the World Telegram, calling upon all newspapers carrying Pegler's syndicated column to stop "hindering the war effort by continuing to publish his pro-Axis propaganda."

The ILD also scored the World Telegram for refusing to print the answer of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to Pegler's attack.

The ILD pointed out that it strongly supported the NAACP in its statement that "we fail to understand how calling the Negro press subversive and holding it up to ridicule can improve conditions."

"The ILD joins with the 14,000,000 American Negroes and the millions more who resent the defeatist, disunifying activities of Roy Howard's $65,000-a-year calumniator,"

MAY 18 1942

"The spirit of Pegler's writing is the spirit of Hitler's Mein Kampf. It cries aloud for the treatment which a people at war gives to its country's enemies. Not only does the ILD record its protest against continued publication of his Nazi doctrines and incitements; we call upon everyone who is patriotically dedicated to the struggle for Victory of the United Nations to join in this protest and give expression to it in communications to every newspaper which continues to hinder the war-effort by continuing to publish his Axis propaganda."

EDITORIAL

Mr. Pegler And The Negro Press

(In the Louisville Courier-Journal)

By David H. Bradford

What was clear to a few from Westbrook Pegler's first attack on the Negro press must now be apparent to all. Mr. Pegler has no argument with the Negro press as such, he is really opposed to all Negro institutions and leadership. He needs now only to [illegible] against Negro churches and labor leaders to remove any remaining doubt, if there is any, of his intentions.

In an article which he claims is an outgrowth of his discussion of Negro journalism, Mr. Pegler shows clearly what he had in mind all the time. When read together, his articles on the Negro press leave the impression that, contrary to his assertion, the first article did not lead to the most recent one, but were written to prepare the way for it. While it is perfectly true, as Mr. Pegler says, that one thought may lead to another, it is also true that one thought may be planted in the public mind in order to raise another.

This is what Mr. Pegler has done. Purporting in his discussion of Negro journalism to show the short-comings of the Negro press, his real object was to cast doubt upon the loyalty of the American Negroes ,and thereby ruin whatever chance they might have to improve their lot as a result of their war efforts. In this, Mr. Pegler was merely being himself. He has never over-taxed his strength working for a change in the status quo. The forces of labor in this country, whether white or black, owe him no debt of grattitude.

Those who view the future with foreboding are laying the groundwork now for their attack on those who stand a chance to improve their lot after the war. How could this be better done against Negroes than by raising the questions now of their loyalty? And how could the doubts raised by the questions be made to stick more effectively in the public mind than by accusing the American Negro of being unduly sympathetic toward the Japanese? This is just what Mr. Pegler has done. In a recent article, he claimed that the Negro press and Howard university, a leading Negro center of learning, were excited over the deportation of the Japanese from military areas of the Pacific Coast.

Now the deportation of the Japanese is certainly a fit and proper subject for any columnist to discuss. But when that discussion is linked with the Negro press and a great Negro educational institution in such manner as to throw discredit upon both and by implication to cast aspersions upon the loyalty of all Negroes, it becomes imperative that Negroes defend themselves against accusations so damaging to their present and future welfare.

No group in America has been or is more loyal to American ideals than the Negro. The Negro press, largely reflecting Negro ideas, hopes, and aspirations, is also loyal. Howard university, though Mr. Pegler neglected to say so, is a public institution, supported largely by Federal funds. Located in the city of Washington, it could not get far in any disloyal activity before the Washington government would get wise and take whatever steps necessary to stop any such activity.

Nor can the hands of the clock be turned back. That has been tried before. And it will be tried again. But it has always failed, and it shall fail again. The world will never return to the thought-patterns that controlled it before the outbreak of the war. It is most unfortunate when that a widely read columnist should disseminate doubts of Negro loyalty at this time of crisis. But it is more unfortunate, it is unfair. The Negro press cannot defend itself and its constituency as it reaches only a few of the thousands who read Mr. Pegler's column. The Negro then must defend himself through his acts and deeds of loyalty. He must prove again, and if necessary, again and again, that his loyalty is beyond question. Ridicule of his institutions at attempts to identify him as being sympathetic with the enemy must be used by the Negro as additional incentives to greater effort. The war must be won by the United Nations, and the American Negroes will help to win it, whatever Mr. Pegler may say to the contrary.

PEGLER

Birmingham Post
Birmingham, Alabama

Pegler



University Denies Responsibility For Letter

By Westbrook Pegler

NEW YORK, June 17.—James M. Nabrit Jr., the secretary of Howard University in Washington, D. C., a Negro institution, writes on behalf of the university to disown a recent communication which I quoted and discussed in an essay on the low quality of two of the leading Negro newspapers, The Chicago Defender and The Pittsburgh Courier.

"The facts," he says, in part, "are, in substance, these: Otto McClarrin, an employe of Howard University, wrote an open letter to you in his capacity as national president of a student association of journalism in which he made no reference to Howard University, but did send the article to you in an envelope stamped with a return address from: Otto McClarrin, The Press Service, Howard University, Washington, D. C."

"Howard University," writes Nabrit, "is deeply concerned by reason of the damaging effects caused by your article to the public relations of the university. However, I am certain that you did not intend it to be so and that you will be more than glad to inform your readers that Howard University did not attempt to answer you and did not authorize anyone else to answer you." Indeed, I am glad to publish this disavowal, but the record should show that the document in question is not in the form of a letter of any kind, either open or private. It is a mimeographed document of the kind commonly used by schools and many other institutions in their publicity work. It contained neither salutation nor signature, it did not address me in its text, but referred to me in the third person, and it bore no closing such as any letter would bear.

* * *

Was Like Usual Release

Moreover, it was rubber-stamped on the first page "From Otto McClarrin, The Press Service, Howard University, Washington, D. C.," and the only personal note was scribbled across the top of Page One, in pencil: "Mr. Pegler: I thought you might be interested in this open letter to you. Otto McClarrin."

Someone has neglected to tell the secretary of the university the whole truth, for Nabrit says the only reference to the university was on the envelope when the fact is that the copy, itself, is stamped, also, as an outgiving of the university's press service.

That, I believe, clears that up and I hope Nabrit will agree that the university's young employe, who writes that he is only 24 years old, took a misleading liberty in stamping his communication as being from the University's Press Service.

* * *

Publishers Discussed It

As to the original subject of the controversy I should like to report also that the recent convention in Chicago of the National Negro Publishers' Assn. recognized one of the matters mentioned in my criticism of the Negro press, namely the publication of advertisements which might be described as voodoo matter. In this program, for the afternoon session of June 6, is the following item: "Is quack medicine, numbers, good luck charms, etc., type of ads hurting us?"

I do not know the result of the publishers' deliberations but offer this item as proof that the question was not invented or provoked by me, but had become a problem for serious consideration among the publishers themselves. Further on this subject I should like to quote from an editorial in another Negro paper, The Los Angeles Tribune, which says:

"In brief, he (Pegler) decried the sensationalism of the Negro press, its 'obvious inflammatory bias,' its 'gents' room journalism' (vulgar gossip columns), its lack of distinctive writing and the spurious contention of many of its advertisers, i.e., various claims to voodoo, hypnotic and supernatural powers."

Knowing what rich dividends such advertisements pay to those few publishers low enough to print them, I well knew in advance that I was inviting a storm of abusive lies from men whose racket was thus exposed.

An Indianapolis Negro journalist writes: "What you did was a blessing in disguise; you did for Negro newspapers what the editors were afraid to do for themselves."

Globe and Independer
Nashville, Tenn.

Pegler Persists As A Pharisee

JUN 19 1942

Many Negroes with a slave complex, swallow hook, line and sinker, any advice or preachment that comes from a white man. Only a minority of Negroes, even among those upon whom much money and time have been spent to give them an education, are imbued with the zeal to follow the Biblical injunction which tells us to "prove all things and hod fast to that which is good."

Because of the above mentioned tragic, mental attitude possessed by many of our Negroes who are given to speaking in public and writing in newspapers, we have a considerable element of the Negro race which actually is impressed that Westbrook Pegler has made a good point of order when he spouts about the venility of Negro publications that carry advertisements of "voodoo" venders, cure-all medicine men, and the sellers of nostrums guaranteed to turn black people white, folowing a few massages with these concoctions.

We doubt that there is a single editor of a Negro newspaper who does not know the worthlessness of these nostrums or one who would not publish unfavorable new items about them should such news items come to his desk from a government bureau or other trustworthy sources. This is far more than Pegler's publishers have done with regard to the deleterious things they permit to be advertised in their publications.

There is not a publication which carries the column of Westbrook Pegler which does not carry advertisements lauding some sort of a concoction which could not get a favorable endorsement from the Federal Government or the American Medical Association. Many of the things so advertised have been condemned both the Government and the nation's leading medical authorities. And of course there is no minister in the United States who will not testify that the publishing of news about race horses, and tipping off people with regard to what is the "one best bet" for a particular race is a sinful practice.

Pegler, himself and those who write about him say he is addicted to drinking liquor whenever it suits his fancy to do so. Whether this is just before he gets ready to grind out a column attacking Mrs. Roosevelt, the New Deal, labor unions or the Negro press, we don't know although we are suspicious he has lingered around the cup that cheers and inebriates everytime he does his stint for the special interests he serves so slavishly.

Westbrook Pegler and those who palm him off on the public do not have a leg to stand on when they engage in upbraiding the Negro press for any of the advertising carried in Negro publications. Pegler's press carries equally as harmful advertising and makes far more money from flim-flamming the public than is made by any Negro publications.

Our Negro writers and speakers who have been so quick to say "Yes, Sir Boss" to the nonsensical ravings of Pegler, lose sight of the principal reason for the exstence of the overwhelming majority of present-day publications. That all important reason is : TO MAKE MONEY FOR THE PUBLISHERS OF THE PUBLICATIONS.

Most publishers when offered advertising copy first determine whether the advertising is permissable under postal regulations. If not, they either refuse it or contract to carry it only in editions of their publications that do not go through the mails. These publishers reason that anything which the Federal Government permits to be sold, and the advertising of which is permitted to go through the mails, can be accepted by them as desirable business, in that it adds to the sum total of what it takes to make their publications profitable business ventures.

JUN 19 1942

Possibly there was a time in this country when newspapers and other publications existed for the purpose of educating the public on public questions or promoting the advancement of some idea or institution dear to the heart of the newspaper publishers. But somewhere down the line this policy was abandoned and publications went out to make money. Whatever promoted their money-making policy was adopted. This has been carried to the extreme of running editorial pages where hired writers are free to antagonize the principles, if any, of the newspaper publishers.

It was inevitable that Negro papers would go in for making money, guided by the same code of morality followed by white papers that had achieved "success." Admittedly Negro publications have observed the moral code of white publications up (or down) to where they take on a Westbrook Pegler.

But most Negro newspapers, we are proud to say, have principles like the Kentucky Democratic politician who bolted his ticket after having said many times that he was so firm in the faith that he would vote for a "yallow dog" if it were on the Democratic ticket, in preference to any Republican.

In explaining why he had decided to bolt a party nominee, this politician stated that he still adhered to his code of preferring a "yallow dog" to any Republican candidate.

"But," said he, "lower than that I refuse to go."

COURIER READERS ANSWER W. PEGLER

Pittsburgh Courier.

NO ALIEN ENEMIES AMONG US

Pittsburgh, Pa. 48a

Dear Editor:

Westbrook Pegler is trying to put your wonderful paper on the same sphere with Charles E. Coughlin and Hearst at his worst and as the Communist party Daily Worker. I wonder does he ever stop and think that there are none of our people in jail for being enemy aliens and none of his kind ever donated what our Joe Louis did for the Army and Navy Relief. It wouldn't be a bad idea to drop that young man a line and tell him to mind his own business.

MRS. FRANCES PHOENIX
146 South State Street
Wilkes Barre, Pa.

MAY 9 1942.

NO KICK FROM READERS

Dear Editor:

I was reading a piece of news printed by a reporter, Westbrook Pegler, in the Atlanta Constitution. I think you should do something about it. The reason this reporter printed the things that he did, is because you print the cold facts, the colored people are not getting their rights in the South, and he is afraid that if our boys in the Army read them, they will not be loyal. I read your paper when I can get it, and I find nothing wrong with it, or have never heard any other colored person kick about your advertisements.

DAVID CURRY
Spalding County Public Work Camp,
Griffin, Georgia.

* * *

WHAT ARE WE COMING TO!

Dear Editor:

I have just read Westbrook Pegler's vicious tirade upon the Negro Press. What in the hell are we coming to in this country when an American Nazi wearing democracy clothing strips, displays his true form and proceeds to resort to subterfuge and attacks our press because we rightly demand our privileges as American citizens and then to boot, seeks to strangle the only outlet we have for giving vent to pent up emotions and longings by classifying our press with Father Coughlin's Social Justice which has been barred from the mails. The American Negro has reached the crossroads. We live a minority group in a country largely inhabited by whites who are fighting a life and death struggle in a war which promises to be entirely racial. We can no longer pussyfoot. We cannot have leaders looking for soft jobs and survive. We cannot have leaders unwilling to go to jail.

We must do one or two things NOW! Either proceed to fight like hell with our lives if necessary for home democracy or "fold our tents" like the Arabs and silently steal away.

J. H. JENKINS
Washington, D. C.

* * *

A LOYAL SUPPORTER

MAY 9 1942

Dear Editor:

It gives me great pleasure at this time to compliment your paper for taking vigorous stand for the correction of certain social injustices suffered by our loyal American Negro citizens. I have been reading your paper off and on for a few years and at present, I am reading it every week. Enclosed you will find, which I have taken from the Indianapolis, a column entitled "Fair Enough," by Westbrook Pegler, which not only denounces The Pittsburgh Courier, but says it resembles "The Communist Party's Daily Worker." I have and will in the future, keep reading your publications and starting this very week, I can honestly say the Indianapolis News has lost one good customer.

BERRY AUSTIN
631 Bogart Street
Clinton, Indiana.

* * * MAY 9 10

KEEP UP THE GOOD WORK

Dear Editor:

While reading the Oklahoma City Times, I noticed an article in its columns relating to the sensationalism of the Negro and I thought that I would cut it out and send it to you. I think whatever you say about the opportunity to push the aspirations of the Negroes is all right. I am a Negro, and I feel humiliated. Hoping to see an attack in the next issue. I read your paper every week. I think it a wide awake paper and I trust that you will keep the good work going on. I heard two members of your staff talk once and I thought that both was grand. May God bless you.

GEORGE WILEY
1321 E. Lincoln Street
Guthrie, Okla.

* * *

OUR PRINCIPAL WEAPON AGAINST HYPOCRICY

Dear Editor:

It is evident that in formulating his criticisms of the Negro Press, Mr. Pegler has become acquainted with some half-truths. His one-sided picture of the Negro Press has been painted quite vividly in the minds of many thousands of white people throughout the country who know little or nothing about Negro publications.

To the average white man, Mr. Pegler's criticisms meant little or nothing in that the white man has become accustomed to regarding anything controlled or operated by Negroes as an inferior product produced by an inferior race.

But there is another side of the story, and it is my considered opinion that it should be told.

In reference to the "sordid exploitation for revenue" type of advertisements, Negro editors would be more than happy to throw all such ads out of the window tomorrow, if they permitted their ideals to get the best of them. But Negro newspapers today constitute a big business, and these business men have to be practical. It is a known fact that the principal income of any newspaper is derived through its advertisments. The white man of America has limited the Negro advertising field by advertising only to a very, very limited degree in Negro newspapers.

The press is the Negro's principal legal weapon against the type of hypocrisy that many white men have practiced against colored races throughout the history of this country. It is the Negro's most forceful medium of reminding the white man that he should practice at home, what he preaches about liberty and democracy.

OTTO McCLARRIN,
President, Delta Phi Delta.

OBJECTS TO ADS

MAY 9 1942

I have just finished reading Westbrook Pegler's comment about The Courier and The Defender in this evening's paper. I hardly need say that his picture was extremely unfair in that it did not mention the numerous merits of these two papers. However, I must confess that I felt it necessary to admit that much of his criticism was justified. I would be very glad to see The Courier get rid of a great deal of its advertising matter, particularly love charm and bleaching cream ads. Many more white people are reading the colored papers these days and I think that nothing makes the Negro appear more foolish than to make it appear that he is trying to become whiter through bleaching his skin.

I am quite a supporter of The Courier and I think that it has done a very good job of covering the war news as it particularly concerns the colored reader.

Sincerely yours,
MATTHEW W. BULLOCK, JR.
101 Munroe Street,
Roxbury, Mass.
National Urban League
Executive Secretary

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DESERVE CONDEMNATION

MAY 9

Dear Editor:

Regard Pegler's attack on the Negro Press in general, The Pittsburgh Courier, The Chicago Defender, in particular, as well planned sabotage on part of American "Quislings." If his criticisms had been of constructive nature they might have been considered on merit. Seems clear however, that the purpose was to traduce the race and deserves wholesale condemnation.

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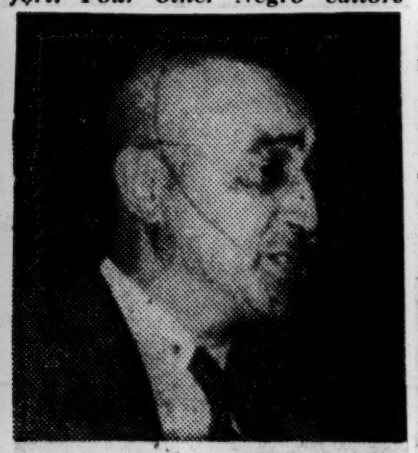
CHANNING H. TOBIAS.

The Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.

PEGLER A LYNCH ADVOCATE, SAYS LEADING NEGRO EDITOR

MAY 21 1942

(Editor's Note: Roscoe Dunjee is a member of the national board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and is editor of the Oklahoma Black Dispatch, one of the most outspoken and influential Negro newspapers in the Southwest. Mr. Dunjee sent the following statement to Ben Davis, Jr., member of the Daily Worker Editorial Board, in reply to a telegram offering the columns of the Daily Worker to Negro editors who wished to reply to the Ku Klux attack of Westbrook Pegler upon the Negro newspapers and the war effort. Four other Negro editors



ROSCOE DUNJEE

sent statements to the Daily Worker—they are Louis Martin, of the Michigan Chronicle, Fred Moore, of the New York Age, P. L. Prattis of the Pittsburgh Courier, and William Harrison, of the Boston Chronicle. Their statements were previously published.)

Westbrook Pegler, defeatist columnist on the Scripps - Howard newspapers, was called a "bigoted quill pusher" and a "lynch advocate" out to spread "disunity between whites and blacks, and labor and capital," in a statement received here yesterday from Roscoe Dunjee, Oklahoma Negro editor and NAACP leader.

MAY 21 1942

"What a pity it is that in a great moment of crisis we have men in high places who, having eyes, see not; having ears, hear not. While civilization hangs in the balance there are those who would sell freedom for 'thirty pieces of silver,'" Mr. Dunjee said.

"The Peglers are paid to spread disunity between whites and blacks; labor and capital," Mr. Dunjee continued in a hotly worded statement in defense of Howard University, leading Negro institution which Pegler attacked last week.

"Wrong again," Mr. Dunjee said in defense of Howard, "is Westbrook Pegler when he argues that student and faculty members at Howard university are not entitled to academic freedom.

"If there is one thing that is retarding the trends of liberalism and the ideals of democracy today in the United States, it is the refusal on the part of certain tyrannical groups to grant academic freedom to faculty members in our colleges and universities. A fine example of this occurred quite recently in Oklahoma when the Oklahoma Legislature, in naming its 'Little Dies Committee' last year, sought to destroy the 'Oklahoma Federation for Constitutional Rights' simply because a group of instructors at the University of Oklahoma, along with other prominent citizens of the state, had decided to examine more closely the social structure, with the thought in mind that perhaps some of our state sanctions might well be thrown into the discard.

"Those who sought to destroy the Oklahoma Federation for Constitutional Rights and those who sought to destroy the Oklahoma Youth Legislature were insufferable bigots. They are foes of human progress."

Squirming under the protests which he had received from Negroes, Pegler quoted in a recent column a letter commending him and supposedly written by a Negro. Of which, Mr. Dunjee went on:

MAY 2 1942

"A bigot is an individual who assumes that his own faith and views are pure and the opinions of others unreasonable and wicked. With this description in hand, one may better understand why the only individual in the Negro race possessing any virtue (a la Pegler) is the lone Negro who he says has written applauding his attack on Negro newspapers."

The Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.

Pegler Baits Negroes To Hamper War Effort

MAY 24 1942

Immediately after Columnist Westbrook Pegler made his sixth-column attack on the Negro press, The Worker extended its columns to the leading Negro editors of the country to reply as they saw fit. Previously published statements include those of Fred Moore of the New York Age; Louis Martin of the Michigan Chronicle; P. L. Prattis of the Pittsburgh Courier; Roscoe Dunjee of the Oklahoma Black Dispatch, and William Harrison of the Boston Chronicle. Today's statement is from Dan Burley of the Amsterdam Star-News of New York.

By Dan Burley
(Managing Editor, Amsterdam Star-News)

The attacks on the Negro press by Westbrook Pegler acting as the hatchet man for the reactionary forces that would impede President Roosevelt and his efforts to prosecute the war to a successful termination constitutes a menace to the very freedom of the press we all wish to maintain.

MAY 24 1942

The allusions to advertisements appealing to the ignorance of the masses were made with the two-faced knowledge that national advertisers, including all but two big cigaret companies, most of the food companies, plus the local department stores, completely snub the Negro press as a medium of advertising despite the fact that Negroes are wholly consumers.

That Negro journalism isn't on a par with white is a solecism peculiar to the mind that attacks, belittles and attempts to destroy the organized labor movement and calls everything bad that the tories dislike.

Pegler's ulterior motives should be watched.

48a-1942
Globe and Independent
Nashville, Tenn.

JUN 19 1942

The Free Should Hearken To Wisdom Of The Unfree

(By Roscoe Dunjee, Editor of the Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City for ANP)

"Pride goeth before a fall."

There is in the white world today violent opposition to accepting any flow of intelligence, mortality or reason stemming from black thought.

All over the world men are today talking about freedom. In India, Africa and the isles of the sea, suppressed groups, who belong to the unfree, are not alone talking about liberty, but they are dreaming of an actual day when the chains with which white nations have fettered their hands, will be broken.

But even though the teeming millions of the world are feverishly grasping for new racial and religious philosophies, the white man who controls would rather be shot with a bullet than a new idea. He mistrusts new conceptions of world policy. Groping in the charnel house of disaster, he still believes wisdom is white and ignorance is black.

The American Negro, along with other aspiring units of humanity, is not only yearning to enjoy freedom. but he is deeply impressed with the thought that those who plan to pattern a new day need new definitions for that nebulous, fleeting rainbow of liberty, which in present day language we call democracy.

JUN 19 1942

Westbrook Pegler, in his current outburst against Negro journalists, and his caustic criticism of black thought, perhaps does not know democracy is the creature of black morality. White men have in the past two thousand years done serious damage to a great social experiment spawned in black culture, and in this day and hour when civilization is toppling we believe it would be an excellent thing if white folk would harken to men of a great race, who out of the mores of their existence gave democracy to the world.

If columnist Pegler can cull time from a busy day long enough to read Josephus, chapters four and five, which tells of the antiquiity of the Jews, he will learn that Jethro, the Ethiopian, and father-in-law of Moses, stood on Mount Sinai, and after criticising Moses' plan of administration, announced for the first time in written history, as Josephus records it, the present day plan upon which the American government now operates.

We are writing these lines because in this white world of today the inclination is to discount and disparage black mentality. The assumption is that black people have made no contribution to the cornerstones of civilization. Millions of white people live and die without knowing that no white race has ever produced an alphabet. Such victims of race propaganda never know that all language systems were produced by dark races of the earth.

The English alphabet was borrowed from the Latins; the Latins borrowed it from the Greeks and the Greeks learned the use of language from the ancient Phoenicians. If one will secure a map, discovery will be made that Phoenicia is in Asia, a land inhabited by darker people than those who rule the world today. As we study history we are not so certain that in the day when language systems were being constructed. ancient Phoenicia was not inhabited by black men.

Somehow, someway, it should be gotten across to Westbrook Pegler that instead of Negroes imitating white people, in many instances, when it comes to fundamentals, it is just the opposite. White people are using the language of darker people, destroying a type of government given to the world by darker people, and seemingly never realizing that the folk who gave birth to language and government, ought at least know as much about their contraption as the fellow who borrowed it. To use a well known aphorism: "How can the creature be greater than the creator?'

No one could truthfully say the white man has not made great contributions to the world. In the past 2000 years a great mechanical civilization has been erected. But if development in transportation, communication, in chemical analysis and our general social patterns has not taught men to be brothers, we doubt seriously than that men may characterize the sweat, toil and tears of modernism as definite strides in human progress.

Why should these to whom God has given power and control for the past two thousnd years allow the universe to burst asunder without belief that somewhere in the mind of humanity there is a cure or remedy for the ills of the world. Why should the white man continue to assume he has a patent on common sense, when ruin of his own making thunders in negation to his ego?

If England had been willing five years ago to listen to the morality and common sense of Selassie, the

PEGLER

League of Nations would still exist, and today's might Mussolini would not have dared to invade Ethiopia. When the League of Nations died on the altar of covetousness, we struck the match that blasted away the foundation stones of the present order.

In the life of this nation the black man has proven his sterling light and vision is worthy of recognition. Frederick Douglass helped to blast away the immortality of slavery, and was the first man in America with the moral courage to publicly endorse woman suffrage. Booker T. Washington definitiely patterned the trends of the nation's industrial life and George Washington Carver, though born a slave, is today teaching America, during the national crisis how to be self-sustaining in the field of chemical analysis. Who is it would discount the value in thought such black Americans have contributed to their native land. Now is the time to remember "a tree is known by the fruit it bears."

The American Negro in this terrible hour of world agony offers help to his native land with the deepest sense of loyalty. He wants to help this nation think through her vital problems, and he knows with clarity of vision that his white brother has stumbled and fumbled with the ball of human justice. Like Joe Louis, the American Negro believes that this is "God's War," and that Jehovah will not crown with victory those who pin

The Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.

Stop ~~Pegler~~— Says CIO Union

(Special to the Daily Worker)

FORT WAYNE, Ind., June 28.—The Fort Wayne Industrial Union Council, reaffirming its stand againt Westbrook Pegler and William Gross, editor of the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel, this week demanded an investigation of Gross's Nazi connections, and also that "Pegler's unity-splitting, Hitler-helping smearing be stopped."

JUN 29 1942

The Council resolution charged that Pegler and Gross have enlisted "the aid of notorious appeasers and pro-fascists in their efforts to smash trade unionism and wreck the nation's war effort, as witnessed by the remarks in Congress on June 15, 1942, by Congressman Clare E. Hoffman who has been under investigation for his connection with Nazi agents in America."

The News-Sentinel, continuing its vicious red-baiting, has within the last ten days attacked Mrs. Roosevelt, Leon Henderson, among other patriotic Americans.

Gross, the Council declares, "has failed to explain his connection with the 'No Foreign Wars Committee,' a Nazi-front organization whose leader was Verne Marshall, an avowed agent of the Nazi Government."

Peoples Voice
New York, N. Y.

Attention:

Westbrook Pegler

By S. W. GARLINGTON

Westbrook Pegler's bilious viewpoint on the Negro press has too much of Nietzche, Machiavelli and hitler in it to ignore. Several sought to smoke the columnist away from his dangerous half and whole untruths with cries of "He tore his britches." "He's a hatchet-man," and other generalities. To meet this assault on 13,000,000 persons, facts are needed and PV puts them forth to prove definitely that Pegler is an out and out liar. He would have one believe "our white press is friendly to the Negro" and flatly states: "I defy any colored editor to cite a single paragraph of anti-Negro copy in a NY paper in the last ten years." Lee B Wood, executive editor of **NY World-Telegram**, informed the People's Committee that the famous Armstrong mass meeting (May 16 at Golden Gate) where over 6000 Negro and white citizens met in protest of police brutality against Harlemites could not be covered. His reason was: "We cannot cover all meetings, and select those we think are of the greatest interest to the greatest number of our readers." However, the **Telly** has given up its "limited space" to less important items—including its spread on "Negro Newspaper Sees Rally (Unity for Victory) As Red-Inspired" (6-24-42). Even more, Pegler's own column in this paper has been anti-Negro—according to Negroes and whites alike.

Paradoxes of the editorial policy of the press take in what is printed, where such is used and what it omits. "Pro-"articles are more than often stressed in the paper, while others will be found on page 9 or 17, or where you find classified ads, weather reports, and obituaries. Most significant news of Negro life is buried in the latter class and one must look mighty hard to find such. All of which is not a "pro-policy" of covering the Negro.

The most influential paper in the world, **NYTimes**, handled copy on the Negro during the first four months of 1941 in the following manner:

- Marian Anderson was described as a "negro contralto," (note small "n"),
- made bare mention of the 12 Negroes on the 1940 Honor Roll of Race Relations while giving conspicuous emphasis to the white minority of six on the list,
- gave extensive treatment to the spell case of Connecticut, was pro-Strubling thruout and even lamented the Negro's acquittal and seemed to console their readers by saying "if Spell had been convicted he would have faced a maximum prison term of 30 years," (Note the word "convicted" instead of "guilty"),
- carried a great deal of copy on defense, but failed to carry one militant comment on or against jimcroism in the government and industry which was then at its height.

World's largest circulated, **NY-News**, comes in for its bit of anti-policy. It follows a custom that most southern papers will not adopt: It refuses to capitalize the word **Negro**—instead it uses the general term **colored** most of the time. Even the Hearst press is above this offense. PM (3-3-42) disclosed a **News** trick of omitting desirable impressions by "editing." The same pic of the Toledo U basketball five with two Negro stars was used by both, but the **News** cut the Negroes from the pic.

The most notorious bit of anti-Negro copy appearing in all NY papers, except PM and the **Daily Worker**, was the creation of a so-called "Harlem crime wave" during November of last year. Facts later came out in dribbles that the incident was neither criminal or wavy, but a result of poverty, misery, bad publicity and the Negro's denied share in our democracy.

Spurious efforts of coverage by local papers were omitting, distorting, or playing-down undemocratic parts of America which prolong creation of a favorable public opinion to remove them. Some follow:

- Sikeston lynching (Feb. '42), Fort Dix riot (Ap. '42), Detroit housing riots and developments (Feb. thru Ap. '42),
- discrimination against Negro blood donors by the Red Cross (since war started),
- survey of Teachers Union and the Association for the Study of the Negro which pointed out (Dec. '42) that thousands of NY textbooks foster anti-Negro prejudice and half-truths,
- Jean Muir's plea for a fair break for Negro casting in Hollywood (May '42) and space allowed to Negroes in theatre, music and sports sections as excellent performers, without mention of their rights to equal pay and advancement currently handicapped by jimcro (for the last two or three decades).

Pegler is not just anti-Negro but is against many progressive movements. What else could one expect from a man who defended lynching during his first week as a columnist at large? Speaking of him as a public enemy in general (some 8,000,000 read the columnist), three outstanding whites said:

Dorothy Thompson, columnist: "I wish to beg him to think more carefully."

Harold Ickes, Secretary of Interior: "Pegler is . . . irresponsible. He jumps from false premises to falser conclusions."

Matthew Woll, vice-pres., AFL: "Most columnists give pictures that are merely misleading, Mr. Pegler . . . succeeds in giving us one that is totally false."

EDITORIAL

Mr. Pegler And The Negro Press

"The Weekly Review" Birmingham, Ala.

(In the Louisville Courier-Journal)

By David H. Bradford

What was clear to a few from Westbrook Pegler's first attack on the Negro press must now be apparent to all. Mr. Pegler has no argument with the Negro press as such, he is really opposed to all Negro institutions and leadership. He needs now only to create sentiment against Negro churches and labor leaders to remove any remaining doubt, if there is any, of his intentions.

In an article which he claims is an outgrowth of his discussion of Negro journalism, Mr. Pegler shows clearly what he had in mind all the time. When read together, his articles on the Negro press leave the impression that, contrary to his assertion, the first article did not lead to the most recent one, but were written to prepare the way for it. While it is perfectly true, as Mr. Pegler says, that one thought may lead to another, it is also true that one thought may be planted in the public mind in order to raise another.

This is what Mr. Pegler has done. Purporting in his discussion of Negro journalism to show the short-comings of the Negro press, his real object was to cast doubt upon the loyalty of the American Negroes ,and thereby ruin whatever chance they might have to improve their lot as a result of their war efforts. In this, Mr. Pegler was merely being himself. He has never over-taxed his strength working for a change in the status quo. The forces of labor in this country, whether white or black, owe him no debt of grattitude.

Those who view the future with foreboding are laying the groundwork now for their attack on those who stand a chance to improve their lot after the war. How could this be better done against Negroes than by raising the questions now of their loyalty? And how could the doubts raised by the questions be made to stick more effectively in the public mind than by accusing the American Negro of being unduly sympathetic toward the Japanese? This is just what Mr. Pegler has done. In a recent article, he claimed that the Negro press and Howard university, a leading Negro center of learning, were excited over the deportation of the Japanese from military areas of the Pacific Coast.

Now the deportation of the Japanese is certainly a fit and proper subject for any columnist, to discuss. But when that discussion is linked with the Negro press and a great Negro educational institution in such manner as to throw discredit upon both and by implication to cast aspersions upon the loyalty of all Negroes, it becomes imperative that Negroes defend themselves against accusations so damaging to their present and future welfare.

No group in America has been or is more loyal to American ideals than the Negro. The Negro press, largely reflecting Negro ideas, hopes, and aspirations, is also loyal. Howard university, though Mr. Pegler neglected to say so, is a public institution, supported largely by Federal funds. Located in the city of Washington it could not get far in any disloyal activity before the Washington government would get wise and take whatever steps necessary to stop any such activity.

Nor can the hands of the clock be turned back. That has been tried before. And it will be tried again. But it has always failed, and it shall fail again. The world will never return to the thought-patterns that controlled it before the outbreak of the war. It is most unfortunate then that a widely read columnist should disseminate doubts of Negro loyalty at this time of crisis. But it is more unfortunate, it is unfair. The Negro press cannot defend itself and its constituency as it reaches only a few of the thousands who read Mr. Pegler's column. The Negro then must defend himself through his acts and deeds of loyalty. He must prove again, and if necessary, again and again, that his loyalty must be won by the United Nations, and the American Negroes is beyond question. Ridicule of his institutions at attempts to identify him as being sympathetic with the enemy must be used by the Negro as additional incentives to greater effort. The war

48a-1942
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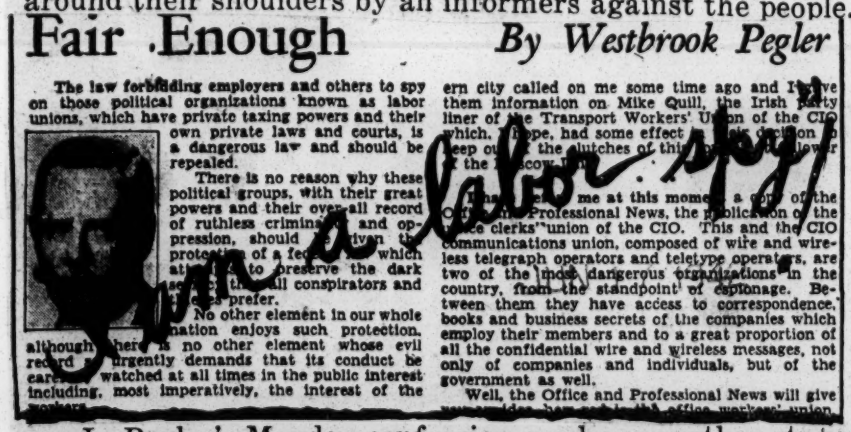
Pegler Smoked Out--- Admits He's an Informer

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

Poison Pen Pegler has finally admitted that he is in the ranks of the labor spies. Stung by the louder and louder hammering against him by the labor movement, Pegler blurted out in his Monday's column that he is engaged in spying on labor unions and trade unionists.

More than that, Roy Howard's hired man uses the occasion to defend the whole labor spy fraternity. He glories in those who are degraded enough to submit information against their fellow workers to employing interests for discriminatory purposes. Such activity is one chapter in Pegler's Quisling connivance, in his columns, against our nation and its national unity in the war.

Specifically defending the practise of spying upon workers, the Scripps-Howard penman said of himself Monday: **"I exchange information with employers and lawyers engaged in fighting off predatory unioneers."** And it goes without saying that in Pegler's eyes all unionists of any prominence are "predatory," whether they be affiliated with the AFL, CIO or Railroad Brotherhoods. Such has always been the garb of synthetic virtue thrown around their shoulders by all informers against the people.


Fair Enough — By Westbrook Pegler

The law forbidding employers and others to spy on those political organizations known as labor unions, which have private taxing powers and their own private laws and courts, is a dangerous law and should be repealed.

There is no reason why these political groups, with their great powers and their overall record of ruthless crimina[illegible] and oppression, should [illegible] given the protection of a fe[illegible] which attempts to preserve the dark secrecy that all conspirators and [illegible] prefer.

No other element in our whole [illegible]nation enjoys such protection, although there is no other element whose evil record so urgently demands that its conduct be carefully watched at all times in the public interest including, most imperatively, the interest of the workers.

[illegible] me at this moment a copy of the Office and Professional News, the publication of the office clerks' union of the CIO. This and the CIO communications union, composed of wire and wireless telegraph operators and teletype operators, are two of the most dangerous organizations in the country, from the standpoint of espionage. Between them they have access to correspondence, books and business secrets of the companies which employ their members and to a great proportion of all the confidential wire and wireless messages, not only of companies and individuals, but of the government as well.

Well, the Office and Professional News will give [illegible] office workers' union

In Pegler's Monday confession, we have another stage in the evolution of labor espionage. There were first the crude old days in which plug-uglies, dope fiends and drug addicts furnished information and engaged in provocation. When the light of publicity became too strong for them, the labor espionage gang took on such high falutin' titles as "industrial engineer," "Railway audit and inspection bureau," and "service" organizations. These gentlemenly devices to hide the labor spy were unveiled in an excellent book, "The Labor Spy," written by Sidney Howard in collaboration with Robert Dunne and published in 1924.

SMOKED OUT

The upsurge of the CIO and the progressive policies of the Roosevelt Administration smoked out these gentry as well. They were revealed under these high sounding titles to be engaged in the same old coarse and crude activities as the run-of-the-mill labor spy of the Burns-Pinkerton period.

Now we find this labor espionage and union-busting being taken up under the guise of journalism. With Pegler there is also George E. Sokolsky, who lent his services to Ernest Weir's steel company in Weirton to prevent unionism of the men there. There is also Boake Carter, who was exposed by the LaFollette Committee and was again to be used last month against the unions in the New Jersey area when publicity drove him off the air.

The **Daily Worker** long ago called to the attention of the American people that Westbrook Pegler was following the line of the labor spy agencies. This was repeated over and over in articles and editorials. As long ago as early 1940—in a column entitled, **"100 per cent Union,"** this job of Pegler's was emphasized.

Taking up where the cruder labor espionage scoundrels had left off Pegler follows the same pattern, attacking the labor movement as either corrupt entirely on the one hand or as composed of Communists on the other (distorting the entire progressive role of Communists in the American trade union movement). This tactic was also used by the "industrial engineer" in order to split the labor movement and to put the finger of the black list on any worker who was aggressive in the cause of unionism.

Now Pegler admits specifically that his job is to spy upon workers and to report them to employing interests. This assignment, of which he so brazenly boasts, is accompanied by that slinging of mud upon other sections of the people so as to cause the division which the delegates want in America.

It is to be noted that Pegler's outburst on Monday was caused by his alarm at the pressure by labor unions against his column's appearance in the "Stars and Stripes," newspaper published for American overseas forces. His confession now makes it incumbent upon labor to insist that this opponent and practitioner of labor spying be prohibited from appearing in the columns of any patriotic publication. The campaign to rid the American press of Pegler is beginning to have effect. It can be carried through to a successful conclusion.

ALMOST "FAIR ENOUGH"—

When Westbrook Pegler first began to write about the Negro question a few weeks ago, he showed himself a living example of the ignorance he now recognizes in white people who assume knowledge of Negroes, when he says "but we do not know them."

But it seems from his release of July 16th that he is beginning to get warm in his approach into the heart of the question. Perhaps the cuffing that he got from the Negro press when he tried to discuss a subject that he knew nothing about, caused him to make some real study of the question.

It seems to us that Mr. Pegler has not only recanted from his position that Negroes should not use this war as a means of exploiting the problems they are suffering, but he has decided to do a little exploiting of the problems himself.

We quote three paragraphs from the release referred to:

Speaking of a Negro boy who had received harsh treatment from members of the dominant race, Mr. Pegler said, "Now assuming that this boy comes back from the war to a victorious country, what status will he come back to? Will he be Niggerized again and restricted to menial jobs, Jim-Crowed and driven back to the dreadful Ghettos of our cities or will he be treated as an American?", and

"The injustice to the Negro people of the United States is more a matter of superstition, tradition, ignorance and indifference than of conscious cruelty in the hearts of the white men. They live among us, but we do not know them. Except when they erupt and riots result, we ignore their existence."; and

"If I were a Negro I would live in constant fury and probably would batter myself to death against the bars inclosing my condition. I would not be a sub-American or a sub-human being, and, in docile patience, forever yield my rightful aspiration to be a man, to work, to progress and to move out of the slums; yield even to strangers come from other countries ,including even strangers who had fought against me in the wars."

World-Telegram
New York, N. Y.

Fair Enough

By Westbrook Pegler

I should like to challenge one of the premises on which the Negro press of our country operates and from which it addresses its appeal to the Negro people. That is the premise that the white newspapers of our daily press are unfair to the Negro in their treatment of news stories, if not actually hostile to the colored man.



I say the white papers are not anti-Negro but, on the contrary, are scrupulously fair and sympathetic and even sometimes play down news for fear that by the slightest overemphasis they may provide some Communist group or some reckless hotheads of either race with an opportunity to touch off a tragedy. Our white editors feel a grave responsibility and, while it may be, strictly speaking, a mistake to play down news beneath its due degree of emphasis, it is, if so, a mistake made in a good cause and out of good motives. In the last few months there have been two disturbances in the Eastern area in which crowds of Negro civilians broke into public disorder. In both cases I watched carefully the handling of the news in the white papers and decided that they had been guided by a strong desire not to be responsible for any aggravation of situations which were potentially troublesome. In another case there was a row and some shooting at a military camp involving American soldiers, both white and colored, and here, again, the white press trod with the most patriotic and conscientious care, passing no judgment as to guilt or responsibility but leaving that to the army.

* * *

It is true that it is our custom to identify a Negro in the news as a Negro, or a Chinese or an Indian as such, and that is a point of much complaint by Negro political leaders and publicists who insist that it is enough to say that the man or woman concerned is a man or woman. But they are inconsistent when they then appeal to the Supreme Court to set aside verdicts in criminal cases on the ground that there were no Negroes on the jury lists. Moreover there is never any objection to pointed mention of the fact that Marian Anderson or Joe Louis is a Negro. I think the colored leaders are as badly puzzled and as inconsistent as the white journalist for certainly they do plead on racial grounds in the case of the all-white jury trying a Negro defendant just as vehemently as they object to the distinction between white and colored in the news of some small crime.

But, allowing for the fact that the Negro press exists in the interest of the Negro people and waiving for the moment the fact that they constantly tend to maintain his segregation, these papers bear their responsibility with much less skill and care than the average white paper. Our white papers do not carry on agitation against Negroes. On the contrary, our handling of the news in which the color question arises is done with the greatest delicacy, whereas the Negro editors constantly make sharp distinctions between white and colored men in cases of friction and take the side of the colored persons involved, often with injustice to the white man and the truth, and to the damage of interracial understanding. It is not right, it is not good journalism and it is not good Americanism to print a deliberate deception, thus arousing in the colored reader a feeling that a racial brother has been wronged, if the racial brother, in fact, was in the wrong.

* * *

It is not supercilious to say that the Negro press is inferior to the white press. Its inferiority is recognized by many Negro leaders who cite the obvious reason that colored men have come to journalism only recently and have lacked opportunity, experience and encouragement. But lack of cultivated skill and grace does not entirely justify the hostile tone toward the white people of some Negro publications which say they are striving for friendly, prosperous relations between the races but incessantly are guilty of a hostility to white men which is never expressed toward Negroes in our white press.

Our white press is friendly to the Negro. It is a large order but I defy any colored editor to cite a single paragraph of anti-Negro copy in a New York paper in the last 10 years. But we are busily occupied with many concerns and do not concentrate constantly on the aspirations of the colored man, which is the special mission of the Negro press. And inspection of parallel stories on a given event, such as the housing trouble in Detroit, will show that the white press spoke with restraint and a sense of responsibility not to upset the peace while some Negro papers expressed themselves in tones of anger and racial hostility

"This is something with which the American people have become familiar—" wrote Miss Benedict, "first through Hitler's tactics and more recently through Father Coughlin's. 'Social Justice' has been suppressed by the Department of Justice. The World-Telegram has not. But if the World-Telegram is to continue to carry such vicious material as that turned out by the fevered mind of Mr. Pegler, then the World-Telegram, too — and all the Scripps-Howard papers—will have an accounting to make to the American people for the role it is playing in national disunity."

PEGLER TORE HIS 'BRITCHES'

Westbrook Pegler ripped his breeches Tuesday when he lambasted the *Pittsburgh Courier* and the *Chicago Defender*. He doesn't like Negro newspapers because of their advertising, editorial policy, and "nosey" journalism.

This paper doesn't carry (and never will) ads concerning bleach creams, lucky numbers, etc. But while Pegler is bellyaching about such ads in other papers, not one single cent of the one hundred billion dollars of defense industries' money has been expended for morale ads in Negro journals. This is the backbone of white advertising today.

He doesn't like the editorial policy of Negro papers. Well, as long as white papers refuse to condemn the cold blooded murder of Negro troops by civilian police, the Negro press is going to shout to the high heaven. WE REFUSE TO BE SILENT.

THE TROUBLE WITH SOME WHITE PEOPLE IS THAT THEY BELONG TO A VAST GROUP OF UNAMERICANS WHO WOULD RATHER LOSE THE WAR AND DEMOCRACY THAN GIVE NEGRO PEOPLE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY.

The Negro Press is fighting to win the war and the peace AND DEMOCRACY FOR ALL.—A. C. P., jr.

The Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.

Will Have to 'Account' For Pegler, Paper Told

The New York World-Telegram and the feature syndicate which circulated Westbrook Pegler's column to newspapers throughout the country owe the American people "an accounting" for spreading defeatism, disunity and hatreds just like the publishers of Father Coughlin's Social Justice, the Book and Magazine Union said yesterday in a letter to Pegler's publishers.

The Book and Magazine Union, which is a division of the United Office and Professional Workers of America (CIO), was one of the unions which Pegler attacked in his notorious column of June 15 in which he boasted that he had taken part in anti-labor espionage as a "patriotc service."

In a letter to the World-Telegram and to the Scripps-Howard Newspapers, Inc., Miss Jane Benedict, president of the Book and Magazine Union, warned those papers that they will have to account to the American people for such Goebbels-like writing.

48a-1942
Peoples Voice
New York, N. Y.

Nationwide Protests Striking At Pegler

Extra

Last month **In Fact**, the newsletter, published "for the millions who want a free press," noted the beginning of the movement among liberal and intelligent men and organizations against "the hoodlum-minded, labor-baiting, distorted and sometimes absolutely false writings of columnist Westbrook Pegler" of the **NY World-Telegram and Scripps-Howard** news chain. Editor George Seldes of **In Fact** has a long standing record for unearthing corruptions of the press and carries on a fite each week for a free press. In the June 22 issue of his newsletter the following 12-point indictment against Pegler was listed:

● protest of NAACP which **NYWorld-Telegram** refused to print after Pegler smeared Negro press;

● protest of NYC membership, Newspaper Guild, against "colleague" Pegler's appearance in S army paper, **Stars & Stripes**;

● Alabama State AFL resolution branding Pegler as a sixth columnist;

● Connecticut Labor's Non-Partisan League request to all state publishers to drop the column;

● Colorado Building Service Union's protest to Roy Howard to drop column from Denver **Rocky Mountain News**;

● Western Mechanics Union, Los Angeles, protest to Roosevelt against fascist activities of McCormick, Patterson and Pegler;

● CIO News, speaking for 5,000,000 (paper which printed documentary evidence March 9, p 1, under heading "Pegler Lies") declares editorially Pegler is doing nazi work in America.

● city-wide campaign in Fort Wayne obtains thousands of signatures to petition headed "Silence the Noisy Traitor" asking Congressional investigation of Pegler;

● United Steel Workers (USW-CIO)—the great new union with 660,000 members—presented delegates to constitutional convention, Cleveland in May, with copies of an article denouncing Pegler, written by Edwin Lahey, Chi Daily News labor editor, one of (perhaps) half dozen writers on labor in commercial press fair to labor;

● National Maritime Union, CIO, one of the most patriotic organizations in America, which has suffered hundreds of deaths in torpedoed tankers, accuses Pegler of sabotage for axis. Resolution, passed by 3000, read: "Westbrook Pegler and his ilk are sabotaging our war effort by their foul blasts against President Roosevelt, labor and the Negro people. America at war cannot afford to handle such defeatists and appeasers with kid gloves. . . . We demand that Scripps-Howard (19 papers in 18 cities, which also syndicates Pegler to another hundred papers, giving him a salary over $65,000), Pegler's publishers, stop their vicious attacks on the war program and national unity."

● United Transport Service Employes in convention, Cincinnati, May 28, voted nationwide boycott against SH papers carrying Pegler column.

● Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers, AFL, Local 147, Chicago, telegraphed Roosevelt: "Eliminate defeatist and anti-labor column from AEF paper **Stars & Stripes.**" Local 848, NYC, also urging removal, declares: "Pegler's general tendency has been to parallel the philosophy expounded by hitler and his fascist cohorts."

PEGLER
Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

"Mr. Pegler Makes A Discovery"

SOME weeks ago Mr. Westbrook Pegler, who writes a daily piece entitled "Fair Enough," for a substantial number of American daily newspapers, censured in the biting manner peculiar to himself, two of our larger Negro newspapers, one published in the mid-west and the other in the north. He did not like their presentation of the news, nor their editorial writing, nor a part of the contents of their advertising columns.

Had the criticisms been made in a more objective, professional manner, it would have been obvious that Mr. Pegler was interested in offering constructive suggestions as to how our newspapers might improve their style of news presentation, their editorial policies and also recognize the desirability of rejecting certain types of advertising copy. But it was apparent to even the disinterested observer, that Mr. Pegler merely disapproved the militant pleas these papers were making for justice and democracy for the Negro as well as for other Americans. His article, which we are publishing on this page, indicates clearly that Mr. Pegler made his attack without having given any thought to the Negro's problems. He concedes this, and admits further, that after having acquainted himself with the real situation, he is burning up with indignation —not against the Negro press, but against those who cruelly oppress the Negro people.

"If I were a Negro," writes Mr. Pegler, "I would live in constant fury and probably would batter myself to death against the bars enclosing my condition. I would not be a sub-American or a sub-human being, and, in docile patience, forever yield my rightful aspiration to be a man, to work, to progress and to move out of the slums; yield even to strangers come from other countries, including even strangers who had fought against me in the wars."

Strong and eloquent language. We are glad that Mr. Pegler had the breadth of mind to inquire into the Negro question, after his attack upon the Negro newspapers had subjected him "to some spiritual violence," and that after having made the inquiry and discovered the facts he had the courage to speak the truth.

48a-1942
Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

Pegler's Pertinent Paragraphs

By NAT D. WILLIAMS

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—(SNS)—

(Editor's note:—Westbrook Pegler, nationally-known columnist and newspaper commentator, has long been the Savonarola of American journalism . . . the subject of varied and sundry comment from all types and classes of newspapers . . white and colored. Savonerola was a Christian saint who won distinction by constantly leading some kind of reform movement).

His interest to colored readers soared to astronominal heights recently when he addresed himself to a critique of the American Negro press. His expressions and points of view were generally disturbing to the great mass of the literate people of colour . . especially when it appeared that he was casting some well-grown Peglerian aspersions on such organs of Negro culture and intellectuality as the Pittsburgh Courier, the Crisis, and the Chicago Defender. Untold numbers of colored Americans heaved lugubrious signs of resignation in the face of what many of then considered to be the 'defection of a man whom they were wont to regardless as about the last word in liberality and objectiveness of expression regarding any and all matters'. Most of them threw up their hands and despaired of Pegler as one, who, for 'a mess of pottage and a riband to tie in his coat' had 'sold out' to the forces of prejudice and reactionary white opinion. All along, they had regarded him as 'at least a writer who was prone to be fair'. Now, he had turned against them . . shown his true colours . . publicly announced his membership in the ranks of the '100 per centers' . . . going out of his way to persecute and destroy.

But, the other day, Thursday, July 16th, to be specific, something happened. Pegler wrote for the Press-Scimitar and the numerous other papers that carry his column, an epic article . . an article setting forth some of the deepest concerns of the American Negro. His subject was "Negroes who defend U. S. Have Right To Larger Share in Good Things It Offers." Pegler hit the 'jack-pot' with what he wrote. His utterances warmed the cockles of many an ebony-hued heart. For instance: Pegler:

"The injustice to the Negro people of the United States is more a matter of superstition, tradition, ignorance and indifference than of conscious cruelty in the hearts of the white men. They live among us, but we do not know them. Except when they erupt and riots result, we ignore their existence. We accept foreigners from Europe and organize leagues to protect their rights. But the Negro, who was born among us and fights for the United States when war is up is told to stand aside because he is a Negro."

"Altho my recent adventure with the Negro press has subjected me to some spiritual violence, I am glad I provoked the subject because the experience has made me realize what awful conditions our indifference has put upon these fellow Americans. If I were a Negro I would live in constant fury and probably would batter myself to death against the bars inclosing my conditions.

"I would not be a sub-American or a sub-human being, and in docile patience, forever yield my rightful aspiration to be a man, to work, to progress, and to move out of the slums yield even to foreigners who come from other countries, including even strangers who had fought against me in the wars."

Thus, it is with Westbrook Pegler. . . We thank him for the article . . . we think the Press-Scimitar . , it's the most liberal and best-natured paper in Memphis. . . that's what we say . . and what we mean . . . and now, a salute to Mr. Pegler . we thank him.

48a-1942
Amsterdam Star-News
New York, N. Y.

Here's Pegler Again

". . . . If I were a Negro, I would live in constant fury and probably would batter myself to death against the bars enclosing my condition. I would not be a sub-American or a sub-human being, and in docile patience forever yield my rightful aspiration to be a man, to work, to progress and to move out of the slums; yield even to strangers come from other countries, including even strangers who had fought against me in the wars."—WESTBROOK PEGLER.

JUL 25 1942

IF WE HAD WRITTEN what Westbrook Pegler wrote in his syndicated column last week, we don't see how we could avoid arrest for sedition. Nowhere have we read such a bold statement of policy and belief in wartime by a writer of Pegler's stature. Pegler was telling the story of a Negro boy who had volunteered for army duty and how he found himself back in his native Florida driving a big army truck.

If Pegler were a Negro and believed in the democratic process, he would act the same as the most of us. He would have faith in the American people. He would not organize subversive groups of fifth columnists to sabotage the war effort; neither would he organize Ku Klux Klans, night-riders and vigilante groups to terrorize portions of the population in defiance of all rules of law and order.

If he wanted to, the modern Negro cauld find ways to interfere with his oppressors the same as took place in the days of Nat Turner and Denmark Vesey. The Negro, today, is quite aware of the technique and methods of underground movements designed to embarrass and weaken the efforts of majorities. But the Negro has chosen the path of reason in working out his problems in the democratic way. He realizes that only in that way can he obtain his rightful place as a man and as a citizen in this democracy of ours.

JUL 25 1942

Pegler, as a Negro, would realize that 13 million citizens aroused to the point of furious violence or non-cooperation would definitely disrupt the nation and menace the well-being of this country whether at war or at peace. Pegler, as a white man, should be thankful that the Negro has courage and vision to exercise patience, even if it appears docile, rather than blow up in a fit of thundering rage and destroy all that it took centuries to build. (Mr. Pegler's column, in its entirety, is reprinted on opposite page.)

48a-1942

Christian Recorder
Philadelphia, Pa.

THE CHRISTIAN RECORDER
The Official Organ of The African Methodist Episcopal Church
God our Father, Christ our Redeemer, Man our Brother
1848—1942
MOTHER OF NEGRO PRESS
Entered at the Post Office at Philadelphia, Penna. as Second Class Matter.
Bell—KINgsley 0497

Tribune
Philadelphia, Pa.

Tribune Sponsors Meeting

National Unity Theme Of Meeting At McDowell Church

It's all out for victory Friday night!

The big Unity rally sponsored by the TRIBUNE will draw thousands of patriotic Philadelphians to McDowell Memorial Presbyterian Church, 21st street and Columbia avenue, to hear leading national figures preach the doctrine of victory.

The meeting will open at 8.30 p. m. and will feature as principal speaker Dean William Pickens, staff advisor to the Treasury Department in the War Bond and Stamps Division.

See Raid Films

Another speaker will be Captain William B. Cooke, of the Philadelphia Council of Defense. The Council will also provide a sound film which shows the bombing of London and the operation of defense forces during the air raids.

E. Washington Rhodes, publisher of the TRIBUNE, will preside at the rally.

The theme of the meeting will be "You Can Help." Dean Pickens will point out that it is the duty of every American to secure his position as a citizen by buying War Bonds as an indication of his faith in his country.

Make It a Habit

It is essential for a victorious war effort that all Americans buy these bonds and stamps and make it a regular habit to do so. Only by concerted effort can victory be secured in as short a time as possible.



WILLIAM PICKENS

Rev. Arthur E. Rankin, pastor of the church, will also take part in the program.

Buy bonds and stamps to help your country win!

Organizations co-operating in the rally include the Armstrong Association, the Motor Vehicles Association of Postol Employees, the Mutual tion of Postal Employees, the Mutual National Association of Postal Employees, the National Negro Congress, the North Philadelphia Civic League and the Pennsylvania Association of Elks.

——A Colored Judge——

PENNSYLVANIA
Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

"COURIER" SUBSCRIBERS—

THIS BEAUTIFUL PICTURE IS AVAILABLE TO YOU ABSOLUTELY FREE WITH ONE YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION

Joe Louis—the fighter



This striking masterpiece, 11x14, IN COLOR, of Joe Louis, "The Fighter," is available to Courier subscribers. The drawing, which formerly sold for fifty cents, can be secured ABSOLUTELY FREE with a subscription to The Pittsburgh Courier. All that you have to do is fill out the blank below and send it to us at once with either a new subscription or your renewal, if you are already a subscriber.

Don't delay as our supply of these beautiful drawings is limited and we cannot secure any more after our present supply is exhausted.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

How Negroes Fight for Freedom at Home and Abroad

Read how Negroes have adopted the Double V—VV—for a double victory: the first over enemies from without, the second over enemies from within—in the July Reader's Digest. Prominent Negroes who have seen this powerful article say that every Negro who is interested in the achievements of his race will want to read it and pass it on to his friends. Also in the same issue:

	Page
Outline of a sensational plan to win the war, in the condensation] of de Seversky's great new book	113
Expert reveals why faith in Hitler is cracking	18
I was a German hostage	87
How to be a better parent	26
Why Democracy must begin at home	14
Why you can't believe cigarette ads	8

Also 31 other exciting features from leading magazines and books condensed for pleasant profitable reading—

In the July Reader's Digest

At all Newsstands

Get your copy today

Reader's Digest

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

HOLLYWOOD AUTHOR PENS TRIBUTE TO COURIER "DOUBLE V"

JUN 27 1942

By GLORIA DARE

HOLLYWOOD, Cal., June 25—Every loyal American, colored or white, studying his loved country's history, realizes its birth pains were the result of throwing off enslaving chains, and that our forefathers consecrated our nation to the enlightenment and freedom of each individual, be he yellow, black, red, white or brown. The freedom loving American declares also that the peal of freedom of the Liberty Bell sought subordinated men everywhere, that God plays no favorites, and that since we all have been precipitated from the same background of Spirit—men are indeed created equal.

Was it chance that placed upon our coins, "In God We Trust," was it just a happening that our motto is "E Pluribus Unum," which means "One Out of Many."

JUN 27 1942

EMERSON SAID

Your significant and lovely "Double Victory" button which I so proudly wear, has hovering over the emblem, the American Eagle, the bird that lives only in the heights and dares to gaze into the heart of the sun, symbol of man's inevitable flight into the clever, higher sunlight of Universal Brotherhood. Your slogan, "Victory over our enemies abroad. Victory over enemies at home," can also be read in the words of our beloved Ralph Waldo Emerson, who said:

"He who ruleth wise and high,
Nor falters in his plan,
Will take the stars out of the sky
Ere freedom out of man."

Just as in 1925 there was quoted in one of my books the tribute to the Negro by Wendell Phillips, scholar, lawyer, author and reformer, so today they are again given as my own conclusions also; he says:

"I attempt the Quixotic effort to convince you that the Negro's blood, instead of standing at the bottom of the list, is entitled, if judged by its great men or its masses, either by its courage, its purpose or its endurance, to a place as near ours as any other blood in history."

From Pacific's shores where the mountains creep down to the sea, our white hands seeks to span the intervening space to clasp your own in fellowship and understanding.

JUN 27 1942

FREEDOM WILL COME

In our weary trek through the corridor of years, each one has carried his cross of persecution as he stumblingly plod up the hill of his endeavor, because each seeker of certainty, not only believes, but knows that in one of those tomorrows that reach us "just as today," every individual will stand fully clothed in his rightful heritage of freedom.

The road has been weary, we perhaps have lingered too long in the Garden of our Tears, and at last reaching the Sepulcher of Sorrow, we have stand before it waiting the dawn; and as we stand in humility and gladness for the things already ours, we shall continue with united effort to roll away the stone of bigotry and subjection that blocks the soul's full release.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

HENRY FORD SUBSCRIBES TO PITTSBURGH COURIER

AUG 1 1942

DETROIT, Mich., July 30—Henry Ford, America's foremost industrialist, who brought Dr. George W. Carver to the great Ford laboratories for the purpose of making rubber, took a permanent subscription to The Pittsburgh Courier this week. Mr. Ford paid tribute to the alertness of the Courier in scooping the nation on the arrival of Dr. Carver in Detroit and praised the paper for its full coverage of up to the minute news.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

SOUTHERN NEGROES' OPINIONS

The Negro people become more indebted every passing month to that crusading white newspaper, PM. The article it published last week by Victor Bernstein on the South's treatment of Negroes is important because of the new approaches to our problems and the information it contains.

SEP 19 1942

We were particularly impressed by a survey appearing in the PM article which was based on interviews with 1,000 Negroes in a Southern city. Five hundred were questioned by Negro investigators and the other five hundred by whites. These 1,000 Negroes selected at random were asked these three questions: (1) Would Negroes be treated better or worse here if the Japanese conquered the U.S.A.? (2) Would Negroes be treated better or worse if the Nazis conquered the U.S.A.? (3) Do you think it is more important to concentrate on beating the Axis, or to make democracy work better here at home?

We must discard as unreliable the answers given to the white investigators, as there is too great a variance in these answers with those received by the Negro investigators. This once again impresses us with the cowardly lives Negroes are forced to live in the South to survive. A large number of them are afraid to speak their convictions and only say what they believe to be pleasing, when talking to white people.

In answer to the first question whether they believed the Japanese would treat Negroes better, 9 per cent believed they would, 32 per cent thought we would be treated the same, and 25 per cent thought we would be treated worse. If these answers are to be construed as representing the attitude of Negroes in the average Southern city, then it is a tribute to the Southern Negroes' balance and intelligence, when only 9 per cent are deceived by this fiction of racial similarity into believing that the Japanese would treat them better. If the percentage is 9 per cent in the South where race conditions are at their worst, it must be substantially less in Northern communities.

SEP 19 1942

The answer to the question, would the Nazis treat Negroes better than we are now treated, found 3 per cent believing we would fare better under Nazis rule. The fact that three times as many Negroes would prefer Japanese rule to German rule must be attributed to racial reasons. And the 3 per cent favoring Nazis rule shows the depth of the desperation and despair some Negroes in Southern states feel.

Thirty-five per cent of the Negroes interviewed believed that it was more important to make democracy work at home than to beat the Axis, as against 39 per cent who believe winning the war was the more important. This is indeed an indication of real danger. It shows a very low morale when almost 50 per cent of the Negroes who expressed an opinion, believe that their local mistreatment and grievances overshadows their interest in the war's outcome.

SEP 19 1942

The answers to the three questions considered together show how illogical even Negroes are on the race question. Although the vast majority of the answers show that they believe Negroes would be treated worse by the Japanese and Germans, yet almost half of those who gave a definite answer put their local problems first, unmindful of the fact that these local problems would be made indefinitely worse if the Japanese or Nazis should win.

It is, however, encouraging to know that even in the deep South, Negroes are almost equally concerned with making democracy work at home for themselves, as they are for winning the war for the benefit of mankind. No one can challenge the justice of that position, and that is the kind of patriotism which we advocate by our "Double V."

Pittsburgh Courie
Pittsburgh, PA.

America's Fighting Men

BLACK and WHITE

JUL 18 1942

Swing Into Action on the World Front

AFRICA AUSTRALIA NEW GUINEA
SOUTH AMERICA NEW CALEDONIA
ASIA IRELAND WEST INDIES

THE COURIER IS WITH OUR FIGHTING MEN

THE COURIER'S EDGAR T. ROUZEAU

IS AT THE WAR FRONT!

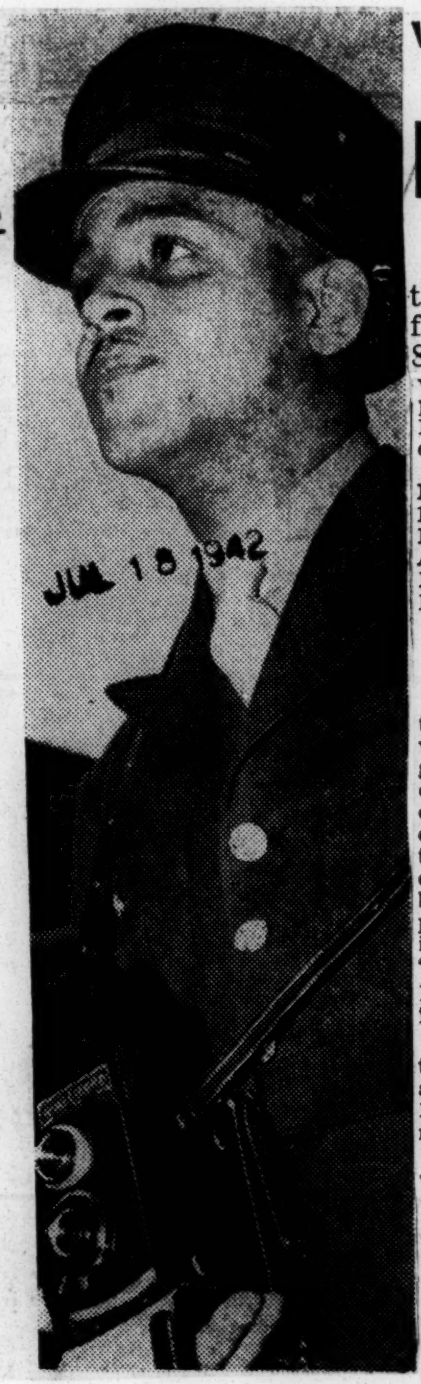
For more than a month, Mr. Rouzeau has been at the WAR FRONT, assembling stories on what America's Black Fighters are doing for Democracy Abroad and at Home.

Your Courier, always on the job, will begin publication of this epochal and exclusive series soon . . . Just as soon as the War Department can release it without endangering the welfare and safety of our men at the front.

JUL 18 1942

NOT ONLY ANOTHER COURIER FIRST . . .
BUT THE BIGGEST COURIER FIRST!

WATCH FOR IT!



Amsterdam News
New York. N. Y

The Pittsburgh Courier!

JAN 17 1942

The Pittsburgh Courier is to be commended for the breadth and generosity of its journalism. Its full-page tribute in its last issue to the Powell-Savory directed enterprises of which the Amsterdam Star-News is one of many, is a case in point. Surely newspaperdom has gone a long way from the days when newspapers considered each other eternal rivals and their editors natural enemies. Tribute is really due the broad and progressive character of the publishers and editors of the Pittsburgh Courier. Here's to continued newspaper fraternity and cooperation!

JAN 17 1942

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

"Double V" Wins In Courier Poll

Negro Americans proclaimed to the world this week that they had no intention of "soft pedaling" their demands for complete integration into the life of their country . . . 88.7 per cent of the colored population answered "NO" when they were thoroughly sampled by The Pittsburgh Courier's Bureau of Public Sentiment on the question:

"DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE NEGRO SHOULD SOFT PEDAL HIS DEMANDS FOR COMPLETE FREEDOM AND CITIZENSHIP AND AWAIT THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESSES?"

NO	88.7%
YES	9.2%
UNCERTAIN	2.1%

There was no section of the nation where doubt existed as to the wisdom and the necessity for Negro people to press their militant efforts for a fuller share of American democracy. Strangely enough, considering the prevalent belief that Southern Negroes are more conservative than their Northern brothers, the South was even more positive than the North in asserting that this was not the time to "cease firing" for racial rights.

NINE OUT OF TEN IN THE SOUTH

In the South, nine out of every ten stated that "softpedaling" days are over. This Dixie tabulation was 1.3% more than the general poll norm of "NO" votes.

Expressing a "Double V" theme, V" organization. They said:

"The logical and most sane program of all has been the popular "Double V" slogan. Many whites have endorsed it and in general it has not drawn subversive criticism which has been characteristic of a number of the so-called 'race liberation' movements."

"IS U. S. WORTH FIGHTING FOR?"

OCT 24 1942

From week to week the response to The Pittsburgh Courier's Bureau of Public Sentiment propositions gain momentum. Letters to the Bureau express the conviction that at last there has come into existence a method by which Negro thinking can be tested, evaluated and presented to a public which anxiously desires to clarify in its own mind the oft raised question, What Does the American Negro believe?

Next week: DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE NEGRO HAS A STANDARD OF LIVING IN THIS COUNTRY WORTH FIGHTING AND DYING FOR?

many of the persons approached were most articulate in explaining that they felt constant demands for race recognition was a most patriotic gesture at this time.

"The American Negro is performing a real service through the 'Double V' philosophy in that he is a consistent reminder to America that her war aims include liberation of oppressed people. Surely the Negro falls into the category."

A BUSINESS MAN SPEAKS

OCT 24 1942

Those were the words of a Midwestern businessman.

A Southern gentleman, powerful in Memphis political circles, had this to say when he agreed with the overwhelming majority opinion:

"A let up in our justified demands would give the impression the Negro is satisfied with present conditions. And he definitely is NOT."

From all over the nation—from men, women, professionals and laborers there was a strain of caution as they were approached by The Courier Bureau. It can best be expressed by this condensation of thought.

"DOUBLE V" DOES NOT IMPEDE WAR

"No one must interpret this militant of Negroes as a plot to impede the war effort. Negroes recognize that the first factor in the survival of this nation is the winning of the war. But they feel that integration of Negroes into the whole scheme of things 'revitalizes' the U. S. war program."

A Pennsylvania clerical worker summed it up when he said:

"Aren't the Allies fighting for freedom? How can they deny the merit of our argument?"

In order to give credit to the small minority which voted in favor of "soft pedaling" demands, it must be mentioned that the consensus of opinion among those who expressed that view was:

"As a race we need education before we can expect full citizenship."

OCT 24 1942

WE SEEK FULL OPPORTUNITY AS AMERICANS

Dear Congressman:

The American Negro is in a bad and awkward spot: Bad because of his mass disfranchisement; awkward because of his inability to obtain redress except through the Congress of the United States.

The American Negro craves life, not mere existence: progress and growth, rather than starvation and death. He seeks now a full opportunity to participate in moulding and shaping the course of Democracy.

In the pending Geyer Anti-Poll Tax Bill, the American Negro sees the realization of all these things. Enacted into law, it spells for him freedom.

Sir, could any people have given more than the Negro to the building of our country? The forests and the swamps gave way before the collective work of slaves. So too the railroads, canals, the vast plantations grew under their black hands. The contributions of individual Negroes are legend. No listing of scientists, athletes, artists, or artisans, is complete that does not include one or more Negro names.

Yet, several million Negroes in the South are without representation—that vital thing on which the democratic system depends and for which the Revolutionary War was fought.

It is only the smaller percentage of Negroes in the non-poll tax states that can with faith petition Congressmen whom they elect.

Therefore, we now do petition that you right this grievous wrong that frustrates and ensluves our brother millions in the South.

This is no political party issue. This is a fundamental democratic need – the right to vote belongs to all American citizens. We ask no racial privilege, merely for the means to exercise that right; the chance to choose or reject men who do or do not represent us in making the laws that govern the land.

There is no selfishness in this petition. Several million white people will also be benefited by the passage of this bill.

At no time in the past was the need so urgent. Negroes need it to be free. White citizens need it because it makes democracy genuine and real, since it destroys the platform from which a small group of privileged people, in bigotry and hate, turn the educational, political and economic life of a large section of our country to their own petty and selfish ends.

The world needs it because liberty, as never before, is the hope of all mankind. In many places its torches are already extinguished. Elsewhere the flame burns feebly. Here at home we must in this manner trim our lamp that its mighty flames may be visible in the farthest and darkest corners of the earth.

You have seen, even clearer than we, how by seniority alone the chairmanship of so many Senatorial and House Committees pass into the hands of men from these poll-tax states where great Negro populations have no voice. There, with a steadfastness born of racial prejudice, they have time and time again taken from our group the benefits of social legislation by vindictively adding the clause, "This legislation shall not apply to farmhands or domestics."

Finally, we petition you because we see no hope from the poll states themselves.

The Governor of the great state of Georgia just the other day actually campaigned for a fourth term, using the slogan "Negroes shall not go to school with whites." This, he would have the people of Georgia believe is the most vital issue, when all the blood and goods of these United States are being dedicated to the end that this world be freed of oppression. In contrast, we hear our lumble Marian Anderson singing, "Let us break bread together on our knees."

There is the further case of the late Odell Waller in Virginia. This man's trial and death, both stamped "according to law," leave bitterness and uncertainty in our hearts. We cannot have more like it! In a non-poll tax state, it would have been so different. There would have been some official to whom he could have gone for immediate redress when that to which he was entitled was withheld. The desperation of starvation as well as the bigotry of an overlord class both melt in the democratic process when all men can vote.

Honorable Sir, please, in God's name, as you love democracy and our national Constitution, give us this one thing America needs most of all now—an Anti-Poll Tax Law. We, in conclusion, view it not only as a privilege that is yours, but as a sacred duty to order this bill on the floors of Congress and to pass it.

Respectfully yours,

THE PHILADELPHIA TRIBUNE.

48a-1942
Tribune
Philadelphia, Pa.

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At no time in the past was the need so urgent. Negroes need it to be free. White citizens need it because it makes democracy genuine and real, since it destroys the platform from which a small group of privileged people, in bigotry and hate, turn the educational, political and economic life of a large section of our country to their own petty and selfish ends.

The world needs it because liberty, as never before, is the hope of all mankind. In many places its torches are already extinguished. Elsewhere the flame burns feebly. Here at home we must in this manner trim our lamp that its mighty flames may be visible in the farthest and darkest corners of the earth.

You have seen, even clearer than we, how by seniority alone the chairmanship of so many Senatorial and House Committees pass into the hands of men from these poll-tax states where great Negro populations have no voice. There, with a steadfastness born of racial prejudice, they have time and time again taken from our group the benefits of social legislation by vindictively adding the clause, "This legislation shall not apply to farmhands or domestics."

Finally, we petition you because we see no hope from the poll states themselves.

The Governor of the great state of Georgia just the other day actually campaigned for a fourth term, using the slogan "Negroes shall not go to school with whites." This, he would have the people of Georgia believe is the most vital issue, when all the blood and goods of these United States are being dedicated to the end that this world be freed of oppression. In contrast, we hear our humble Marian Anderson singing, "Let us break bread together on our knees."

There is the further case of the late Odell Waller in Virginia. This man's trial and death, both stamped "according to law," leave bitterness and uncertainty in our hearts. We cannot have more like it! In a non-poll tax state, it would have been so different. There would have been some official to whom he could have gone for immediate redress when that to which he was entitled was withheld. The desperation of starvation as well as the bigotry of an overlord class both melt in the democratic process when all men can vote.

Honorable Sir, please, in God's name, as you love democracy and our national Constitution, give us this one thing America needs most of all now—an Anti-Poll Tax Law. We, in conclusion, view it not only as a privilege that is yours, but as a sacred duty to order this bill on the floors of Congress and to pass it.

Respectfully yours,

THE PHILADELPHIA TRIBUNE.

Christian Recorder
Philadelphia, Pa.

AUGUSTUS R. GREEN

An interesting figure in African M. E. Church history. From 1848 to 1852 he appears as Editor of The Christian Herald, out of which evolved The Christian Recorder, which stemmed from the African M. E. Church Magazine. He served as pastor of Bethel, Pittsburgh, Penna., and founded our Church at Zanesville, Ohio. He was pastor there in 1856. In 1857 he went to Windsor, Canada because of the rabid slavery sentiment, following the infamous Dred Scott Decision. His name appears on several important committies in the General Conference of his day, especially that of 1856 which met at Cincinnati, Ohio when he showed brilliance in the anti-slavery debates. He aspired to the episcopacy but was unsuccessful at New York in 1852. In September, 1860 the General Conference of the B. M. E. Church met in Canada. Bishop Willis Nazery resigned but the body refused to accept his resignation and laid it on the table. A. R. Green and others were displeased at the action. They called a convention and elected the one-time editor Bishop. The year 1863 Dr. Green removed to Washington, D. C., and engaged in the practice of medicine.

Bishop C. S. Smith says that when the General Conference of 1876 met at Atlanta, Ga. "A petition was received from the Independent Methodist Episcopal Church, of which Rev. Augustus R. Green was the founder." There was consolidation but with the further stipulation that the Rev. Green "should relinquish all claims to the bishopric and be received as an elder in the African Methodist Episcopal Church." This proposal was dated at Richmond, Va., May 13, 1876, and agreed to by our General Conference. Thus the able indefatigable Green returned to the fold of Allen, and passed away in Vicksburg, Miss., during a yellow fever epidemic in 1878. His wife, Rebecca I. N. Green preceded him in death by several years about 1852. A son Richard Allen Green, M.D., resided in Washington, founded a newspaper, "The Virginia Star," in Richmond, Va., and was a member of the General Conference of 1884. Another son the Reverend Dr. A. M. Green was a pioneer in Louisiana and a member of the Church Extension Board. In the Church Extension Department his picture may be seen.

JUL 9 1942 George A. Singleton

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

CABLES FROM THE NEAR EAST

SEP 26 1942



SEP 26 1942

The first exclusive dispatch from Edgar T. Rouzeau, Courier War correspondent, stationed with American forces on the Egyptian battle front, appears in this week's edition. Mr. Rouzeau has traveled many thousands of miles in the Mediterranean theatre of operations and will file weekly dispatches on the part American colored troops are playing in the African war to defeat Nazi General Rommel and his Axis hordes.

Memphis Tenn. Com'rcial Appeal
January 31, 1941

POLICING IS APPROVED BY INTERRACIAL GROUP

White Ministers Offer Their Co-operation

CONFER WITH JOE BOYLE

Members Of Commission Let Mayor Chandler Voice Their Approval Of City Law Enforcement After Meeting

Members of the Memphis Commission for Interracial Co-operation expressed "approval" of the city's law enforcement program yesterday and offered officials their services in meeting future interracial problems.

Their approval of city policing and offer of services was announced by Mayor Chandler after a two-hour closed session with white members of the commission and Commissioner Boyle.

Want To Co-operate

"The ministers who called on us expressed approval of the city's law enforcement program and assured us that their sole desire is to co-operate whenever possible for them to do so," the Mayor said. "They expressed the feeling that their membership on the commission might enable them to be of good service to the city government in meeting interracial problems arising from time to time.

Members of the group, headed by the Rev. Alfred Loaring-Clark of St. John's Episcopal Church, declined comment on the meeting, saying:

"The Mayor is the spokesman."

The meeting was suggested by Commissioner Boyle Wednesday in a letter to Dr. S. E. Howie, chairman of the Interracial Commission. In his letter the police commissioner pointed out he had declined to discuss the racial question with the committee on grounds "some of the newspaper negroes on your committee for many months had been carrying on a campaign with inflammatory articles calculated to disrupt the present relations between the white and colored race in this community."

After the session had adjourned, the Mayor said only general topics were discussed.

Thanked by Officials

"Commissioner Boyle and I thanked them and assured them of our appreciation of their good purposes," Mr. Chandler said.

The commission recently announced plans for a mass meeting of whites and negroes here in February to promote improved racial relations. Dr. Will W. Alexander, executive secretary of the national C. I. C. and administrator of the Farm Security Administration, will be the principal speaker.

They also are sponsoring a city movement to observe Feb. 9 "Race Relations Sunday."

Attending the conference with Mr. Chandler and Mr. Boyle yesterday were:

The Rev. Mr. Howie, the Rev. Mr. Loaring-Clark, the Rev. J. J. Walker of Central Avenue Christian Church; the Rev. Marshall Wingfield of the First Congregational Church; the Rev. W. G. Gehri of Grace-St. Luke's Episcopal Church; Rabbi H. W. Ettelson of the Congregation Children of Israel; the Rev. W. B. Selah of St. John's Methodist Church and the Rev. Josiah Sibley of Lindsay Memorial Presbyterian Church.

Globe and Independent
Nashville, Tenn.

Nashville Globe-Independent

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TO THE PUBLIC

Any erroneous reflections upon the character standing or reputation of any person firm or corporation, which may appear in the columns of the NASHVILLE GLOBE will be gladly corrected upon being brought to the attention of the management.

Send correspondence for publication so as to reach the office Monday. No matter intended for current issue which arrives as late as Thursday can appear in that number, as Thursday is press day.

All news sent us for publication must be written only on one side of the paper, and should be accompanied by the name of the contributor, not necessarily for publication, but as evidence of good faith.

MEMBER NATIONAL NEGRO PRESS ASSOCIATION

FRIDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 27, 1942

Globe and Independent
Nashville, Tenn.

WANTED: A FREE PRESS

What we have in most of the press today is an industry for the manufacture of public opinion for private profit. What we need is a really free press serving the majority of the people, instead of a few wealthy interests. This situation is particularly serious now that we are at war, and a CIO Editors' Conference a short while ago adopted a resolution calling on the daily press to "follow the example of other private industries by abandoning policies which hinder the prosecution of the war and converting itself into a war industry which will be dedicated to the defeat of the Axis."

—Len DeCaux, Editor CIO News.

The annual observance of National Newspaper Week over which the daily press is making great ado, brings forcibly to mind the fact that the "freedom of the press" is a mockery in this country and largely because newspapers have been faithless to the challenge of running a free press in compliance with the obligation to do so as is implied in the Bill of Rights of the Constitution.

It is almost a certainty that Congress would not have enacted the "freedom of the press" provision set forth in the Constitution, nor would the people have approved the provision if, in the early days of this Republic, evils of the press had existed and had been exposed as in recent years, especially during the Administration of President Roosevelt.

What disinterestedness there is in the host of individuals who provide the public with news and opinion is among the hard-working reporters of the daily press. They, alone are true to the obligation they have of making truthful and objective reports of events, movements and individuals. But these reporters are very genreally held to the requriement that they must write news, not according to what their eyes see and their ears hear, but according to certain "angles" determined upon by publishers. In the long, hard struggle that Negro Americans have made to reach the status of respected citizens, they have had no more violent foe in the country than the daily press. Alone among minority groups of the United States, Negroes have been held up to scorn with a deliberate attempt

to make them a race of criminals. There is a constant headlining of the term "Negro" in connection with crimes and alleged crimes. The daily output of "news" in the average daily contains such an abundance of crime items about Negroes, to the neglect of all the worthwhile accomplishments the race has made, that it seems almost miraculous that Negroes have made any progress in the face of this mendacious assault upon them. The fact that Jews, Italians, Germans and other conspicuous minority groups are held in higher esteem than Negroes in this country, except when there is some fighting and dying to be done to "preserve the American way of life" is traceable more to the sinister campaign to make Negroes inferior beings which the press has waged, down through the years, than any other evil influence. The lot of neither Jews, Germans nor Italians would be what it is in this country if the press constantly attributed crimes to these groups as it attributes crimes committed by individual Negroes to the Negro race.

OCT 9 - 1942

Almost daily there are distortions and plain untruths in the local press, which aparently are intended to sabotage what hope there is of maintaining peaceful relations between the races at a time when the utmost discretion is needed to do so. Investigations have proved that stories about "near ricts" and other affairs, responsibility for which, the daily press undertook to blame Negroes wholly, were deliberate falsehoods. They necessarily had to be falsehoods because very plainly the press here is "angling" its news to support a policy of smearing Negroes as being ALWAYS in the wrong whenever there is a clash between them and members of the white race. Negroes seldom, if ever, get justice in the courts in any affairs in which they are involved with white persons because the press deliberately builds up a public sentiment that tends to terrorize officials into handing out penalties that fit press falsehoods about crimes.

OCT 8 - 1942

If and when our politicians see that the press is not so powerful as a molder of public sentiment as it once was, and begins to pass legislation to regulate the press, Negro Americans will not very likely raise any great protest. The fact is the masses of Americans, including the great exploited hordes of working people, have all to gain and nothing to lose by legislation that will break the sinister hold of the moneyed interests on the daily press of the United States. That done, we can believe a new era will dawn in which this country will have a press such as the founding fathers of the Republic conceived when they provided an untaxable franchise for a free press in the Constitution of the the United States.

THE HOUSTON DEFENDER

"THE SOUTHWEST'S FOREMOST WEEKLY"

Houston Defender

Entered as second-class matter October 14, 1930, at the postoffice at Houston, Texas, under the Act of March 3, 1879

Houston Tex

TELEPHONE ..... Cant. 1 0425

MAR 7 - 1942

Published every Saturday by the Houston Defender Publishing Company 1423 West Dallas Avenue, Houston, Texas.

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C. F. RICHARDSON, Jr. ..... Managing Editor
MISS M. E. ISAACS ..... Society Editor
REV. S. A. PLEASANT, Jr. ..... Religious Editor
MRS. HATTIE BLACK-WATERS ..... Church Editor
REV. L. VESTER BOLTON ..... Contributing Editor
DR. S. J. CULLUM, Jr. ..... Dental Editor
DR. H. T. DAVIS, Jr. ..... Medical Editor

MAR 7 - 1942

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HOUSTON, TEXAS, SATURDAY, MARCH 7, 1942

Wants 20 Boycott Scripp-Howard Chain Of Papers

HOUSTON.—Ezra Robinson, San Francisco, wants to boycott the Scripps-Howard chain of papers for their abuse of Negroes. He also wants to know if it is not time for The Informer to put up a militant fight for Negroes (we thought we had been doing that), but Mr. Robinson's letter follows:

San Francisco, California
June 12, 1942

"Dear Sir:

"Is it not time that your paper (The Houston Informer) should be putting up a militant fight for us, the Negro people? We are slandered in the most venomous way by many of these large newspapers throughout the country, and the Scripps-Howard chain (Scripps not accused) is the most flagrant, and one of its columnists Westbrook Pegler) is the most sarcastic. As you know, the Scripps-Howard chain has 18 papers in 18 cities throughout the country, and if we, the Negro people, boycott these and other corrupt sheets, we would soon put the quietus on Pegler and his kind.

"The Pacific Coast States CIO and lately the A. F. of L. are, and have been, doing a great deal to gain for us equality. The CIO and A. F. of L. are admitting us into their organizations and we can speed the day with your help, by letting your subscribers know by boycotting these venal sheets we will come into our own sooner than was heretofore anticipated. After long years of reading these corrupt sheets it is a hard matter to refrain from perusing their columns, but if one must do so, read them at the library or some public place as a hotel lobby, restuarant or such places, but by all means do not purchase them and help finance an institution that is impeding their progress."

Yours respectfully,
(Signed): Ezra Robinson

C. W. Wesley, Pres. Of Informer Chain Buys New Paper

HOUSTON.—Carter Wesley, President of the Informer chain, announced this week that his organization had purchased the New Orleans Sentinel, which is being added to the chain this week. According to Mr. Wesley, this completes the program of coverage for the Southwest which was envisioned for the chain when it was organized.

It is expected that the chain will serve the 924,000 Negroes in Texas, the 981,000 Negroes in Louisiana and a portion of the million Negroes in Mississippi. The Louisiana news will be used to enrich the coverage for the many Texans interested in Louisiana and Mississippi.

THE INFORMER
and
Texas Freeman
3418 Leeland Avenue — Fairfax 8347
Carter W. Wesley, President

Houston, Texas, Published Saturday

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES
PAYABLE IN ADVANCE
1 year $3.00 — 6 months $1.75

TENNEE

Coming: A New Informer Feature

The Informer
Houston, Texas
JUN 27 1942

Beginning in the July 10th issue one section of our editorial page will be alloted to the Informer's Forum. Each week one forum topic will be listed for the readers to discuss. Most of the topics will be debatable. We will be happy to print your discussion on the topics under "Yea" and "Nay" depending upon the stand that you take.

Topic I will be discussed in the July 10th issue. Topic II in the July 17th issue, etc. Following are forum topics to be discussed in four consecutive issues:

1. **Should India Have Accepted England's Proposal for a Deferred Freedom?**
2. **Should United States Congressmen Be Permitted to Appear on Commercial Broadcasts?**
3. **Should Gasoline Be Rationed In Texas?**
4. **Should the Poll Tax Be Abolished in States Which Levy it as a Requisite for Voting?**

JUL 1942

Try to limit your discussion to 200 words, or less. In order for the discussions to appear in the July 10th issue, they must be in the office by July 3rd. Although we may not be able to print all of the discussions; acknowledgment will be made of each discussion that is sent in.

Address your letters to: Informer's Forum, Houston Informer, 2418 Leeland Ave., Houston, Texas.

Windsor, N. C., Advance
September 25, 1942

LET'S WIN THE WAR

The Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va. (A Negro Publication.)

If the United Nations should be forced to make peace upon Hitler's terms the greatest sufferers would be the American Negroes.

A military stalemate that would find Hitler still short of his goal of world conquest, but which necessitated a negotiated peace, would be just as disastrous to American Negroes.

If there is negotiated peace the pro-Fascist elements in America will have the upper hand, and they are already girding themselves to administer to the Negroes of America a fate worse than that which befell the Jews in Germany and Poland.

If America does not win this war decisively, with Hitler on his knees and completely liquidated, there is no future for Negroes in America.

Any Negro who does not realize this is not intelligent. Any informed Negro who thinks that his condition in America under the Hitler dictated peace would be other than that of a slave—stripped of all human rights—needs to be examined by a lunacy commission.

A war in which the American white man is fighting to remain a free man; is fighting to escape the fate of Poland, of France, of Greece— of a half dozen other countries that were formerly free but that are now enslaved—is a war in which the American Negro should fight with everything within his power to defeat decisively the enemies of America; because if America is defeated the Negro minority will be the first to be stripped of all rights, all privileges, all possessions, and will be consigned to a fate worse than anything that has occurred in modern history.

We are fighting with Britain and China and Russia, but we are fighting to keep America free. If Russia goes down, and if Britain and China go down, our enemies will have at their disposal resources that we cannot match. The Axis powers are today shuttling armies to Egypt and to Russia by air, and they can shuttle armies to America by air. No one thought a few brief years ago that Hitler could completely dominate the entire continent of Europe, or that Japan could sweep half of the Pacific within its empire in a brief six months. No one thought that Japan could take possession of American soil and hold it as she is holding a part of the Aleutian Islands. Space is no obstacle to the attainment of the objectives our enemies. Distance is no protection against the ruthless, total warfare being waged by our enemies.

Democracy is a great deal. It has not worked perfectly here in America but as imperfect as it is, it is worth saving. If it is swept off of the American continent, Fascism or a form of Nazism will take its place, and as compared with Democracy even as we have known it, this will be death for minority peoples. It will be death in its slowest and most excruciating form for American Negroes.

The time has come for the 13,000,000 Negroes of America to throw all that they have into this war. The time has come when we must fight desperately to save what we have gained during the past 75 years.

Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia.

New Drive For Chesterfields Gets Started

NOV 7 - 1942

Campaign Will Stress Theme Of Pleasing Smokers

NEW YORK, N. Y.—The Liggett and Myers Tobacco Company in announcing a new newspaper campaign for Chesterfield Cigarettes states its belief that what smokers look for in a cigarette is a mild, good-tasting smoke and nothing else.

The present campaign, like previous Chesterfield campaigns, is based on the idea that men and women smoke cigarettes for the enjoyment they get out of it.

This idea is carried out in the copy which states that "Chesterfields give smokers more pleasure because their right combination (blend) of tobaccos makes them milder and better-tasting."

Each advertisement in the current series carries a picture and text from the Chetserfield booklet, "Tobaccoland, U. S. A." illustrating some phase of cigarette making.

This booklet, now in its fifth million, has had a wide free distribution and is used as a source and reference book on tobacco growing and manufacture in many schools and colleges. Anyone may obtain a free copy by writing to Chesterfield, Box 21, New York, N. Y.

The first advertisement in the seires, appearing in this week's Journal and Guide, shows a picture of a group of Navy flyers a sthe mail is being distributed.

NOV 7 - 1942

One holds a carton of Chesterfields and the caption reads, "There's nothing like a letter from home or a carton of milder, better-tasting Chesterfields." Then the copy develops the pleasure theme.

Newport News, Va. Press
January 29, 1941

Negroes To Honor Manager Of Star

Blanche L. Johnson, Negro, former manager of the Newport News Star, purchased last October by the Norfolk Journal and Guide, will be honored at a testimonial meeting at 8 Friday night, Feb. 7, at the Wesley Grove Congregational Christian church on Nineteenth street.

The affair is being sponsored jointly by a group of representative Negro citizens, and The Journal and Guide and Newport News Star, in recognition of her contributions to the community and the race over a period of 40 years.

Speakers will include Mrs. C. P Hedric, Mrs. M. E. Melvin, Mrs. N B. Clark, Mrs. E. R. Peyton, Mrs. N. B. Taylor, Mrs. Jesse Hines, Dr. V. P. Dickerson, Attorney J. Thmoas Newsome, and Samuel A. Haynes, manager of the Guide-Star.

Musical numbers will be contributted by the Hampton institute singers, Huntington High school chorus, the Newport News Choral club, the Dabney Sisters, Isaiah F. Long, soloist, and the choir of Wesley Grove church.

Roanoke, Va. World-News
February 4, 1942

A PIE-EYED REPORTER

For misrepresentation of facts, the Washington correspondent of a London newspaper takes the whole cake. He was present when President Roosevelt addressed Congress the day after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and here is what he said took place:

"A great cry for vengeance went up in the tapestried chamber of the House of Representatives. Where I was standing, on the floor of the House, behind the back row of Congressmen, people clambered upon the rails and began shouting 'Death to the Japanese Devils'. . . Women were fainting in the gangways and falling on Congressmen. . . Onto the rostrum walked the President of the United States. . . Women flung their hats in the air."

Fictionalized reporting reaches a new high in this report. But the correspondent is not the only offender. There is the rumor-monger, especially busy at this time. The Christian Science Monitor reports a case:

"There have come to this office from two sources this week the query: 'Is Donald M. Nelson of the negro race? It says he is in the current Book of Knowledge.' Of course, it says nothing of the kind. The Book of Knowledge yearbook is alphabetical. N-e-l-s-o-n comes two names after N-e-g-r-o. The section on Negro Achievement has a two-column heading. Four pages later, at the end of that section, come the names of Rear Admiral Percy Walker N-e-l-les and Donald N-e-l-s-o-n. To the hasty reader, they might seem to be listed under Negro Achievement. Actually, they are simply in alphabetical order.

"Of such little things are big rumors made.

"Moral: Vigilance and common sense."

Richmond, Va. Times-Dispatch
May 16, 1942

The Negro Press

Editor of The Times-Dispatch,
Sir:

The Times-Dispatch is a fine newspaper. Your editorials give me food for much thought. Your columnists are men and a woman of high intelligence. I enjoy your Voice of the People because it shows me the opinion of people in varied walks of life. Allow me to commend you for your broadmindedness. I do not agree always with everything in your editorial columns. That is to be expected.

This writing is prompted by the letter of Wanza L. King, of Virginia State College. Mr. King is not cognizant of the fact that I spent a winter in Chicago and found there Negroes who did not know that there is such a newspaper as the Journal and Guide. I could secure the Afro-American and the Chicago Defender, but not the Guide. When I was asked why I insisted on having the Guide, my reply was that for clean news ably written, it was, in my estimation, one of the finest of Negro newspapers.

Mr. Pegler is not criticizing the Negro press. At least, I did not get that idea. However, he did criticize two Negro newspapers that many Negroes read. I know many intelligent Negroes who are not aware of the existence of The People's Voice, edited by Powell. These same people know of and often read the Courier and the Defender. Mr. Schuyler's ability is recognized as—witness the remark—"Take George Schuyler from the pages of the Courier, and there is nothing left."

I fail to find in Mr. King's letter any indictment of Pegler's article. King states that the two papers chosen are not representitive of the better Negro press of today. He further states that possibly the Afro-American is better written, edited, and made up than the two criticized by Pegler. All of this seems to me to be evidence in favor of Pegler's article rather than an indictment of it. My limited travel has found the Afro-American more widely known than any Negro periodical.

I agree with Mr. King in his statement that the Negro press is the guiding light in the Negro fight to obtain equality. Mr. Pegler's article is to me in agreement with that same statement. Mr. Pegler, Mr. King and I all want the Negro guided aright. He cannot be unless people like A. Clayton Powell, Mary McLeod Bethune and P. B. Young are allowed to reach the masses.

(Miss) GRAYCE L. SALLEY,
Charlotte C. H.

Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

JUN 27 1942

Journal and Guide

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JUN 27 1942

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SATURDAY, JUNE 27, 1942

Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

What An Editor Does In His Spare Time

SEP 5 1942

THE editor of a newspaper is usually a hard-worked man. Except on the big dailies, he has a lot to do besides write editorial copy, or supervise the same. On the small dailies, and on practically all of the weeklies his duties are many and varied.

When an editor of a Negro weekly, with several separate editions, becomes pretty well known, he is usually regarded as an encyclopedia, as well as a man who can get most anything done for his readers.

As an example we list below the number of requests that came to the editor-in-chief of the Journal and Guide on one working day recently. The list is typical of what happens almost every day. It follows:

Letter from a woman asking that we pray for her husband, who was seriously ill.

Letter from a mother in a distant city, who had lost track of a 20-year-old son, who, she had heard, was ill in a Norfolk hospital. She did not know which hospital. Wanted us to find him, attend to his needs and report to her. (We did.)

Inquiry from an out-of-state man who wanted information as to how to go about getting a certain university to confer an honorary degree upon him. (We advised him that to seek it was the surest way not to get it).

Inquiry from a youth who wanted to know how to enlist in the Navy under the new training program.

Inquiry from a young man who wanted to get a certain civil service job.

Interview with a young woman seeking a position in the service of the State.

Called on by a mechanic who had been referred to a defense job in Norfolk by a U. S. Employment office and had been refused work.

Request that we accept the chairmanship of a State-wide committee.

Request from an anonymous person that we investigate a certain State institution.

Request from a prison inmate that we serve as a parole sponsor for him.

Letter asking us to serve as a member of a Birth Control Committee.

Inquiry from an out-of-town man as to how to get employment as a plumber-steam fitter in Boston, Mass.

Day in and day out this train of extraneous matters complicates our day. Each interview, each request or inquiry requires time, tact, courtesy and consideration. Meanwhile, in between these things, this editor, who happens also to be publisher, is under the necessity of keeping his fingers on the pulse of six growing departments and two growing bureaus of a growing newspaper.

SEP 5 1942

So, those are some of the things a newspaper editor does in his spare time. But the job is not without its compensations. Sometimes these come in the form of a distraction that borders on the ridiculous at first thought, but which, upon reflection, affords an insight into the unfailing humor and good nature of people as a whole.

Last week, while we were engrossed in the task of running down and repudiating false rumors designed to precipitate interracial trouble; and while most of the important newspapers of the State were likewise absorbed—even to the extent of republishing our editorials and commenting upon them—and just as the Office of War Information in Washington had taken official notice of the whole matter, in came a letter from a prominent subscriber—a man who had received specialized college training plus about 10 years of experience in an important field—to say that he had noticed an omission of Donald Duck from our columns, and to inquire when Donald was to resume his customary place.

We think that is a good sign. Donald Duck has his part to play in this war. He is back on the job. When people don't miss him, things are really getting serious.

Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Guide Praised By OWI Head For Aid In Exposing Rumors

SEP 5 1942

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Journal and Guide of Norfolk was one of the four Southern newspapers highly commended this week by Elmer Davis, director of the Office of War Information, for investigating and exposing false undercover rumors of impending racial conflicts in southern communities.

SEP 5 1942

Mr. Davis' commendation was contained in a letter to P. B. Young, Sr., editor of the Journal and Guide in which he said:

SEP 5 1942

"I should like to commend as heartily as possible your recent editorial exposure of false and inflammatory rumors about the danger of racial conflicts. There is every reason to suppose that such stories are invented by the enemy for the deliberate purpose of provoking such troubles. To turn the light on these falsehoods is a patriotic service not only to your community, but to the unity of the nation."

Similar letters of commendation were sent to L. I. Jaffe, editor, The Virginian-Pilot, Norfolk, Va.; Jonathan Daniels, editor, The News and Observer, Raleigh, N. C.; and Virginius Dabney, editor, The Times-Dispatch, Richmond, Va.

Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Flippant "Time"

TIME Magazine came on the scene a few years ago as a type of weekly news-magazine that represented a great improvement over anything then in that field. As a result, **Time** grew and prospered greatly.

SEP 5 1942

While **Time**, as a news-digest, has many things to commend it, the weekly has convicted itself many times of intellectual dishonesty. It is afflicted with a form of flippancy unlike anything in the whole field of what is called journalism.

People, for one reason or another, like to read that which is bad about other people. All peoples, wherever their habitat, have a sadistic streak in them. They enjoy the sufferings of other human beings.

Time has amassed a great circulation on a theory somewhat like that. When it is not misrepresenting the President of the United States, or his wife, or some high Churchman or other prominent figure in public life, **Time** is picking on the hapless American Negro. Its most recent diversion has been a studied effort to smear the Negro press. To **Time**, all Negro newspapers, no matter what they stand for, where they are published, or how good a reputation they may sustain for constructive achievements in their field, are putrid, sordid, sensational sheets.

One of **Time's** latest diversions was its efforts to substantiate the fantastic rumor that Negro domestics were organizing "Eleanor Clubs", or "Daughters of Eleanor" clubs in the South. This rumor was intended of course to start race riots in the South. There never was a scintilla of truth in it.

But after the FBI, the OWI, numerous local Police Departments and a number of reputable Southern daily and weekly newspapers had investigated the rumor and had found that there was no truth in it—all of which was known to **Time**—the news-weekly came out with the following:

SEP 5 1942

> In the South colored folks began organizing themselves into Eleanor Clubs. One group of domestic servants banded themselves together as "Daughters of Eleanor."

The Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch appropriately characterized this act on the part of **Time**, as follows:

> That is a dangerous assertion, a reckless statement, and one which should not have been made by a reputable publication after similar charges had been made and exploded in the South—flatly denied by individuals and organizations occupying positions in which they were better equipped to know the truth than any others in the world. . . . it is not easy to understand what **Time** had in mind when it printed as an unquestioned fact what was nothing more than a false rumor.

To understand what **Time** had in mind one would have to know **Time**. One would have to understand the mental processes of a so-called news-weekly that has prospered by skillfully doing the wrong thing, when it would have been more decent to have done the right thing.

SEP 5 1942

48a-1942

Dothan, Ala. Eagle
August 7, 1942

WHITE WITH SECTION FOR NEGRO

The Viewpoint Of The Negro

Editor, The Eagle:

This letter is written solely in the interest of harmony, and to clear up some misunderstandings. I also want to set forth the viewpoint of the thinking Negro, who has lived here and gotten along with the people for years.

In the first place no Negro wants social equality. He would feel out of place and uncomfortable with it. When this particular thing is made an outstanding issue, we feel that someone is wasting a lot of breath on an imaginary evil. The desire for social equality just does not exist, and I know my people.

The underpaid, humble Negro has built the wealth of the South with his labor. Even in Dothan the Negroes do not have one decent school house in which to educate their children. Throughout the years there has never been a traitor or spy among the people of our race. Our loyalty has never been questioned. Today out of their meager earnings Negroes are investing in Defense Bonds to help America defeat the Axis. All they are asking in return is a little justice and fair play. The Negro doesn't want to see himself always used as the scapegoat for some politician to ride to glory.

We would like to have the cooperation of the best white people in helping us shape our destiny. We need sympathetic cooperation from the far-sighted, fair-minded white people in helping us to solve our problems.

Let us all work together in a spirit of harmony. This harmonious relationship has existed and must continue to exist. The things that have been talked about lately, and that are having a disturbing influence are non-existent so far as we are concerned. We look forward with hope for a better South for the white man and the Negro. In the meantime let us all work together to defeat our common enemy.

I am, respectfully yours,
DR. D. V. JEMISON, Jr.

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.

What Negroes Are Doing

AUG 30 1942

BY OSCAR W. ADAMS

The appointment of Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, head of the department of sociology of Howard University as resident fellow of the Library of Congress in American Negro Studies was announced last week by Dr. Archibald MacLeish, librarian.

AUG 30 1942

Dr. Frazier will begin his service at the library Sept. 1 and will continue as a resident fellow for the customary term of one year.

Widely known for his investigations into the sociology of the American Negro, Dr. Frazier is distinguished also as an educator and author. He received his doctorate at the University of Chicago in 1931 after earning his B.A. degree "cum laude" at Howard University in 1916 and his M.A. degree at Clark University, Worcester, Mass., in 1920.

He was director of the Atlanta School of Social Work from 1922-27 and professor of sociology at Fisk University from 1929-34. He has held his present post at Howard University since 1934.

Although he is the first Negro ever to be appointed to the consultant services of the Library of Congress, his new title of fellow will be no novelty for Dr. Frazier who has been so designated on three previous occasions. He held a research fellowship at the New York School of Social Work from 1920-21; was the fellow of the American Scandinavian Foundation to Denmark, studying at the University of Copenhagen, 1921-22, and from 1940-41 he was the fellow of the Guggenheim Foundation to Brazil and the West Indies.

As resident fellow of the Library of Congress, Dr. Frazier will prepare qualitative biographies in the field of American Negro studies.

* * *

Dean William Pickens has been appointed chief of the Negro organization section of the War Bond and Savings Stamp division, according to the Treasury Department. He was elevated from his former post of senior officer of the section.

Dean Pickens will be in charge of the program designated to stimulate interest among Negro groups and organizations in the phase of War Bonds and Stamps.

The noted author and lecturer will meet every Friday morning in the old Treasury Department Building with other chief officials. He is the only Negro official assigned to that duty.

Pickens is assisted in his work by Jesse O. Thomas, John Whitten and Mrs. Nell Hu[illegible]

AUG 30 1942

The advisory council of the American Federation of Negro College Students held its first open meeting last week at International House, Columbia University.

Organized in April, the student group has won the support and interest of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, NYA head, who are serving the organization as honorary chairmen and chairman, respectively, of its advisory council.

The purpose of the organization as stated by its advisory council is "to serve as a coordinate unit for the student councils of the various Negro colleges and universities and to coordinate the activity of Negro student organizations of the other colleges and universities of the country."

The new federation begins its activities with a pledge "to keep up the fight for democracy in every aspect of American life," and with the announced intention of selling, within the year, a million dollars worth of War Bonds and Stamps.

AUG 30 1942

After five years of continuous service in the Department of Justice, Washington, D. C., William L. Houston, a special assistant to the attorney general, will retire voluntarily Monday under the recently liberalized retirement law. He has to his credit a total of nearly 24 years of government service. He was formerly a clerk in the records and pensions division of the adjutant general's office of the War Department.

He will return to the practice of law with his firm.

Atlanta Ga. Journal
November 15, 1942

News of Atlanta's Negro Community

By WILLIAM Y. BELL JR.

Marked by a spirit, organization and teamwork unequaled by previous campaigns, the Unclassified Negro Gifts Division of the 1943 Community Fund Campaign brought its drive to a close this week $2,000 over its quota to register a new high of $9,408.78, with late reports continuing to trickle in.

Negro public schoolteachers raised $2,082.75 to lead the groups reporting with Mrs. M. Agnes Jones, captain, receiving splendid co-operation from her workers stationed in the various schools.

The insurance section, headed by Mrs. C. M. Pitts and T. M. Alexander, raised $1,643, of which more than $1,000 was in cash donations. Large returns from the Atlanta Life Insurance Company helped to swell the report of the section.

House Division Lauded

The house-to-house division, headed by R. A. Thompson, was third, with cash and pledges amounting to $1,077.70. A new feature this year, the house-to-house campaign was looked upon doubtfully by many who feared that it would be able to raise little money since so many of its districts were in poverty-stricken slum areas. After the returns were in, however, veteran campaigners agreed that the workers in the house-to-house drive had had relatively the greatest success of all the divisions in spite of the hardest work.

Worker after worker reported receiving sums as low as 2, 3 and 5 cents from households which were so impoverished that they could give no more, but which wanted to do "their part." These humble families combined to raise an amount greater than that of any other section, with the exception of the insurance companies and public schools.

Colleges Approach $1,000

Professor J. P. Whittaker, captain of the college section, reported that many college teachers were doubling their pledges of last year and that he had collected $964.68 to date. With one college yet to report, it is expected that the colleges will easily exceed the thousand-dollar mark.

A small but efficient corps of workers led by R. C. Eberhardt canvassed miscellaneous businesses to the tune of $501, half of which was in cash.

Beverage, eating and lodging establishments reached by W. J. Shaw and his workers after much effort raised $382.80. Most of these businesses have never been reached before.

Mrs. G. T. Hamilton and Mrs. J. L. Wheeler, cochairmen of the clubs and societies section, turned in $368.05 for this group, most of the amount being in cash.

Social Workers Help

Showing that the social workers employed by Community Fund agencies fully realize the importance of the drive and are prepared to shoulder their part of the burden, the social agencies section headed by W. A. Cochrane reported a total of $304.20.

Taxicab companies and the Bailey Theater chain were responsible for most of the $275 turned in by Colonel A. T. Walden as head of the transportation section.

The beauty parlors, laundries and other service shops solicited by Mrs. B. E. Mays and a corps of 20 workers were not far behind, raising a total of $274.45. This group had the highest proportion of cash pledges, all but $41 being in cash contributions.

With several labor unions yet to be heard from, H. A. Sayles said that the labor union section has turned in $249 to date, but expects to exceed this by at least $100 when the final check-up is made.

Housing projects reported a total of $248.86 to H. Minort Jackson, section chairman.

$200 From Doctors

Doctors and dentists turned over $200 to Dr. R. B. Jackson as their part in the drive.

Contractors and laboring groups not reached through labor unions contributed $196 through Mrs. C. M. Pearson, section chairman. Part of this represented money raised through a benefit kiddie show held at the Bailey Royal Theater and sponsored by Charles Kirkland.

The city's undertakers contributed $158.74 through S. G. Sellers, followed closely by the retail stores section headed by J. R. Henderson, which brought in a total of $152.95.

Outlying districts in Atlanta, Fulton County and DeKalb County, which had never been reached by the Community Fund appeal, responded this time with $115.60, much of the credit for this showing going to Otis McCrea, section chairman.

Ministers Raise $208

A. M. E. ministers solicited by the Rev. R. T. Bussey raised $112; Baptist ministers reached by the Rev. W. H. Borders gave $48.50 and ministers of other denominations contacted by the Rev. J. C. Wright contributed $48, making a total of $208.50 from all ministers.

Service stations contributed $5

J. H. Calhoun Jr., chairman of the division, announced that he was extremely pleased that the public had responded so admirably to the need for funds with which to carry on needed welfare work. He said, however, that he hopes to reach $10,000 by the time the last reports trickle through.

The Unclassified Negro Gifts Division covers only those Negroes who are not reached by the regular divisions of the Community Fund. Thousands of other Atlanta Negroes give through the firms where they are employed.

Southernaires Please Many

Few seats were left in the City Auditorium last Monday night when the Southernaires, radio popular Sunday morning quartet, appeared to present a well-re ceived program of religious and secular favorites.

The first group of songs consisted of Coleridge-Taylor's "Hia watha's Wedding Feast;" Logan's "Lift Thine Eye, and two tradi-

Sun- group were especially well re- ceived by the audience: Nevins' "Sinner, Please Don't Cry"; the tradi- tional religious numbers, "Were You There" and "Do You Love the Lord"; popularized arrangements by Blake, and "We Are Americans Too", a racio-patriotic "Southernaires" returned to the Americans Too", a racio-patriotic "The Southernaires" returned to "Mighty Lak' a Rose"; the tradi- tional "Work Song" popularized by Rubens, and "I love the Moon" by Rubens, and "The Rosary." After a prolonged intermission, Home Again, The encore, "Li'l Liz', I Love You," was roundly applauded by the audience. A scene from the "Weather Beaten Whitewashed Church" closed the concert.

Dedicate Number

"I'll Take You Home Again, Kathleen" was sung as an encore.

The three songs of the fourth group and was by Blake, sing Dvorak's "Songs My Mother Taught Me," "I love the Moon" by Rubens, and "The Rosary." by Spencer Odom at the piano Cooke and Razaf.

Atlanta, Ga. Journal
September 20, 1942

News of Atlanta's Negro Community

By WILLIAM Y. BELL JR.

With two new faculty additions, Gammon Theological Seminary begins its sixtieth year of service Tuesday, September 22. It will be the eleventh year of the school under the administration of President Willis J. King. The first chapel service will be held Wednesday morning at 11:30. A get-acquainted social has been arranged for Wednesday night at 8:30. Classes will begin Thursday morning.

Miss Mary DeBardeleben has been added to the faculty as professor of religious education and head of the woman's department. She received her A. B. degree from the University of Alabama and Columbia University's Teachers' College. She secured her M. A. degree from Peabody College and has done graduate study in Boston and Chicago Universities. She comes to Gammon from the School of Religion of the University of Oklahoma.

Lecturer Added

Professor A. W. Loos will become a special lecturer in the department of Christian doctrine. Professor Loos received his academic training at Carleton College and Andover Newton Theological School. He was awarded the Ph. D. degree from the University of Edinburgh. At present, he is professor of philosophy at Spelman College.

According to President King, there have been a number of physical improvements in the buildings despite the war and the difficulty of securing materials. In addition to several items of new equipment, the seminary refectory has been redecorated.

Gammon looks forward to a successful year in its work of training ministers and laymen for Christian work and scholarship.

Expanded "Y" Program

The organization of a new program to affect young men between the ages of 17 and 24, and the reorganization of its boys' department were recently announced by the Butler Street Y. M. C. A. as parts of its program to expand the services offered the community.

A program of physical and health education is contemplated to supplement the social activities being arranged for young men. Included in the list of activities will be clubs, classes and special interest groups such as photography, radio, etc.

In the physical department, special leagues are being worked out for basketball and volleyball, and an attempt will be made to interest as many young men as possible in this program.

The young men's program will include religious, social and vocational activities, including the beginning of a vocational guidance department, which will handle personal, vocational and educational problems. A special clubroom for young men will be fitted up soon.

Staff Addition

John Elbert Bowen Jr., a native of Atlanta, has joined the staff as membership-program secretary. He succeeds James G. Dashiell, who recently resigned to become membership secretary of the Baltimore Y. M. C. A.

A graduate of Howard University with graduate work at Hampton and Atlanta Universities, Bowen was director of education for CCC camps in North Carolina from 1934 to 1942. He has also directed community singing and counselled in dramatics and music.

A member of Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Bowen is also a member of the American Association for Adult Education, the American Library Association, and the executive board of the Conference on Adult Education and the Negro. He will work primarily with young men in the 17-to-24-year-age bracket.

Committees Working

A special committee chaired by J. H. Calhoun has been busy for the past several weeks working out membership reorganization which will cover the participation of all members in the association program.

Dr. W. N. Harper is chairman of the committee on young men's work; the Rev. John C. Wright is chairman of the religious and educational committee; Lucius Jones chairs the physical department committee; and W. L. Calloway is general chairman of the co-ordinated program committee.

T. M. Alexander, chairman of the board of management, is ex-officio a member of all committees.

Outstanding A. U. Grads: V

Walter White, class of 1916, was the fourth Georgian to be chosen in the first five outstanding Atlanta University graduates, according to a recent alumni poll. He was the only Atlantian to win a place in the list of A. U.'s ten most outstanding alumni.

Born in Atlanta on July 1, 1893, Mr. White has been secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People since March, 1931. Before that, he was a delegate to the second Pan-American Congress in 1921.

He has held several high posts in state and federal affairs. He was appointed by President Roosevelt as a member of the Advisory Council for Government of the Virgin Islands and has served as a member of the American Committee on Economic Policy.

He has been a member of the board of visitors of the New York State Training School for Boys and a member of the governor's commission on constitutional convention in New York in 1938.

He is the author of "Fire in the Flint," "Flight" and "Rope and Faggot." Mr. White was the 1927-28 Fellow of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation for Creative Writing. He has also been awarded the Spingarn Medal for distinguished service to the cause of the American Negro.

WHITE WITH SECTION FOR NEGROES

48a-1942

Birmingham Ala News
March 15, 1942

What Negroes Are Doing

BY OSCAR W. ADAMS

The Negro people of Birmingham and Jefferson County demonstrated last Tuesday their interest in the building of a 100-bed hospital and equipping it at an approximate cost of $300,000.

The meeting was held at the A. H. Parker High School and music was furnished by the high school choir. A unanimous vote was passed endorsing the plan for the hospital under the direction of the local committee.

Vice Chairman Charles J. Greene called the meeting to order and introduced A. G. Gaston, chairman, who presided.

The chairman set out the needs of a hospital for the Negro people of Birmingham and Jefferson County, and why the Negro people had become so determined for such relief.

The Rev. J. L. Fitzpatrick, of the Baptist Ministers Conference, offered the opening prayer.

Among the speakers were Bishop B. G. Shaw, of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; J. Q. Johnson, representing labor unions; Dr. H. H. Brewer, Dr. Walter L. Brown and Dr. P. S. Moten, Mrs. A. W. Plump, Mrs. C. A. Adams, Charles J. Green, and the Rev. Amos H. Carnegie, founder and executive secretary of the National Association for the Hospitalization of Negroes.

In his remarks, the latter expressed his interest in the movement and endeavored to make clear that the whole program for a hospital for Negroes of Birmingham is in the hands of local Negroes and they are seeking the cooperation of the people of all races and all agencies interested in human kind. He paid a tribute to the newspapers, daily and weekly, and expressed thanks for the encouragement given by the Board of Education.

Men and women pledged more than $1,000 to the cause, and volunteered their services to get on the field and see that the funds are raised and the hospital built.

* * *

NEGRO TALENT IN the creative arts will be depicted in the seventh broadcast in the "Freedom's People" series scheduled on the NBC (Red) network from 12:30 to 1 p.m. Sunday.

This broadcast, next to the last in the series, will portray in the lives and work of outstanding Negro writers, artists and musicians.

One is Paul Laurence Dunbar, protege of James Whitcomb Riley, and William Dean Howells. Although Dunbar was only 34 when he died in 1906, his Negro dialect poems and other writings have made him one of America's highly regarded poets.

Another is Henry Ossawa Tanner, whose study of art on two continents enabled him to express religious themes on canvas in such noted paintings as "The Annunciation," "Sodom and Gomorrah," and "The Raising of Lazarus."

The field of American music is studded with Negro names. High in the roster is Harry T. Burleigh, singer and composer, who in 48 years as soloist at St. George's Episcopal Church in New York has not once missed a service. One of his compositions will be sung by the A. and T. College chorus, of Greensboro, N. C.

Lawrence L. Whisonant, 26-year-old baritone just achieving prominence in radio and concert stage, will sing Langston Hughes' poem, "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," set to music by Margaret Bond.

Hazel Harrison, outstanding Negro pianist will play a composition by R. Nathaniel Dett.

Many other Negro personalities in the creative arts will be mentioned in the broadcast, among them, W. E. B. DuBois, Richard Wright, James Weldon Johnson, and Phillis Wheatley.

* * *

MRS. SALLIE M. ANDERSON, secretary of the Alabama Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, has announced the official program for the 28th annual session of the Alabama branch of the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, to be held in Montgomery at the State Teachers College, Mar. 24th and 25th.

The meeting will open at 9 a.m. in Tullibody Auditorium with the president, Mrs. Odessa McKinney, presiding.

The theme for the meeting is "The Parent-Teachers Association and National Victory."

The association is expected to be largely attended, with representatives from every county in the state, and many visitors. The speakers include many experts in the field of education and health.

* * *

REV. WILLIAM L. CASH, JR., pastor of St. Paul Congregational Church of New Iberia, Louisiana, and director of the Larger Parish program at St. Mary's Congregational Church, Abbeville, Louisiana, has been appointed a chaplain of the U. S. Army and stationed at Fort Lepnard Wood, Missouri. Rev. Cash is a graduate of Fisk University and the graduate school of theology of Oberlin College. He is the son of the Reverend and Mrs. William L. Cash, Sr., pastor of the First Congregational-Christian Church of Birmingham, Ala.

* * *

ON FRIDAY NIGHT, MAR. 20, at 8 o'clock, the Women's Missionary Society of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church will present the A. and M. Institute Choir, in the auditorium of 16th Street Baptist Church.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Daily Times
May 11, 1942

Activities Among Negroes

BY JASPER T. DUNCAN
LLOYD

War news of special interest to Negroes is found in the statement by Walter D. Parks and Booker T. Scruggs that eight Chattanooga Negroes volunteered for the overseas ammunition regiment of Negroes recruited from all over the state.

The men are trained in auto mechanics and will receive other training for overseas duty at Monroe, N. C.

John L. Pitts, Jr., former secretary of the James A. Henry branch Young Men's Christian association, volunteered for special duty in recreation work and has received a tentative assignment to Keesler Field, Biloxi, Miss.

Corpl. Emmett L. Lloyd, of the Sixty-sixth coast artillery, has been cited for promotion to sergeant according to word received here from his parents. A letter from Capt. Arthur D. Williams, chaplain, to his mother, Mrs. Maybell Lloyd, states "he is not only in the first anti-aircraft organization of his race to be activated by the war department, but he is also in the regiment which represents the highest form of land military operations.



Emmett L. Lloyd

Corpl. Lloyd is a graduate of Howard High school and was a student of law in Detroit when inducted into the service.

Corpl. Ellis Mason, lanyard in the Ninety-ninth pursuit squadron aviation corps, Tuskegee, is here for a visit with his sister, Mrs. Annie Barkley, and his aunt, Mrs. Nettie Jane Teal.

Churches were crowded yesterday morning with soldiers from Camp Forrest, here for the week-end. Special Mother's day sermons were heard by most congregations.

Conference to Convene

The south area district conference of the African Methodist Episcopal church will convene May 14, 15, 16, 17 at the Methodist church in Tullahoma, where the Rev. DeForrest Jones is pastor. The Rev. G. M. Fleming, presiding elder, will be in charge.

Legion Activities

The Givens-Freeman-Davis Post 171, American Legion, will conduct a flag-raising ceremony at the colored school, Chickamauga, next Sunday at 2:30 p.m.

Monday night the legion will be hosts to a boat ride on the steamer Idlewild. They are selling tickets for this event.

To Play Ball

The Junior Elks of Armistice Lodge 440, Improved Benevolent Protective Order of the World, have organized a softball team, and joined the Lincoln Community Center league.

They were organized several months ago under the direction of Sam Hurt, John McDonald and Robert Elliott and have the following officers: Clyde Criner, ruler; Charles Jones, Jr., leading knight; Cecil Vance, loyal knight; Charles Drake, lecturing knight; C. W. Noble, secretary; B. F. McDonald, treasurer, and Frank Smith, esquire.

On Radio Program

The Rev. William O. Jones, pastor of Prospect Baptist church, Dodson avenue and Citico street, now on leave in the army as chaplain, will speak next Sunday morning on the "Wings Over Jordan" program, a national hook-up.

The address will be delivered from the recreation room at Columbus, Ga. Lieut. Jones is stationed at Camp Benning.

Registers 1-Day-Old

After Mrs. Maggie Smith, Joseph E. Smith Elementary schoolteacher, had registered Troy and Mary Willis, the couple said they wanted to register "her."

"Her," was a tiny 1-day-old baby who didn't have a name. "But she must have a name," the teacher explained. "Well, you name her," and the tired registrar said, "all right, she is Yvonne." a sure enough sugar baby.

Close Drive

Local Negro insurance companies closed their week's drive as a part of the nation-wide Na-

tional Negro Insurance week, with the largest production and collections in the history of the city, according to F. S. Mitchell, chairman of the association.

H. A. Gilliam, manager of the Universal Life Insurance company here for the past year, was transferred to Nashville in the middle of the week. C. H. Walton, former assistant manager of the Nashville district, succeeded him here.

Naval Relief Dance

Tickets are selling rapidly for the naval relief dance to be sponsored by the Vagabond club on Thursday night, at the Wigwam club. All net proceeds go to the navy relief fund.

Teacher Speaks

On the all-women's program in honor of Mother's day at Wiley Memorial Methodist church yesterday, Mrs. Dorwatha Watkins Jackson was the principal speaker. She is a teacher at Howard High school, and a leader in civic affairs locally.

"Wings Over Dixie"

The "Wings Over Dixie," colored women spiritual singers, will head a group of other organizations in a testimonial musicale in honor of the Rev. W. L. Holloway, pastor of St. John Baptist church, and former president of the Baptist Ministers' union, at the church next Sunday afternoon.

The Five Soul Stirrers, Community Radio chorus, Golden Eagles, Vocal Note singers and the Crutcher Four will also participate in the music festival.

Auxiliary Policemen

Negro auxiliary policemen in training under Chief of Police Homer D. Edmonson, will meet tomorrow at 7:15 p.m. in Judge Fleming's courtroom.

The chief is anxious for a full attendance, as he intends to have the group elect officers. This will also be the last meeting of the "Tuesday group" before the blackout Friday night.

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.

What Negroes Are Doing

By OSCAR W. ADAMS

"Henry Ford comes nearest to Booker T. Washington than any man I have ever met," was the tribute paid the industrial magnate by Dr. George Washington Carver in an interview with John R. Williams of The Pittsburgh Courier last week.

"Somehow or other," Dr. Carver continued, "Mr. Ford and I usually have the same appreciations of values just as was true of Booker T. Washington and myself."

The eminent scientist who gave a lifetime service to the South through his creative genius at the Tuskegee Institute laboratories, revealed his formula for making rubber to a distinguished audience as Mr. Ford stood at his side. Dr. Carver expects to revolutionize the rubber industry under the sponsorship of the Ford Motor Company.

"There are dozens of plants that grow here in this country that contain rubber," declared Dr. Carver, "but I prefer the sweet potato, milkweed and dandelion and in my experiment for producing synthetic rubber."

"Whenever we can produce what the world wants done we will be accepted," said the Tuskegee wizard.

"From new use of common things all about us, heretofore looked upon as worthless, new industries will arise. The whole world has its own native vegetables that can and should be used. Nature has provided for us much more than man has ever appreciated and used. Drugs that many of us considered could only be found in foreign countries can be made right here in America. Yes, we have everything we need in these United States to free America of foreign dependence for vital products."

Taking time out to enter Westbrook Pegler's favorable article on the Negro in the Congressional Record, Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell, on Tuesday declared that the average Southern white man knows nothing about the Negro despite protestations to the contrary.

Said the congressman: "Since I have been a member of Congress I have been approached by hundreds of outstanding men and women of the South, practically everyone of whom professes to know the Negro of the South. I have had leaders of the white race even argue with me that they know the Negro better than I do. Is this true? My answer is emphatically no! White people, especially of the South, have made no particular effort to know the Negro in his higher aspirations and home life.

"How many outstanding white leaders have ever spent as long as five minutes in a respectable Negro home? How many of them have ever visited the Negro churches and Negro schools? How many of them have engaged thinking Negroes in earnest conversation in an effort to become acquainted with the Negro in his higher aspirations and real life?

"Of course they know the Negro who frequents the police courts. They know the Negro who works in their kitchen and does the menial work around their homes, but do they know Negro lawyers, Negro physicians, Negro business men, Negro editors, Negro college presidents, Negro teachers and social leaders, Negro ministers of the higher type? They do not, and they make no serious effort to know them."

* * *

Each of the 1,200 Negro sailors at Camp Morrow in the Great Lakes Naval Training Station is a top-notch tar, according to Lt. Comdr. Daniel W. Armstrong.

Great Lakes is preparing for the first graduation of trainees since naval recruiting was extended to Negroes on June 5. Some of the graduates will be sent to sea with battleships, others will be assigned to Hampton Institute, Virginia, for special training.

The Negro sailors built their own obstacle course under supervision of Comdr. Armstrong. One of the obstacles is a ditch 20 feet wide into which the sailors jump, then climb out. One fully dressed enlistee ran to the brink and leaped across. "I thought I was supposed to jump across, so I did it," he said to his superior officer.

"With that spirit," said Comdr. Armstrong, "these men can't help but be good sailors."

Lt. Comdr. Armstrong is the son of the late Gen. Armstrong, who founded Hampton Institute.

* * *

The Grand Lodge of Masons of Alabama recently closed in the city of Mobile, re-elected the entire official staff for the year. The officers, both elective and appointive, are:

Charles V. Hendley, of Huntsville, grand master; Lige A. Wilson, of Snow Hill, deputy grand master; A. P. Mack, Tuskegee Institute, senior warden; J. Q. Pinckney, Mobile, junior warden; H. C. Ball, Montgomery, grand secretary; A. H. Williams, Union Springs, grand treasurer; Fred C. Jenkins, of Birmingham, endowment secretary; Dr. E. T. Belsaw, Mobile, endowment treasurer; Dr. A. B. McKenzie, Tuscaloosa, medical registrar; H. C. Trenholm, Montgomery; Dr. A. W. West, Montgomery and Dr. H. C. Fearn, of Huntsville, trustees; E. D. Womack, grand chaplain; J. C. Collier, Mobile, grand orator; J. S. Comer, Eufaula, grand marshal; W. L. Harris, Montgomery, standard bearer; A. G. Elmore and Matthews, sword bearers; J. H. Kirkland, Birmingham, senior deacon; W. E. Patton, Meridianville, junior deacon; W. L. Johnson, Salem, senior steward; Britton Drake, Auburn, junior steward; D. C. Jackson, Mobile, grand pursuvant, and R. A. Ross, of Montgomery, grand tyler.

* * *

On Sunday, Aug. 2, Dr. D. F. Thompson, pastor of Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, will use as the theme of his messages for the day, "'Victory Through Prayer." A welcome is extended the public. The singing by the church choir and the congregation under direction of W. W. Whetstone is always a feature.

* * *

On Wednesday, July 22, Camp Margaret Murray Washington celebrated its 16th anniversary, and Mrs. Pauline Bray Fletcher, founder and director, was highly honored.

Mrs. Isabella Miles reviewed the history of the camp. Other speakers were the Revs. A. J. Hicks and S. J. Mashaw, of Ensley; the Revs. J. A. Hunter and W. E. Jenkins, of Birmingham, and the Rev. A. D. Williams, of Fairfield.

* * *

Phi Delta Kappa, honorary educational fraternity, erased its previously sharp color line restricting membership to white males, and on July 15 at the University of Minnesota, Eta Chapter, admitted two outstanding Negro educators at an initiation ceremony, held at the home of Dr. Tracey Tyler, chapter sponsor.

The original neophytes are James A. Espy, principal of the Euclid High School, DeLand, Fla., majoring in secondary school administration, and M. S. Woolfolk, doctorate candidate from St. Louis, Mo., instructor at Alabama State Teachers College, and specializing in educational psychology.

* * *

"Too many Negroes know too little about the functions of many of the war emergency governmental agencies," said Dr. C. E. Walker, of Memphis, president of the National Negro Business League, in commenting upon the program of the forthcoming convention of the league in Chicago, Aug. 26-28.

48b-1942
Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

THE NEED FOR CHANGING

By JOHN McCRAY

Let's Keep The Faith

RECENTLY they beat and kicked Roalnd Hayes at Rome, Georgia down here in the deep South. I hated to hear that because Hayes' melodious voice has thrilled me and thousands of others so many times. Mr. Hayes is a part of my race, a part of me. And I love myself. I love the deep South. Here, I was born and reared. Here, I expect to live the rest of my life.



Then they strung and lynched 25-year-old Willie Vinson at Texarkana, Texas. I hated that. Vinson was a part of me. He belong to our poor, hardworking underprivileged people whose labor has enriched this deep South. He was young; I am young. He was ambitious; I have ambition. They killed a part of me when they killed Vinson. And I hate it. I hate to know that in this deep South there are people who don't have faith, nor trust in the laws they, themselves, have made. For four weeks now the government in Washington has been trying eight admitted Nazi spies landed on these shores. Most of us say they should have been taken out and shot down without a chance. But this nation doesn't do things that way. Vinson had not admitted guilt. He was only suspected. He had not the chance, not even the animal's chance. Why must my South rebel against its own laws? Why can it not be fairer? Why can it not give me and my people a better chance?

Thursday Governor Dixon of Alabama let loose a tirade against me and my people, of greater denunciation for our not being white than Hitler has conceived. My people and I are "contagious," dangerous to have around. He rebelled against federal demands for "no discrimination" and gave us the devil who have never harmed him. It hurt my pride to see this kind of thing in my South. Yes, for the South in whose defense my blood is running now; for Governor Dixon and his white supporters in Alabama who are taxing my blood on the far-flung battlefields in the second fight to "make the world safe for democracy."

I know how you people who read this column week in and week out must feel. I believe most of you feel as I do about having this great nation of ours the ideal place for all people without regard to race, color or creed. Sometime we feel that we might as well give up, or runaway or forget it all, or take drastic measures and annihilate these rebels and devils so near us. Yes, we feel like a motherless child, like a people from whom God has turned his back, sometime. But let's keep the faith. Paul, the Apostle, said to Peter: "Resist him and be strong in the faith, for you know that your brotherhood all over the world is having the same experience of suffering."

In spite of these suffering and humiliations let us still go on and fight for a decent world in which to live. Let's fight the war abroad; let's sacrifice at home: let's still believe in the future and those true friends the under privileged have. If we do these things and keep the faith, I tell you as Kipling would say, eventually, "you'll be a man, my son."

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

THE NEGRO PRESS AND THE WAR

In the welter of confusion incidental to the adjustment of our social perspective to the democratic requirements of an all out war, the Negro press is today bearing the brunt of misguided criticism. Much of this criticism emanates from quarters that heretofore had either discounted the influence of the Negro press or looked upon it as a channel for the release of pent-up infantile emotion.

The motive for the recurrent blasting springs not from patriotic desire to preserve the unity of the people, nor does it spring from a consciousness of th complexity of the task of smashing the enemy of democracy, but rather from a studied design to intimidate Negro editors and counteract their militancy by ascribing unpatriotic and subversive character to their outcry for unabridged citizenship and unqualified democracy.

They would want us to be uncritical of the myriad sins of omission and commission inspired against our people; they would want us to accept, without reservation, the formulation of any policy of the various federal agencies, however incompatible that policy might be with democratic practices and teachings. They say, we are taking undue advantage of this war emergency to push forward to demands of our people.

We say, if this is an emergency, and everybody admits that it is, why is America unwilling to abandon the arrant policy of racial separation, especially when so much emphasis is placed upon national unity. We say, further, to win this war, America needs the unstinted support of all her citizens. We contend that it is deceitful and wholly inconsistent with the professed aims of democracy to fight a peoples' war while pursuing Fascist tactics at home. We believe that the Negro should and must rally to the cause of the National Government in this crisis. But, we also believe that America should not take advantage of the emergency to silence the righteous aspirations of her loyal black citizens.

The National Government has an inescapable obligation to discharge toward us. We therefore, feel it our sacred duty to remind her of the need for the fulfillment of her obligation, however pressing and critical may be the emergency. This, we argue, is the best way to hasten the requisite unity of the people and speed up the spiritual and moral mobilization of the masses, without which, there can be no immediate prospect of a complete Democratic victory.

We are not asking for special privileges, nor are we articulating any demand that is not of the essence of our Constitutional guarantees. If we insist upon our rights, here and now, it is because we love America so much that we should loathe to see her lose, under the impact of Fascist forces, her identity as a stronghold of the Democracies. We are, therefore, far more patriotic than the irresponsible, blatant critics who would suppress our pleas for Democracy.

The position of the Negro press on the issues before the country today has been sound, logical and consistent. No matter what the criticisms may be, and from whence they come, we will not be silenced by clandestine threats.

Negro & the War
Chicago Defender

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Pursuit Of Democracy

THE NEGRO'S HEROIC PATIENCE MUST END; NOW IS THE TIME FOR MASS ACTION AND BLOODLESS REVOLT

BY MARJORIE McKENZIE

LAST week we discussed the major problem of cooperation by Negro organizations as a question of ideology and technique. We suggested that the efforts of the Negro to progress by means of the measured pace of social evolution appear to have collapsed. We stated further that the Negro must see in clear historical perspective, that freedom has been wrested by force from the oppressor by all enslaved people; in brief, that it has been acquired by the process of social revolution. This discussion, seeking to resolve the differences in the programs of the NAACP and the March on Washington committees, was not intended as an advocacy of revolution, for the reason that revolution does not stem from academic talk about it; such a course of action must be decided upon by the people themselves at whatever point their tolerance of slavery ceases.



M. McKenzie

TOLERANCE BORN OF IGNORANCE

The tolerance of the ordinary Negro for his "sub-human, sub-American" status, to borrow the labels of Westbrook Pegler, has been founded in ignorance and optimism, both of which have been slyly cultivated in him by the white man. The Negro has not revolted in any significant numbers or manner since the Civil War, because he has been taught to believe that things were "getting better."

LIVING in some rickety shack in the sharecropper South or in a hovel in urban ghettoes, he has endured a half-starved, half-clothed existence, riddled with disease—and optimism. A complimentary element of this psychology has been to divide and conquer the leadership by keeping it hopeful. A concession here and there, sinecures for the chosen few, a seeming wedge in some formerly impregnable barrier, segregation that not only is not painless, but comfortable, and the forward march of the Negro has been held in check.

GOVERNORS JOIN MARK ETHERIDGE

Apparently, however, there are some white men of influence who think even this mild appeasement of the leadership is going too far. Negro leaders, quick to deify any white self-styled liberal who professes an interest in race relations, were shocked by the statement of Mark Etheridge that the combined armies of the world could not make the South alter the miserable facts of racial segregation. Adding their voices to that of Etheridge in defense of segregation, the governors of Alabama and Georgia spoke as revealing last week.

GOV. DIXON of Alabama, in refusing to sign a contract with the Defense Supplies Corporation for nearly 2,000,000 yards of cloth to be made by State convicts, said that the non-discrimination clause in the contract would cause CoFEPC to descend on Alabama and demand both responsible jobs and a proportionate share of them for Negroes. He added: "I will not permit the employes of the State to be placed in a position where they must abandon the principle of segregation or lose their jobs."

THE HOUR FOR LEADERSHIP

Gov. Dixon prefers to have the citizens of Alabama starve if they must, while the rest of America grows fat, as long as they remain pure from the pollution of working beside their black brothers. Gov. Talmadge of Georgia was briefer and more vicious. Negroes who don't like the State's segregation laws can "stay out of Georgia."

ETHERIDGE and Dixon and Talmadge have made bad slips, for they have revealed to the Negro the futility of hoping any longer to gain freedom by requesting it in small dosages at opportune times. Neither the leaders nor the people should be confused when the issue thus has been drawn so clearly and the ideology of the South thus is unmasked. For this is the seed time of history when our Negro leaders must cast from them the bitter fruits of appeasement and go to the people. This is the hour when Negro leadership should be planting in the minds of the people the will to possess the true substance of democracy in lieu of random examples of its outward forms.

THE NEGRO'S FINEST HOUR

Secretary of State Hull, addressing the world last Thursday in a speech translated into 11 languages, proclaimed that Americans "have always believed * * * that all peoples, without distinction of race, color, or religion, who are prepared and willing to accept the responsibilities of liberty, are entitled to its enjoyment." This was only one of many brave lines in a speech that is the living document of the higher humanity being forged on the battle fields of Russia, China and Egypt. Does Secretary Hull mean this? If so, who is running this country? Is it the despotic Governors Dixon and Talmadge, who openly defy the Federal Government?

BY now it should be clear that for the Negro, conferencing behind closed doors, petitioning and displaying heroic patience in the long pull of advance by evolution are no good. The open desecration of reason on the problems of race relations in America leave the Negro with no alternative but mass action and revolt. This does not mean rioting, violence and bloodshed. It does mean severing allegiance from the old leadership and the old forms, which accept the fact of segregation. It does mean that the Negro must solidly identify himself with the bloodless revolution of reconstruction which the embattled defenders of democracy, East and West, contemplate as the solemn task of the post-war world. This may be, if the people and their leaders can understand the techniques of this bloodless revolution, the Negro's finest hour, just as it is mankind's finest hour.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

Rogers Says:-

PEGLER SUPPORTS NEGRO'S FIGHT FOR RIGHTS; LISTS JEWISH CHAMPIONS OF JUSTICE FOR RACE

BY J. A. ROGERS

TO DISCUSS a few items that have come to my mind in the past week.

DR. GEORGE W. CARVER. I had long been wondering why I hadn't heard his name in all this talk about artificial rubber. He is a pioneer in the field. In 1926, while on a visit to Tuskegee, I had the great honor of being shown through his laboratory by Dr. Carver and among his many products he showed me artificial rubber.

It looked like the regular rubber, and was as resilient. But truth to tell, I didn't think much of the experiment, then. Rubber was very cheap . . . and in the back of my mind was how, in the West Indies, I saw boys "bleeding" rubber creepers to make balls. Except for them no one placed any value on it. But Dr. Carver's artificial rubber at that early date only proved his wonderful foresight. Now the Wizard of Tuskegee is to make rubber for Henry Ford.



Mr. Rogers

PEGLER SEES THE LIGHT

WESTBROOK PEGLER. I said a few weeks' ago that as far as this column was concerned, it was off him for life. However the Good Book says something about there being more rejoicing over one sinner that returneth than a thousand saints already in heaven. In any case, Pegler last week came out an as neat a blast against the treatment suffered by the Negro as I have ever read. What's more, he admitted handsomely, and like a man, that there was a lot he didn't know and that the walloping he received for his attacks on the Negro press made him see the light. "I am glad I provoked the subject" he said, because the experience has made me realize what awful conditions our indifference has put upon these fellow Americans. If I were a Negro I would be in constant fury . . ."

WELL, this column, and its readers, I feel, are not only willing to let bygones be bygones, but gladly welcome Pegler into the fight.

HOW CAN WE UNITE?

MICHAEL CARTER. Mr. Carter in an Eastern newspaper, July 18, reports an interview with Mrs. Roosevelt, in which he asked the question: "Should the colored man take advantage of the present crisis to further his own ends?" Such a question I can't understand. There are many groups and individuals now using the war to further their own ends—certain manufacturers, labor leaders, politicians, and others—but so far as I can see, the Negro is not one of them. He is still fighting to get a job in the war industries. The question I should have asked Mrs. Roosevelt, since she knows more about her side of the fence than she does ours, was: "What can be done so that the time and the energy now spent by Negroes in fighting un-American whites for jobs can be conserved for the war efforts." In other words how to prevent Americans fighting other Americans and unite against Hitler.

TO illustrate: I know a fine, well-educated young Negro woman. She used to teach in a college, and what's more has a lot of practical experience for a certain highly confidential work now needed by the government. She took the examination, passed with honors, but couldn't get a job, being told that no one was needed. Finally she complained to the FEPC, and was taken in. When she got in she found that the department was just crying for people to work, and is still crying. In fact, this was why I happened to hear about it. She thought I might like a job there. Incidentally, she's so good that she's now head of her department. Yet they didn't want to take her.

The Negro will be using the war to further his own ends only when he starts spying and sabotage for Hitler and the Japanese as some whites who have no trouble at all in getting war work, are now doing. The Negro is the last group that's ever going to stab his country in the back.

43b-1942
Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

"White Hope"

CAYTON NOMINATES WENDELL WILLKIE AS FIRST PRESIDENT OF UNITED NATIONS

BY HORACE R. CAYTON

OCT 17 1942

WENDELL WILLKIE has put the Federal Administration on the spot. Willkie has nailed Churchill to the cross. Willkie has in a short three-week period risen to greater stature than President Roosevelt or Winston Churchill. He has also become one of the most hated and feared men by the reactionaries of both countries. He did this by doing just one thing—giving hope to the expectations of the common people struggling for freedom throughout the world. The trouble that Whitehall and our Administration find with Wilkie is that his statements are giving the Atlantic Charter some content; are turning it into a program rather than a mere slogan.



Mr. Cayton

The first thing Willkie did was to go over and tell the Russians that they needed a second front. Before, we had been exporting little to Russia but loose words. All Willkie said was that we should stop dealing in generalizations and open a second front. This got a lot of people excited but it got the issue out into the open.

CARRIED HOPE TO THE CHINESE

OCT 17 1942

The next thing, Willkie told the Chinese people that they should have definite assurances that they are going to enjoy the freedom that they have been fighting for, for the past 10 years, after the war. This sounded good to the Chinese who were just as afraid of western imperialism as they were of the Japanese. It is a good thing that his itinerary did not include India or he would probably have caused another international incident by saying that the Atlantic Charter should apply to India as well as the principality of Luxembourg.

ALL of this has not just remained in the realm of talk. Willkie is getting some things done. In the first place, he is molding a world-wide public opinion among the small people of the United Nations which will eventually become our most powerful weapon in this war. By heightening the expectations of the yellow, brown, black, or white people, Willkie is raising the entire struggle from one of a struggle for power to a crusade for democracy. Willkie is the "white hope" of the United Nations and they do not even know it.

CHINESE GET FIRST CONCESSION

Another thing, which I attribute to a large extent to Willkie, was the recent announcements that extraterritoriality in China is to be abandoned by the United States. This is the first crack in the white supremacy Washington - London Axis of the Far East. No matter how the war comes out, this act has set the pattern for the future world in which we are going to live. Can you imagine the strength which such a declaration gives to the struggling Chinese. They know NOW that they have won a gain which can never be taken from them by the United Nations and will fight even harder against the fascist threat of Japan. There are going to be more concessions to all the people of Asia, to the people of India and recognition of Russia, to the community of nations before this thing is over and Wendell Willkie may be the spokesman for those who wish to act in enlightened self-interest.

BUT this is the pay-off. We have had a lot of people who are concerned about the Indians and the Chinese but overlooked the Negro who lives just a few blocks from them. These persons see the necessity of the application of the Atlantic Charter all over the world and criticize Winston Churchill's narrow interpretation of it. It never occurs to this type of mentality that an Atlantic Charter is needed in Mississippi. Well, my friends, not so with Mr. Willkie. Extraordinarily enough, he is one of the few Americans who is willing to talk about the American Negro problem.

WILLKIE SCORED BIAS POLICY

OCT 17 1942

At the last convention of the NAACP in Los Angeles, Willkie had Negroes cheering in the aisles when he stated in criticism of our armed forces:

"But what of our own country? The overwhelming majority of white Americans hold an almost irremovable concept of the Negro—and of other colored peoples in the world—as being second-class citizens and human beings. Even today, when alarming news comes in from the Russian battlefront, from Egypt and from the Pacific, this determination to yield not one inch in the struggle to keep the Negro down goes on practically without abatement. Under public pressure our Navy, begging for recruits and for officer material, yields only slightly to the demand for an easing of the barriers against service by Negroes in the Navy . . .

OCT 17 1942

"The Army is a little better, but not greatly so. Dominated by racial attitudes of the most viciously anti-Negro states of the deep South, the War Department fails to act on the request of more than 500,000 white Americans that it at least begin the breaking down of the segregation pattern through the establishment of one Army division to which men would be admitted on the basis of merit instead of skin color or religion. It refuses to budge despite the gratifying success of the officer training program in which, today, 759 Negroes are being trained as Army officers along with white fellow Americans in camps most of which are located in the deep South."

Finally Mr. Willkie stated:

"These then are problems, solved and yet to be solved, in our struggle to make this a better world not for Negroes alone but for all human beings. In the solution of these problems lies the fate of us all.

"To preserve our nation, you as Negroes will give your utmost, even to life itself. But you will fight only as equals, not as vassals."

OCT 17 1942

WELL, what are you going to do with a man that talks like this to the common people, white yellow, black or brown throughout the world? If the Administration does not wake up, if the brass hats do not get wise to themselves and if the reactionaries will not give an inch to the demands of the people, Willkie will not be the next President of the United States but the first President of the United Nations.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

China Speaks

BY LIU LIANG MO

THE NEGRO'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IS PART OF PRESENT WORLD FIGHT

OCT 17 1942

IT IS certainly good news to know that a liberty ship has been named for Booker T. Washington, the outstanding Negro educator; christened by Miss Marian Anderson, the world famous contralto, and commanded by Capt. Mulzac, the only Negro to hold a United States Master's certificate. It is good to know that the D. A. R. had invited Miss Marian Anderson to sing in Constitutional Hall at Washington, D. C. These are definite signs of improvement; but these are not enough. So long as Negro people are still being beaten up and pushed around on trains or buses, so long as Negro soldiers and civilians are still being lynched, so long as the Negro workers are still getting lower wage than the white workers for equal work, so long as jim-crowism still remains in this country, then the bitterness among the Negro people will remain. You will find there will be plenty of Negro people believing in the nonsensical "Ethiopia Pacific Movement" and the "Black Dragon Society," just because they are desperate. They are willing to try anything. You will find plenty of Negro people will say: "This is not our war!" Not because they are unpatriotic, (the Negro people are as patriotic as any white people) but just because they have been mistreated, discriminated against, exploited, and humiliated. And they are bitter! This is a burning question still facing the whole of the United States of America, and it must be solved soon.



Mr. Liu

CHINESE GIRL SHOWS RESENTMENT

The fact remains that the Negro people are also human beings, and that we are fighting a war for democracy, a people's war. Can we deny democracy to our own people, the very same thing for which we are fighting and dying?

MAYBE you would like to know as to how Chinese people feel toward Negro peoples being mistreated in this country. Let me tell you how a little Chinese girl feels about it. She wrote me a few days ago from San Diego, California: "On my way home on the street, I overheard an interesting conversation. A young marine and his wife were on board, but standing in the aisle—there weren't any seats left. In the back of the car were two Negro women. I heard the young marine say in angry tones: 'Those two n——' should get up and give their seats to some white people!' 'This is California,' his wife replied sweetly. 'G—d—it!' I would like to have slapped his face!" Well, I think her strong feeling represents all that of the Chinese people toward this question.

INTRODUCES NEGRO PATRIOTS TO CHINA

Let me introduce another Chinese youth to you. He is Lee Te-Chi. He is so very much interested in the Negro people that he has translated Richard Wright's "Native Son" into Chinese. He has followed the careers of Langston Hughes, Marian Anderson, Paul Robeson, Richard Wright, Joe Louis, and he has written about them for newspapers in China. His chief interest, however, has been in writing special articles about Negro men and women who led slave revolts, as Fred Douglass and Sojourner Truth, etc. These articles about Negro heroes and revolutionists were published in Chinese newspapers, magazines, and some of theme were mimeographed and disbuted among Chinese guerrilla fighters, inspiring them to greater efforts against the Japanese invaders.

OCT 17 1942

LEE TE-CHI has shown to the Chinese people the historcial relationship between the Chinese struggle for freedom and the Negro's struggle for freedom. But Lee is not the only Chinese youth who is interested in the Negro people's struggle, he is only one of many. **There are a lot of things that we can learn from the Negro people's struggle for freedom.**

The Negro peoples' problem is a problem of mankind; not only the black and brown people are interested in it, but there are many white people who are interested in it too—people like Abe Lincoln and John Brown of yesterday, and Wendell Willkie, Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt, Vice-President Wallace, Pearl S. Buck, etc., etc. of today. **The Negro people are not struggling alone. There are many, many co-fighters of the Negro people among the brown and white people all over the world. It is bad policy to fight alone. It is also bad policy to be bitter against all the white people. The Negro people must join hands with their co-fighters among the people of the world, no matter what their color is, as the struggle for the freedom of the Negro people is a part of the world's people struggle. The Negro people must always keep in mind that they are a part of the world, and look toward their own struggle as such. Once we segregate our own struggle from the world's struggle, we will get lost, become narrow, confused and we will get nowhere in our own struggle.**

OCT 17 1942

THROUGH conducting this present war against Fascism, the authority in this country realized that in order to win the war, the Negro people must get equal treatments. Thus orders were given to enforce factories to employ colored workers, thus a liberty ship was launched in honor of the Negro people, thus Talmadge was licked in Georgia. All these proved that this is a revolutionary war by nature, that our right is closely connected with this war. Under Hitler and the Japanese, all these rights, improvements and struggle will be lost. **This is our war, and we must support it!**

EDITOR'S DIGEST



The Weekly Review

By ROBERT DURR

OCT 31 1942

Birmingham, Ala.

NEGROES SHOULD NOT LISTEN TO AGITATORS WHO ADVOCATE MOHANDAS GHANDI'S "DO NOTHING IN WAR TACTICS" TO FORCE A FAIR DEAL.

OCT 31 1942

Since Mohandas Ghandi, the little brown man of India staged his sit down strike on the British war efforts, until his people are given complete freedom from the British rule, agitators in this country are urging Negroes, as an oppressed minority, to use similar tactics in the effort to abolish discriminatory practices, solely on accaunt of race.

Negroes should ignore this advice. While the civil disobedence campaign may win for the 400 million people of India their freedom, such preceedure may destroy the entire future of the 13 million Negroes in America.

The difference between the Negro situation in America and that of India, is that the Negroes represent only about 19 percent of this country's population, while the natives of India constitute nearly the entire population. Should India gain freedom through force or otherwise, she can can hold it until over-powered by some other nation. India as a free people could make treaties with other countries to secure aid in the time of war. On the other hand the American Negro would stand a chance to lose any concession that they may gain through force during war time.

The Negro's continued progress in America is like that of the Jews. It must depend upon how well he is able to get along with the majority people in this country. We cannot hope for any other country to come to the rescue of Negroes in this country. History bears out this fact. Negroes were slaves in this country for nearly 250 years, and not a single nation that I know anything about attempted to invade the country to liberate the Negroes. Where were England, Germany, Japan, even the "Lion of Judah of Ethiopia," during all of this time? It was the majority of the American people themselves who realized the curse of slavery and decided to abolish it, even at the cost of property and much blood shed. Not only this, but the progress the Negro has made during the 77years of freedom has been made by the endorsement of white citizens of America.

The continued progress of the race will depend upon the intelligent approach to inter-racial problems. We must continue to work in a calm and deliberate manner to have the white people understand and sympathize with our situaton.

OCT 31 1942

On the other hand white Americans should continue to help the Negro to become a better citizen. I think Lucia Mae Pitts, a colored woman writing in the Washington Post, white daily, offers splendid suggestion on how the white people should view the Negro situation in America. Miss Pitts says: "I honestly believe most racial problems in the government and out would be solved if the white population would remember these simple things:

1. By the action of your forebearers Negroes are American citizens.

2. Scientific tests as well as experience show that Negroes, as individuals and as a group, possess intelligence and skill .

3 American history proves without question that there are innumerous Negroes, who have ability, ambition and culture.

4. Friendship and social association between any persons cannot be forced by office association or any other means.

5. Negroes, like other American citizens, helped build America, love America and want to defend America, they must have their rightful share not only of woe and tribulation and sacrifice, but economic opportunity and faith in America.

6. America cannot win a war if 13 million of her citizens are left out of it.

OCT 31 1942

"It seems well for government workers to think of these things."

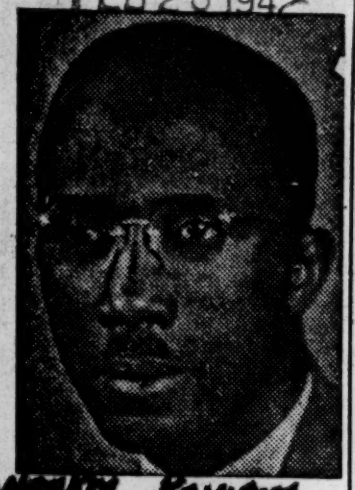
From all demonstrations the Negroes do not wish to be left out of this war. Some white people frankly admit that the Negro group as a whole is a most patriotic group. Generally Negroes realize that they have a great stake in this war in common with all American citizens, they realize further, that if this war is lost the Negro is doomed.

The position the Negro should take now is, not to allow past condition to deter them from delivering their all for victory. They should have a vision as clear, a head as high, and a heart as devout as any who have received full measure of democracy.

Remembering that any individual or group who withholds full participation in the blessing of democracy from any citizen because of his race or creed is an enemy of all the American people.

48b-1942

EDITOR'S DIGEST



Weekly Review
By ROBERT DURR
Birmingham, Ala.

THE SOUTH CAN SAVE THE WORLD

America is a nation of 20,000,000 homes, wherein live all kinds of peoples—of all races—some poor—some rich—some brown, black and white. We have mills, mines, electrical concerns, systems of communications, churches, schools, courts of law and a varied assortment of other things, but fundamentally America is a land of 20,000,000 homes and the people who live in them—They are the heart and soul of that which all honest men speak of when they say, we are willing to give our all to defend our country—Nothing more, nothing less.

I am not and can never be worked up over fighting to protect with **my life**, a mill, factory, office building or a way of life that spells semi-slavery for anybody. I cannot tell the world that I want to send my son out or go out myself to defend a way of life that permits a prejudiced policeman to shoot down my son or daughter and get away with it, when they are only guilty of being black.

I find it awfully hard to see how a way of life which makes me pay taxes, denies my children the opportunity for a real education out of funds designated for free school instruction, denies me an opportunity to grow, participate fully in a government I support, and hope for a richer and fuller life, on no other ground than that I am black, is worth **anybody** dying to save.

In this, I think I speak for thirteen million black Americans and millions of white Americans, who although white, suffer because of this lop-sided way of life. Let's not get things so mixed up that we fail to realize, that some of the people can be fooled some of the time, but all the people cannot be fooled all the time, here at home or abroad.

I am not belly-aching. I am a good American. I am for defending our country with all our might but at the same time, I do not want to see America shed blood, sweat and tears, for a victory which will be empty, and spell the beginning again by others for a third world war against us 20 years hence.

Let's defend our country, we must defend our country—and by our country, I mean, **our fathers, mothers** and **children,** defend them from everything which may destroy them, be that "everything" at home or abroad. Look out of your window—I am willing to give my all, for all the children you see on the street, be they white or black.

I am willing to fight with all my strength to the end that your home, my home and the home of every justice loving American, may be preserved—and that all the people in all the twenty million homes of this nation may have equal opportunity to grow and be happy in a truly democratic way—nothing more, nothing less.

I am a Southerner. I think the sins of the South have been great. **Every** white man has his Negro, every Negro has his white man. They are both guilty, along with those elsewhere who condone or make capital of the things which place the Negro in the position he is in today in the South and throughout the nation. Somewhere along the line from the cookpot to the Senate—some Negroes are as much responsible for the mistreatment of Negroes as the ones who mistreat them. Somewhere between the plantations of Georgia and the white house, some Negroes are responsible for whatever justice the white man has dealt out to the Negro. Poverty and ignorance have done more damage to the South than tuberculosis or the social diseases. Ignorance and poverty cultivated in greed and laziness gave rise to lynching, taxation without representation and forbidden participation of the Negro in government, police brutality, disfranchisement and elimination of constructive thought of Negro welfare from the minds of the too consciousless powers that be in the South.

The treatment of the Negro minority in the South has inspired a desire for that sort of way of life in many other sections of the nation and the world on the part of those in power or those fighting for power. Germany's youth have been told, if you win, you will have others as your individual slaves and slaves of the German state forever. If you lose it means the other way round. The Japanese, I am sure, have been told that America's total desire is to enslave them economically. (That is not the whole truth of all Americans). I am sure they point to the Negro's predicament in America as a source of proof.

A white friend of mine and I were talking today about the inability of the average American to tell you what we are fighting for. He and I were actually puzzled over this question, except as it applies to those who dwell around the twenty million firesides here in America. And we were thinking in terms of what we would have, if we win this war in which we are trying to fight and feed the whole world at the same time. We were facing the fact that, the average person does not know what it's all about, is fighting because he is told to, but who could fight a much better fight if he felt that we had all come to the place, here in the South, and throughout the nation, that to the sum total of whatever else we may be fighting for, that we assure the Negro minority and the weaker and oppressed peoples everywhere, that our fight is to raise the level and provide unqualified equal opportunity for all men of goodwill, in all walks of life, regardless of race, creed or color.

By taking the lead in this, the South can remove itself from a puzzling position of being the nation's most ardent advocate of war for freedom, while being a section where nearly one-half its population exists in a condition of semi-slavery. If the other half of the nation approves such a condition, it condones a condition within, which makes for disunity, and itself the object of everlasting hate and fear by its enemies. All over the world the nations we are fighting, are telling their people, that they are fighting to defend their people against finally finding themselves in the position the Negro occupies in the South and the nation.

A lot of progress has been made in the South to clean its skirts of the sin of omitting to make its democracy mean, an earnest effort to lift all people in the South, without of course lowering standards. But the importance of more progress along this line is underestimated by the whole South.

The South can save the world, if the South makes the South a land of true democracy for all people, without regard to race, creed or color. Let the South do all it can in that direction and come forward with an earnest declaration that all that should be done by its Negroes as men and as American citizens, will be done, and **start doing it now,** and you will see thirteen million Negroes and minorities everywhere in spirit and deed consolidate themselves behind our flag with a patriotism which will in turn tell the weaker peoples everywhere, that America should be the victor in this present conflict and the one upon whose shoulders the responsibility of world leadership should fall with the blessings of God. You will see the fire which drives the Nazis, Japs, Italians and the whole Axis mob die, like a child bitten by a rattlesnake.

Maybe it's too late, but if all Americans of every class and race can be assured real freedom—we can win freedom for a freedom loving Britain, and a victory for America, which will be a victory worth whatever it costs to achieve it. Maybe, the South can make the first real move toward total democracy for all at home. The South can save the world or drag it down to hell.

The South can save the freedom for itself and the nation which it extends to all its citizens now without freedom at home. For this I pray for all God's black and white children in 20,000,000 homes. I firmly believe that this is more important than anything the nation will be able to do with guns, tanks and what have you.

Robert Hutchins

Pittsburg Courier

MAR 7 - 1942

A TURNCOAT LIBERAL WHO SHED CROCODILE TEARS OVER RACE'S PLIGHT

BY HORACE R. CAYTON

WHEN push comes to shove, that is, when attempts to preserve Negro rights get past the talking stage and call for some action—lot of our liberal white friends fall by the wayside. Not all of them, because there are the shining examples of Pearl Buck, Mark Ethridge and others, but must find it convenient to temporize. Recently when talking about the low morale of Negroes and the reasons for it, I have heard over and over such statements as "you must be patient, look how far the Negro has come in the last 75 years," or "look at Marian Anderson and other great Negro artists. They show the height to which the Negro can rise." All of this type of eye wash to the great mass of unwashed Negroes who want a chance to work in defense industries and fight in all branches of the armed forces of the country. There are some white liberals who stick by us all of the way but it is unwise to put too much faith in our fair weather white liberal friends.



Mr. Cayton

MAR 7 - 1942

MAR 7 - 1942

U. OF C. PREXY A TURN-COAT

A case in point is some correspondence which I have recently had with Robert Maynard Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago. I pick this out because a few months ago when Hutchins was an isolationist he gave a radio talk in which he bemoaned the plight of the Negro sharecroppers. I stated, at that time, that he was using the Negro issue as a rationalization for his isolationist position and that if he was really concerned with the plight of the Negro he would do something to curb racial discriminations on his own campus. The majority of the Negro press, however, hailed him as a new champion of the race. How wrong they were has been shown in his most recent activities—and now I've got a chance to say I told you so.

MAR 7 - 1942

LAST month the University of Chicago in cooperation with the United States Office of Education began a series of courses for the purpose of training people in the fields of engineering, science and management for defense work. The first application form which was sent out had a question asking whether the applicant was white, colored or other and whether he was Protestant, Catholic, Jewish or other. Upon obtaining a copy of this application form I wrote the following to President Hutchins:

"Recently it was my privilege to attend the hearings of the FEPC which were held by the committee appointed by President Roosevelt to enforce his Executive Order which stated that in defense work and training the question of race or religion was not to be considered in employing persons. Such large corporations as the Studebaker Company and many others stated on the stand that they would, in compliance with the President's Executive Order and the wish of the Committee, remove from their application blanks any questions pertaining to race or religion."

President Hutchins answered, that the University of Chicago had made no discrimination on account of color or creed in its training but that the question about colored "supplies information which will be useful in placement efforts." In answer to this I wrote, in part:

MAR 7 - 1942

"The Executive Order is such a fundamental break with the traditional racialism which has existed in the United States, that many persons do not realize that to carry it out, it is necessary to certify a qualified person, for defense training and for defense positions regardless of color. In view of this, information concerning a person's color is not necessary and, as a matter of fact, might be used as a method of circumscribing the clear intent of the Administration. Anyone who attended the recent hearings of the committee in Chicago could not have escaped being impressed by the vigorous fashion in which Mr. Mark Ethridge, a southern gentleman, enunciated this principle and was successful . . . in having people remove questions concerning color from their personal records."

Mr. Hutchins then replied:

"I don't agree with you that because of the Executive Order, 'information concerning a person's color is not necessary' to determine whether a person will or will not be employed in a given situation. When our placement officers are asked whether a person is a Negro or not, we cannot answer: 'You will have to find out for yourself because if we told you it would be discriminatory.'"

COLOR QUESTION MUST REMAIN

MAR 7 - 1942

He further stated that the question about religion had been removed. Concerning the removal of the question pertaining to color the president stated rather flatly, "we do not propose to remove it unless the question is removed by the Office of Education from ESMDT Form 8."

WELL there you have it. I think Hutchins is wrong on a number of scores. The very essence of the President's Executive Order was that color was to play no role in either training or placement. What the University of Chicago should do is to certify to an open position a person with the proper qualifications with no regard to color or any employer's discriminatory requests. In the second place, as there is much prejudice against Jews and many employers might not want to hire Jews, it is as logical to keep the question of religion in as that pertaining to color—but the university (or the Office of Education) was quick to drop that hot potato.

A JOB FOR RACE MEMBER OF OOE

To me, Hutchin's attitude looks pretty sad when it is considered that his behavior is just about on the level of that of the large corporations whom we, as a group have been fighting for years. It seems to me that a large university should be the first to fall in line with the letter and spirit of the Executive Order—should bend over backwards if necessary. Well there is your great liberal who shedded crocodile tears over Marian Anderson and the sharecroppers when he wanted to justify his isolationist position.

MAR 7 - 1942

INCIDENTALLY here is a job for the Negro members of the Office of Education—get that question out of this form before the President's Committee cracks down on your department. This seems to be the only way in which such enlightened institutions as our leading universities will observe the President's Executive Order.

Amsterdam News
New York, N. Y.

As the Crow Flies

By W. E. B. DU BOIS

WARS end.

After the end comes the beginning of Peace.



Dr. Du Bois

Peace is the threshold of human progress. Progress is democracy, freedom and security.

Let no one doubt the logic of these statements; and yet the bitterness against pacifists and against the preaching of pacifism during the last generation is a sad sign that we are not logical.

The dinner to Oswald Garrison Villard was a sign that some few people have sense enough to appreciate the leadership of a man who does not believe in war. As a matter of fact, no one who is sane believes in war. They do believe that sometimes—probably far less than we think—war is inevitable. But it is fatal to argue from that, that it is not the business of honest human beings to preach peace whenever this can be done; and that is to say always, save in those few cases where peace is more dangerous than war. There is no doubt but what the widespread peace propaganda after the first World War, has made it more difficult to arouse the war spirit in the United States; has made larger and larger numbers of people acutely sensitive to the stupidity and contradiction of a civilization which again and again allows itself to relapse into barbarism.

State the case as strongly as we must; admit that against a menace like Hitler the only weapons available at present are weapons similar to his; admit all that and the case for peace the value of peace propaganda is that much stronger. Let us be thankful that deep in our hearts this generation believes in peace; that it is slow to anger; that it seeks appeasement desperately. All this will not make our fighting weaker; it will rather build its foundation upon the everlasting arms.

MAR 28 1942

Whittier had a word for it. That same Whittier whose latest biographer wants to praise him for everything except the one thing for which he deserves praise, and that was his hatred of slavery. Whittier said with eternal truth (and the truth applies to pacifism and appeasement just as surely as it applies to war for democracy and freedom):

"Never yet, share of truth was vainly set, in the world's wide fallow."

A white woman writes from Texas: "Recently when I was preparing to give a program on the Negro problem in U. S. A., I wrote you for some information and you very kindly and courteously answered my letter and questions and helped me considerably for which I was very grateful and believe I thanked you subsequently. You stated that your recent book, 'Dusk of Dawn,' contained information on the present day status of the American Negro. As I couldn't borrow that book from any library, I finally purchased it myself. I enjoyed reading it very much and am glad I own it. I am loaning it to everyone who shows any interest in the question. It is a sad commentary to state that a small percentage of our people are interested enough to want to be informed on the question at all. The book, I believe, is an eye-opener to those who read it. There seems to be a terrible or impregnable wall which the American Negro—even the best and most cultured Negro—finds himself up against. None of us knows how to crumble that wall. May I suggest that in my opinion conditions might progress faster for the Negro if the subject of non-segregation could be entirely dropped by the Negro, at east temporarily? By that I mean ignoring any efforts on the part of whites to segregate Negroes and even preferring (or appearing to prefer) segregation. In reading recently what Negroes have said and done, it has seemed to me they might have gotten further in their efforts toward their proper and legitimate rights if they were absolutely silent as to their participation in these rights. I don't mean that they necessarily should be separated—but I feel that is a part of the terrible wall which personally believe one human being can be as good as another no matter what the color of skin and I believe in judging individuals, not masses. I sincerely hope you will not consider me too presumptuous in writing my mind to an unknown author. And if you care to make any comment on what I've written I should appreciate it greatly."

48b-1942
Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

SOUTHERN SAY-SO

LET US EXAMINE ALL THIS TALK ABOUT A BETTER WORLD FOR NEGROES AFTER THE WAR

BY M. S. STUART

JUN 13 1942

EVERY WEEK writers and speakers are devoting much time and space to observations about the changed conditions of life which may ensue as a result of the present war. Much that is said and written is theoretical and in generalities. Through all the expressions of Negro writers and speakers, directly or inferentially, there runs a thread of hope that in some way, as yet rather nebulous, great improvement for the American Negro will be realized. White leaders like Mrs. Roosevelt, Wendell Willkie, Pearl Buck and Vice President Wallace are lending encouragement to these hopes. Consequently wishful thinking in the ranks of the race is assuming pyramidal proportions.



Mr. Stuart

Better Look the Brass Tacks Over

But before allowing our hopes to pile up too high we had better get down to cases. Better take another look at the brass tacks in the situation. Better try to see just how these improvements are to be brought to obtain and who is going to take the lead in accomplishing them. Progress of this type, does not usually just grow like Topsy. It is reasonable to fear that no unharnessed, undirected miracles or revolution of their own volition are going to rise up out of the general world chaos and like a funneled tornado move over this country to sweep away the stagnant atmosphere and impurities of prejudice in the low pressure areas just for our especial benefit. If we only stand and wait while the Hand of Providence reshuffles the cards of destiny, depending upon sheer luck for a winning hand, we may be sadly disappointed when settling time comes.

JUN 13 1942

OUR situation is unlike that of any other group in the world. It requires looking into realistically to cope with the stubborn factors peculiar to it.

MIGHT NOT BE IN THE PEACE PICTURE

It is probable that the lot of the American Negro will not be one of the items on the agenda for the post war peace table, no matter whether the United Nations or the Axis Powers triumph. Remember that we are no separate national entity. We own no island, no strategic spot, nor do we control any resorvoir of raw materials. In fact there is nothing in our situation to make consideration of our case necessary to world settlement. We would not be in a position to be a world disturbing factor even if we should be left severely alone. There is a remote possibility that Russia, in the event it should occupy a dominating seat at the peace table, might want to inquire into our condition in consistency with its professed concern for the world masses. But it is more probable that our problem would be regarded as a domestic one to be solved by domestic legislation.

MISERY MIGHT NOT WANT OUR COMPANY

Any belief that out of derangements resulting from military reverses, advancement of our cause would result and rest upon fallicious grounds. No matter how miserable might the plight of any section of this country become, because of the war, what reason is there for expecting that our case would be benefitted thereby?

DID you notice that Governor Dixon of Alabama, allegedly speaking for all other Southern Governors, said that the South is opposed to any Negro Army Division being stationed within its borders? Now wait a minute. Don't fly off yet. Yes, it sounds terrible to say that soldiers who may have to give their lives in defense of a section are not welcome to be stationed in it. But Governor Dixon merely stated what he probably knows is the sentiment of a majority of Southern people. He stated a fact, though a bitter one.

MIGHT SWALLOW SMALL DOSES

What then, can be done under these circumstances? Does the unusual condition caused by the war hold out any promise of advancement for the Negro? Yes. The publicity and agitation for real democracy throughout the world has created an atmosphere that may be favorable for concessions and improvement. But the gains must be attempted step by step. We should sanely contend for those phases of improvement which it is obviously unreasonable to withhold from us. There are some forward steps which Southern white people could, without any sacrifice of so-called traditions, grant the Negro race if only Southern white leaders could screw up enough courage to examine the whole question in the light of changing world conditions. What are some of the steps forward that could and should be taken?

1. Remove the barriers to the free use of the ballot by Negroes. With this done white people would still control in every state. The majority of the voters would still be white.

2. Purge the "Social Equality" dogma of the material, economic barriers it now everywhere sets up against the opportunity of Negroes to be employed in employment created by the dollars they spend.

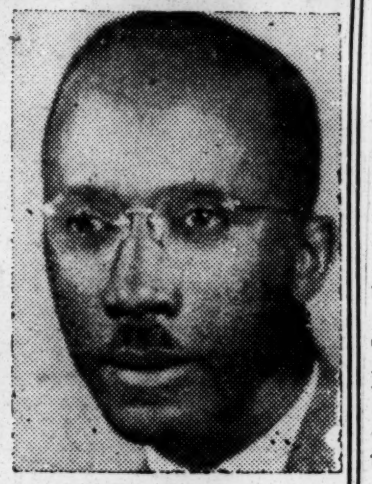
JUN 13 1942

3. Remove the inequalities, the foolish inconsistencies, to which Negroes must submit in public travel in the South. Riding the railroads, they must be confined to separate, most often inferior, cars. On the buses, they merely occupy separate seats. The same differences obtain in some bus and railroad passenger waiting rooms.

4. Equalize the pay of Negro teachers engaged in the same type of work as white teachers.

If white leaders like Under Secretary Sumner Welles and Raymond Clapper would concern themselves with getting this dirt cleaned out at home, Gandhi and his Indians and other Asiatics would have more confidence in the protestations of American emissaries sent to deal with them.

EDITOR'S DIGEST



By ROBERT DURR

MURDER, PETTY CRIME AND BIRMINGHAM'S HARLEM

JUN 18 1942

As some one has aptly said, "There are only two kinds of people—Good and Bad. It is the duty of Negroes to aid the police openly in protecting good people, be they white or black. It's the white man's duty to feed all law violators out of the same spoon. Here in Birmingham professional and petty criminals should be given the whole works by the courts.

Any decent Negro is made ashamed of his being a Negro as he or she passes through Birmingham's Harlem—4th Avenue between 17th and 18th Streets, by the host of loud, nasty, profane and ignorant Negroes who loaf in that and adjacent areas, also some other corners in Birmingham.

There are times when you have to step very carefully as you walk through Birmingham's Harlem to avoid slipping up in the spital and filth thereon. You can hardly get through on account of the petty card sharks, cheap crap shooters and the rats who make nasty insinuating remarks about or within the hearing of all types of women.

I know little "Harlem" is for the most part the commercial recreational center of the 108,000 Negroes who live in the Birmingham district, but every crapshooter, card shark and every man or boy guilty of profanity thereon should be arrested and given the whole works by the courts. Let's say in passing there are a lot of decent folk in Harlem as well as the rats.

There isn't a place in Birmingham where people of other races loiter, stand around in the way of traffic as they do on 4th Ave,. and nearby. The Ministers of Birmingham should join in a crusade to clean up 4th Avenue and they should have the support of every organized group in the city. That situation should take first place in sermons and club programs until 4th Avenue is as clean as 20th street or the race-track down.

JUN 13 1942

It's a crying shame the way boys seemingly should be in school may be found in and around the section—often on the streets in plain sight of all or behind buildings—rolling dice.

Specifically, I call upon the Mayor, Commissioner of Public Safety, the Negro Ministers of Birmingham and all citizens to join in a crusade to clean-up "Little Harlem," arrest every switch-blade knife carrier, every pistol-totter, every card shark, every one who spits on the sidewalks, every one who uses profanity in the hearing of any decent woman or makes any sort of insinuating remark within her hearing—see that they are convicted and given the book by the judges. I insist that every boy caught loafing on the streets be arrested for vagrancy and given a sentence at hard work on the rock pile.

JUN 13 1942

I am not discounting the influence of slums, lack of recreational facilities, inadequate educationa facilities and the iron hand parents should employ if necessary in this matter. I also urge all civic minded persons to join i na holy crusade to rectify these bad conditions wherever they exists as a means of preventing the above described conditions, out of which grow the murder and debasing of what otherwise might be good citizens both by Negroes against Negroes, and police against Negroes in these areas who are often as afraid of petty criminals and murderers as many decent citizens who hesitate to upbraid the street rats for fear they will whip out a switch-blade knife or pis-

tol, cut and shoot, not only their own kind, but innocent citizens. I suggest that police tell decent people that it is quite alright to beat hell out of loafing-profane men who hang around in little Harlem. There are people who you can talk to and get results, there are others who respond to a "beating hell out of" more than anything elst. I suggest that parents who have made it a policy to go to school teachers and argue with them about strapping their kids, cut that junk out and have boys and girls know that as in olden times that if the teacher give them a thrashing at the school they have another thrishing coming when they get home.

On the problem of Ngroes murdering Negroes, Frank H. Gray, writing in a pamphlet entitled, "Negro Homicides and Their Causes" published by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc., with headquarters in the Standard Building in Atlanta says: 'T'he laws of God and man gives Negroes—human beings—the right to live. Whoever takes away this right blasphemes God and mocks man. God, we are taught, moves at a time best suited to His purpose; man according to code, is bound to administer justice more promptly. The ever increasing number of Negro homicides—slayings in which only Negroes take part—proves that Negroes participating in killings fear the law neither of God or man. There is only one reason for this laxity of the law in specific instances. An utter lack of respect and regard for promised justice is causing more and more people to have no fear of the law of man, hence theincreased [illegible]

JUN 13 1942

Both Negro and white people are inclined to believe that lynching is the most malignant evil in America today. Perhaps it is, in principle, but not in fact.

For every one Negro lynched during the past several years, more than a thousand Negroes have been killed by other Negroes. Each year the number of Negroes lynched decreases and the number killed by other Negroes increases. In each instance white people are more to blame than Negroes.

Lynching is more or less confined to a certain area while the Negroe homicides are everywhere. There are millions of Americans of both races who do not agree with the Governor of Tennessee, that this is the white man's country, but all Americans must agree that this is the white man's civilization. In America the white man makes the laws and has the power to enforce them. Whenever the law is not enforced, the white man i sat fault.

Negroes—American — Negroes are not born killers. Otherwise they would wantonly kill whites as they do each other. Negroes kill other Negroes because they have no fear of the consequences. The reason for this is that the courts, almost daily show a flagrant disregard for human life as long as that life is a Negro's.

As intelligent interpretation of the Negro's reasoning would throw light on causes bcak of the high rate of homicides, more than ninety percent of which are committed by Negroes "carrying concealed a deadly weapon"—something which to kill. The potential Negro killer reckons first that would he be caught with a deadly weapon, unless he has committed an offense against a white person, te white man's law will exact only a negligible punishment; he reckons, further, that should he kill one of his own race he will get off light becuase in the white man's opinion, it would be 'j'ust another Negro dead."

JUN 13 1942

Only last week a confessed Negro slayer in Louisville, Ky., where the number of these killings is alarming, openly explained, "He made a step toward me with his hand in his pocket. I had my hand in my right hip pocket. Drawing my pistol, I cursed and fired twice at the same time." Another Negro homicide was the result.

Merit O'Neal, Commonwealth Attorney of Kentucky, said after a Negro murder trial, "Nine times out of ten, if the two parties concerned in a dispute, argument or fgiht were disarmed, there would be no tragedy."

In the face of these facts and opinions, the way to reduce the Negro homicides is clear: LET THE WHITE MAN ENFORCE HIS LAWS INDISCRIMINATELY, REGARDLESS OF RACE, COLOR OR CREED, ESPECIALLY THE LAW AGAINST "CARRYING CONCEALED DEADLY WEAPONS."

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Rogers Says:-

INTERRACIALISM OFFERS ONLY SOLUTION TO THE NEGRO'S JOB PROBLEM

BY J. A. ROGERS

LAST week I said that I had received three letters dealing with jobs for Negroes. I published one, and promised to give the other two this week.

The second one was from Lester B. Granger, executive secretary of the National Urban League, an organization which in the past thirty years has done more than any other in getting work for Negroes.

The League's services have been free. Most of those it aids are unable to contribute to the financial support it must have if it is to carry on its very splendid work. But as it happens now just when the fight for labor recognition of the Negro is strongest, or ought to be strongest, contributions have fallen off because of the war effort. However, the League has hit on a simple, ingenious, and painless way (to the contributor) to replenish its war chest, and this is to issue boxes of matches, on which are printed an appeal to give more and better jobs to Negroes.



Mr. Rogers

MATCH BOXES AIDS WORKERS

JUN 13 1942

Mr. Granger says in his letter, "Boxes holding fifty match packets may be purchased for $1.00. Or, if you prefer, $5.00 will entitle you to one box of match packets and make four boxes available for free distribution to individuals and in places where they will do the most good.

"THE matches now in circulation have aided us in placing a substantial number of skilled, semi-skilled and professional Negro men and women in defense industry in plants throughout the country. We cannot cease our efforts until all trained and available Negro workers are participating in the all-out war effort."

Among the thousands who are using these "Strike a Match For Victory" matches are President and Mrs. Roosevelt, Wendell Willkie, and many leading Negroes and Negro and white organizations. The National Urban League, by its record, deserves all the support you can give it. Its address is 1133 Broadway, New York City. There may also be a branch in your town. Organizations buying these matches may have their names printed on them.

COLLABORATION WITH LABOR

JUN 13 1942

The third letter was from Thomas L. Brown, president of the Interracial club, 360 West 125th street, New York City. Mr. Brown says, "As a result of continued discussion and experience in the Interracial club, we are becoming increasingly convinced that the final victory of the Negro masses, who are in their vast majority working class in character, can be achieved only through collaboration with the progressive sections of the labor movement. Today, labor cannot avoid consideration of the needs and aspirations of the thousands of Negroes who are becoming integrated into its ranks. The joint struggle to defend the economic and democratic rights of all working men and women, if carried on militantly, created new hopes and perspectives in the struggle against the prejudice which has divided working people all too long. Shoulder to shoulder, black and white must march for their mutual liberation."

ACCOMPANYING the letter is a statement of the principles and purposes of the society, which are of the highest, and which demand "full economic, political and social equality for the Negro people."

I had the pleasure of speaking for the Interracial club at one of its regular Friday night meetings, and was highly impressed by its militancy and its efforts in getting jobs for Negroes in New York city and particularly in Harlem. This is particularly needed just now as, since Arthur Reid and his Harlem Labor Union are not as active as they used to be, I notice that Negro employment in the Harlem stores, the vast majority of which are owned by white people, are slipping back into the state they were before the 1935 riot changed them.

INTERRACIALISM ONLY SOLUTION

In any number of stores, chiefly along Eighth avenue patronized almost exclusively by Negroes, you will see not a single Negro employee. There is one store which does a rushing business, and in which you'll hardly see a white customer, that has only one Negro employee, where it ought to have at least three. Let Negroes stop patronizing this place, it would have to close in forty-eight hours. There is also rent-gouging. These are some of the things which the sincere Negro and white people in the Interracial club are working intelligently to better, and which convinces me that they deserve all the support they can get.

JUN 13 1942

FURTHERMORE, the Interracial idea is the only real solution of the problem. Interracialism cancels segregation, the great weapon in the hands of the Negro's enemies. Cut out jim-crow and segregation and you hamstring those who prey on Negro labor, housing, and in a hundred other ways. Cut them out and you also automatically improve the living conditions of millions of white people in this country. A "Double Victory" for Negroes means a "Double Victory" for large numbers of white Americans too. The Hitlers here at home who now have the power to segregate and jim-crow must also be downed. And Negro and white must unite to down them.

P. S. to New Yorkers: Remember the mass meeting of the March-On-Washington Committee, headed by A. Philip Randolph, to be held at Madison Square Garden, June 16.

48b-1942
Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

China Speaks

TO CRUSH FASCISM WE NEED UNITED LABOR— WHAT ABOUT THE MISS. LYNCH INVESTIGATIONS?

BY LIU LIANG-MO

NOV 14 1942

NOV 14 1942

IN HENRY J. KAISER'S shipyard at Portland, Oregon, eight Negro workers were promoted by the company as skilled workers. The boilermakers union (AFL) there protested against it through its business agent and secretary, Tom Ray. An action like that on the part of the Union could only make Hitler happy. Workers of Kaiser's shipyard broke the world record in shipbuilding, and they should be very proud of what they have achieved. As a matter of fact, people of the world are cheering them; but they are dismayed to find one of their unions had protested against the promotion of their fellow-workers who happen to have a darker skin. This is an ink spot on the excellent record of the workers in Kaiser's shipyard.



Mr. Liu

This boilermakers' union does not know what they are talking about. If Hitler shall conquer this world, he will enslave the white workers just as he will enslave the Negro workers. If they don't believe it, let them look at the thousands and thousands of French workers who are being sent to Germany as slave laborers.

U.S. LABOR UNBIASED

There are 40,000 wokers in that boilermakers' union, and I believe that most of the workers in that labor union were deceived by their reactionary leadership in making that protest. That protest is entirely against the national policy of the American Federation of Labor. We do hope that the leaders in that boilermakers' union for making that mistake are removed. Any discrimination in any labor union against any colored workers must be abolished. Reactionary labor leadership that supports jim-crowism in labor unions must be removed at once.

WE MUST not be blinded by a more incident like that to think that all labor unions are jim-crowistic. No, I have seen many, many unions insisting on having Negro workers work side by side with the white workers. They elected Negro workers to be their leaders. They did it long before the Pearl Harbor incident. The American labor is basically against jim-crowism.

NOV 14 1942

ENCOURAGING SIGNS

A liberal employer like Henry J. Kaiser should be hailed; but don't forget there are still many industrialists who are jim-crowistic. Down in the South, in cotton mills and other factories, they are still exploiting the workers by paying them very low wages, and discriminating against Negro workers. We must protest against that.

To crush Fascism, we need both white and brown hands.

THREE LYNCHINGS within a week in Mississippi. That is quite a dark record for the U.S.A. It is encouraging, however, to hear Gov. Paul B. Johnson talk: "The lynchings are only aiding the Axis Powers." He demanded an investigation of these lynchings. He also added: "There is talk of a 'Negro problem'; but the only problem of the Negro is to earn a living for himself and family." It is also encouraging to find that most of the leading papers such as the New York Times commented against the lynchings.

NOV 14 1942

WHAT ABOUT THE LYNCHERS?

But that is not enough, Governor Johnson's and American Government's determination to deal with lynchings must be proved by deeds, not words. These lynchings took place between October 8 and 15. Nearly a month has gone by. What are the results of these investigations? What are they going to do with the lynchers, if they shall have already found them? The most disturbing factor is that all the newspapers and news agencies in this country are carrying no news about this investigation. They want to bury it so that people will forget. But, this time the eyes of the whole world are fixing on the investigations of these lynchings, and people would refuse to forget. We should always cast light on this investigation until the whole truth is out.

IN ORDER to win this war, lynchings and jim-crowism must be abolished from this country.

It was said that in England, the British are complaining about the attitude of white American soldiers towards the colored American soldiers; while in India, American soldiers are openly indignant at the attitude of British officers toward the Indians. (Asia magazine, November) They see only the beam in the other's eyes, and neglect the beam in their own eyes. They should take the beams out from their own eyes first, then they will be able to see more clearly the way to victory.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

SOUTHERN SAY-SO

UNEDUCATED CONGREGATIONS TOLERATE AND SUPPORT ILLITERATE, TONSIL-TEARING PREACHERS

BY M. S. STUART

Dec. 5, 1942

WONDER what the preachers have been doing to somebody in Florida. Almost weekly, for several months, this columnist has been receiving printed matter, leaflets etc., much of it critical of the ministry of that state. The sender of this printed matter seems to be the same whom another columnist recently dubbed a "crackpot." Lately, however, in type and handwriting have come other criticisms from the same state, some of it obviously from persons of sanity and serious intelligence.



Mr. Stuart

The lack of technical education and preparation seems to be the chief basis of these complaints. One prominent educator seems to be especially anxious that this column build a fire under the frocks—"go after these illiterate preachers."

WHAT ARE THE REQUIREMENTS?

Well, now, these preachers, most of them, are organized. Before attacking any type of organization you had better know what you are talking about. This writer is not sufficiently informed on theology and the requirements for the ministry to defend a fight on the brethren who speak to the people ex parte every Sunday. This seems to be a matter for the attention of the authorities who commission and employ "these servants of the Lord."

Just what are the qualifications required for preaching and pastoring? Is it skilled work. Who prescribes the qualifications and holds the examinations? Who has the authority to say when pastors are not measuring up to the prescribed standards? In other lines as long as the servant pleases the employer, who else has any kick coming?

EDUCATION AND SOUL SAVING

SHOULD every minister be college educated? What percentage of these pastoring are college or high school graduates? What constitutes success in preaching? Large congregations? Fine buildings? Great amounts of money raised? Souls saved?

Measured by affirmative answers to the last four questions, are high school and college preachers have greater success than the self-tinkered, celluloid-choked, clod-hopping, screed-screaming rough-casts who carry "The Word' to, and bring back the dough from, the unperfumed masses who worship way out there at Scaly Bark Chapel or Scrub Oak Temple? Are the elite, streamlined, college-polished theologians willing to eke it out with God's little folks back in Stint Gut Alley where they have to always struggle for daily breath and bread? No, you don't notice many of the degreed dignitaries making a bee line from their Commencement Exercises to those dark fields of labor and sacrifice where the benighted of the race live amidst suffering, grime, disease and sin. And how would degrees and grammar fare back there anyway? It is doubtful whether or not stilted, grammatical theology could carry sufficient "kick and rousements" to attract and hold the attention of those who perforce of circumstances must spend their lives in such areas. Many of the race have not yet arisen to the level of cold reason and logic. They must be reached through emotional appeal. They must be talked to in folk language. They care nothing much about what is said. Nothing about grammar. They want—must have—physical sermons.

WOULD SCARE THEM OFF

Dec. 5, 1942

THEY can be sufficiently moved only by plenty of acrobatic emphasis, tonsil tearing tone effect and that rhythmic, musical meaning that so gloriously defies even passable imitation in the written notes, feet and measures. That large segment of the race finds its "good time" in its religion and churches. It rejoices and revels in the crude, fresh earth and woods vitality of them. It wants to sing, shout, dance in Divinity, let off its pent-up emotions and pray out the sorrows and sufferings of a suppressed people, unashamed of circumspect opinions, unrestrained by the cold, formal conventions and artificiality of proper people. Then let it alone, you of the regulated life. Heavy logic, involved sermons and ceremonies would probably frighten it off to more dissipating forms of diversions, drunkeness and exploitations. Perhaps it is better to be preyed upon and prayed for in the name of the Lord.

IMPROVE THE FLOCK

BUT this is no defense of illiteracy, nor agreement that God can get His work done with talent which no one else would employ. With a type that seems to think that either God is deaf or that the devil can be scared away by loud noise. Who misses no opportunnity to marry plural nouns to unplural verbs. Who are amusing with their sound stabbing pronunciation, knowing the Twenty-Third "persalms" by heart, taking a "wreck-tom speck view of the past," and condemning "cussin' and proflame language."

Of course, it is this class which is bringing ridicule and disrespect upon the church. It is they who are disgusting the educated youth of the race. It is they who, to build enough church buildings for them to have one per Sunday and to be paid for yelling, are taking as a toll to pay for the high cost of hell every alternate rub of the washboard from the deluded washer women who follow them. Yet these and others of similar conditions would probably follow no other type of leader. So, what can be done about it? Nothing; but wait until the progress of education so thins out the lean flock that the "fat shepherds" will no longer find the pastures so inviting. Religion, you may remember, is the only one of "them freedoms" that to the Negro is unrationed. Suppose we don't mess with it yet awhile.

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

WORLD VIEW

By JOHN ROBERT BADGER

Nov. 21, 1942

A Stroke of Irony

NEGRO-AMERICAN BOYS, many of them descendants of former inhabitants of Senegal, Dahomey and the Ivory Coast who more than a century ago came to the United States in the shackles of slave ships, last week went back to African shores aboard an Allied invasion armada, to prevent the threatened re-enslavement of Africa by the goose-stepping slavers of 1942. With such fine strokes of irony is written the history of our time.

It is the close of a chapter. Those slave ships which bore rich loot as well as human cargoes brought back to Europe the wealth upon which many great families sprang to prestige and power. Piracy and the slave traffic were sources of the capital for the industrial development of Europe.

If, as the old saying went, "the pavement blocks of the streets of Bristol and Liverpool were stuck together with the blood of Negro slaves," then the French Empire arose also partly on the accumulations of profits pilfered a hundred years ago from the theft and sale of living human beings.

Today the descendants of those victims of barbarism have participated in destroying—in fact if not in law—the French Empire.

Great changes took place in the period since the slave trade was abolished. Some peoples came to know the real meaning of freedom. Yet, over most of the world a condition little better than chattel slavery prevailed. For the outposts of the slavers became the outposts of traders, and soon after 1850 the trading outposts became a fortress of imperialism. And the peoples of Africa, as well as those of Asia and other countries, were kept submerged in a status of political subjection.

In the United States, the trend of the historical epoch was reflected in the betrayal of the anti-slavery revolution, culminating in the revival of the slave power and submerging the bulk of Negro-America in a status of political subjection.

But today, by striking a blow at the overall status of subjection in which nearly two-thirds of the world's population is submerged, Negro-American troops are continuing the task of emancipation begun in 1863. A new chapter of history has begun.

Is this actuality or fantasy? Certainly there were Negro-American troops among the forces which swept down upon the colonies of French North and West Africa, but does history really have so grandiose a design? Does the seizure of the French colonies really affect the colonial system? Does it mean any more than a change of masters for the Africans? Does it mean anything at all to Negro-Americans?

Colonialism on the Defensive

The French Empire was a main buttress of the colonial system for more than a century. It was the second largest in area and population. It represented a creation of the Nineteenth century, having been begun with the conquest of Algeria in 1830. In territory, it was the dominant colonial power in Africa, holding an area of 3,967,610 square miles to Great Britain's 3,409,962. For every square mile of soil in France, there were 20 in the French African colonies.

What remains of the French Empire today? The Americans and British occupy the 9,170 square miles in the Pacific, the 228,707 square miles of Madagascar, and together with the Fighting French, the 982,049 square miles of Equatorial Africa and 166,489 square miles of the Cameroon mandate. British and Fighting French forces hold Syria and the Lebanon. The Japanese have Indo-China. Islands in the Carribean are virtually under the protection of the United States. The territories of French West Africa and French North Africa were all that remained. Now they have gone, with their 26,000,000 inhabitants, 30 per cent of the world's natural phosphates, three percent of the world's iron ore, large production of vegetable oil seeds and nuts and cocoa, and key naval bases for the control of the Mediterranean and the South Atlantic.

With the fall of the French Empire, history again repeats the lesson taught at Hongkong, Singapore and Rangoon, namely: colonialism is incapable of defending a territory or population under its control. A major buttress of the colonial system has been destroyed. And Ethiopia has been revenged; for it was the infamous Pierre Laval who hatched with Sir Samuel Hoare the pact that in 1936 betrayed Ethiopia to Mussolini. And now Laval is finished.

A Stey to Self-Determination

Most important, however, is the fact that the French colonies—all except Indo-China—have come under control of the United Nations, that single political entity composed of many nations whose unity and collaboration is based upon unanimous renunciation of all aims of aggrandizement, and affirmation of the right of self-determination of all peoples.

This means that the post-war future of these peoples will be determined by no single power, but by a concert of powers including a new France—certainly no imperialist France—and the United States, China and the Soviet Union. The participation of a non-imperialist France, the Soviet Union and China in this single entity is sufficient assurance that no mandate system similar to that of the League of Nations, which merely masked the operation of colonial exploitation, will deny these peoples the chance to govern themselves.

Needless to say, Negro-America's participation in this change gives Negro-America the authority and imposes upon it the responsibility of exerting its political and economic weight in the interest of self-determination for these peoples of Africa. All efforts to strengthen the unity of the United Nations, as a pre-condition for fulfilling the promises and pledges of their membership in the United Nations, will promote this end.

So also will all efforts to strengthen the unity of the nation behind the administration program to crush the Hitlerite Axis be a guarantee that the role of the United States in the United Nations is one of promoting the interests of the peoples of Africa. Obviously, such efforts by Negro-America are simultaneously efforts that lead towards its full eqaulity in the United States.

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

SECOND THOUGHTS

By S. I. HAYAKAWA

Nov. 21, 1942

That Editor's Pencil

WHEN DR. METZ LOCHARD invited me to write a column for The Chicago Defender, I accepted, of course, with pleasure. Who wouldn't? ("We wouldn't!" chorus a million anti-Negro bigots. But so damn many of them can't read and write, I don't suppose Dr. Lochard was thinking of them anyway.)

But there was one point I wanted cleared up before I started. Certain newspaper men have a set notion about how much the public can or cannot understand. Whenever a good story comes in involving for example, technical points in science or psychology, fine points in law or politics, they say, "Hell, the public can't understand that." Then they either write the story in such a way that the significance is lost, or else they drop it altogether. They seem to assume that the only technical points and fine details the public can understand are those concerned with ball games or rape cases.

I've run into it so often that it's become something of an obsession with me. This set belief that "the masses" are too stupid to understand scientific discoveries, or good debates in Congress, or a subtle argument by a first-rate speaker, or a tricky situation in labor relations, makes many newspaper men over-simplify (and falsify) almost every story that is a little bit more complicated than the account of a traffic smash-up.

Not only that, but it stands in the way of every conscientious reporter or writer who really wants to tell the public something it didn't know before. The self-anointed "realists" of what they like to call the "newspaper game" toss one good story after another into the wastebasket, saying, "Hell, the public won't understand that!"

Just a Delusion

Newspaper men aren't the only victims of the "realism" delusion. Not long ago I was at a meeting of a morale committee of the Office of Civilian Defense. One man, a college professor, kept gumming up the discussion all evening. The rest of us were trying to figure out what to emphasize in morale work, and had arrived at such things as the DIFFERENCE between the German people and the Nazi government; the DIFFERENCE between the old British imperialism at its worst and the gradual liberalizing of the old views that is going on today; the DIFFERENCE between old wars fought for conquest or just for the hell of it and the kind of war which, in spite of falterings here and there, is now being fought for the Four Freedoms, which a large number of people (including President Roosevelt and Vice President Wallace) are genuinely serious about.

An Intellectual Vice

This "realism" delusion is, I think, one of the most serious vices of the intellectual. This professor, however, wouldn't let us discuss in peace. Every few minutes he would interrupt: "That's too subtle for the public to understand. That's too complicated for the masses." What he wanted to do was simplicity itself.

"Just keep making them mad at the enemy," he said. "The masses are only interested in immediate personal comforts. They don't like to have to eat less meat. Tell them to lick the Germans and they can get all the meat they want. They don't like gasoline and tire rationing. Tell them to lick the Japs and they can get all the tires they want. Tell them the enemy is trying to take away his food, his comforts, his girl friend. The masses don't understand big words like 'justice' and 'democracy.' Why don't you try to be realistic?"

Anyway, to get back to what I started with, I asked Dr. Lochard if the Defender's policy, to any slight degree even, included this low opinion of the intellect, such as is evident in most newspapers. (Of course, I put it more politely than that, or I'd have been thrown out there and then.) "What do you think we're hiring you for if not to say something?" said Dr. Lochard. So I guess my question is answered, and it's up to me to say something

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An Intellectual Vice

This "realism" delusion is, I think, one of the most serious vices of the intellectual. What is an intellectual, at least, but the person who can sling around the vocabulary faster than the rest of us? That's a lot less connection with knowledge, between vocabulary-slinging and wisdom, than a lot of people think.

Anyway, to get back to what I started with, I asked Dr. Lochard if the Defender's policy, to any extent, included this low opinion of the public's capacity to understand, such as is evident in the Hearst newspapers. (Of course, I put it to Dr. Lochard more politely than that, or I'd have been thrown out there and then.)

"What do you think we're hiring you for if not to say something?" said Dr. Lochard.

So I guess my question is answered, and it's up to me to say something

48b-1942
Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

The Horizon

BOB WEAVER SHOULD NOW BE GIVEN A JOB IN SERVICE OF HIS COUNTRY RATHER THAN HIS RACE

BY P. L. PRATTIS

NOV 7 - 1942

I AM glad Bob Weaver lost his job. That is an inaccurate way of saying that I am glad that the organization to deal with Negro labor and training problems which he built with such painstaking care and so skillfully, was snatched out from under him and now finds lodgment with the Fair Employment Practices committee.

To write such a statement reads as though Bob Weaver isn't my friend, which he is, or as though I didn't appreciate Bob Weaver's ability, which I do. I am happy that he lost out in the long-drawn-out controversy with FEPC, a controversy in which I could not share, but could appreciate, his point of view. If he feels hurt, I can understand. I would feel hurt if my brain child or handiwork were summarily taken from me. I would wonder what's the use of doing if, after you've built up and have done a good job, the task is turned over to somebody else. I don't suppose I would be able to see that other things were building around me and that, regardless of how well I had built, the greater good required that I fall in line or get out of the way. There certainly was no need in the War Manpower Commission for three organizational set-ups to deal with minority labor problems. The most logical spot into which to drop all these problems was in the lap of FEPC which does have some authority through Executive Order although that authority may not be complete enough.



Mr. Prattis

BUT to explain why I am glad that a friend whose ability I admire, has had a certain work taken away from him, I must express my belief that I do not believe these Negro set-ups in government in Washington give the Negro a chance to contribute his best to his country. He has no chance for upgrading except within the confines of these narrow set-ups. I suppose the so-called Negro advisers were necessary and, indeed, I am not critical of them as such. I was pleased when they burgeoned and I'll be just as pleased when they wither and fade away. They were the perhaps necessary step to give the Negro some experience in government from which he had been barred just as effectually as he has ever been barred from industry. He had to get in in some way and find out how bureaucracy works. He ought to know by this time and he ought to be prepared to move out of the chrysalis of race distinction into the sunlight of service and advancement based on merit alone.

NOV 7 1942

CHANCE FOR McNUTT

THAT is why I am glad Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission, and General McSherry, his operations chief, have the task of finding new work for Bob Weaver to do. He is just about the best-prepared Negro they could find in government to put to work for the American people. It would perhaps startle Bob to realize that from the standpoint of experience he is almost a veteran. I would not suggest that Mr. McNutt remove any white man and put Bob in his place. But I am more than confident that Mr. McNutt has white men in places of administrative responsibility requiring special skill who lack both Bob's training and his administrative skill. I do not believe FEPC at the present time functions as smoothly or as effectively as the set-up of which Bob has been recently relieved.

NOV 7 1942

SHOULD BE UP-GRADED

I HOPE that Bob will be big enough (I'm sure he is) to spurn any work offered him that continues to limit him to "the problem." I hope he will contend for some upgrading for himself. Mr. McNutt has shown in the controversy recently ended some regard for Bob. I hope he proves this regard is sincere by giving him a challenging job.

Of course, it is unnecessary to write much comment about Dr. Will Alexander who finds himself in the same position as Dr. Weaver. No work restricted to the Negro will be given to Dr. Alexander. He is white and an American. Dr. Weaver is almost white and he is an American, too. Why should any other factors enter into assigning either of them to work than those having to do with their true abilities, either of them?

NOV 7 1942

I would almost be willing to vote for Mr. McNutt for President if he does right things in this instance. I am inclined to believe Wendell Willkie would.

Amsterdam Star-News
New York, N. Y.

As the Crow Flies

By DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

NOV 14 1942

TEA COMES TO US entirely three thousand miles out of the British Empire in quantity and quality sufficient. Coffee, in order to make its journey of fifteen hundred miles from Brazil, meets hell and high water and reaches us not at all. Why?



Dr. Du Bois

Willkie in his recent speech hung up a high standard. Can he lead the Republican corporations to accept it? If he can, he is the miracle man we are looking for.

Eleanor clubs may be fiction; and yet nothing would help the South more, both black and white, than to have the underpaid and inefficient black peons come out of the white kitchens to keep their own kitchens clean and to let white women learn what it means to build a home.

This was not an effective election. Only a few people cared enough to go to the polls. Until we have popular elections with real questions at stake and real candidates in the field there will be no democracy neither here nor in Germany nor in China.

We Exploit Our Own People

Let me return again to the question of a new economic morality. Usually when we talk about exploitation; about low wages, wretched conditions of work and various sorts of extortion, we are thinking of our white masters; but let us remember that any economic reform, any substitution of colored masters for white, involves the question as to how far we exploit ourselves. That we murder each other in large numbers is well known. But that we steal from each other is not so widely recognized. Yet consider clear instances: There is the case of the expensive funeral. Here is a poor family which by investing pennies weekly has a funeral insurance of one hundred dollars. There is no earthly reason why a family suffering this degree of poverty should have a funeral costing a cent more than twenty-five dollars, even if as much. As a matter of fact and long-established custom among us, the colored undertaker takes the whole of the hundred dollars and gives this family a hundred-dollar funeral which may cost him fifty dollars and probably much less. He makes at least one hundred per cent on his efforts. It is not so much the fact that this is worse than stealing; it is that the colored community regards it complacently and looks upon it as legitimate business; even as evidence of smartness and efficiency.

Or take the case of the insurance society in question. It has in the past made a great deal of its money from the lapsed payments of clients who are unable to keep up their weekly dole. Out of these lapses large sums have formerly been accumulated and distributed as profits. Some states now make this procedure illegal, but even then there are the various methods by which insurance due for sickness or death is either denied or refused or reduced by legal technicalities. Not only colored, but white, insurance societies in many cases follow this practice. I know a pianist who paid exorbitant premiums for years to protect her hands. When by accident the ligaments of her hands were torn away the insurance company paid not a cent. Their policy referred to the breaking of bones. Here again the making of profits by neglecting to pay insurance due is too widespread and the practice, even when it is known, is not sufficiently condemned among us.

There is another case. We used to raise large sums to capitalize business enterprises within the race. This capital was invested, but there was no legal commitment to pay interest or profits upon it. I could point to a half dozen cases of Negro enterprises with capital running up to a hundred thousand dollars or more where over a period of twenty-five years not a single cent in profit nor interest has been paid to the poor people who furnished the capital.

NOV 14 1942

I am not for a moment saying that all business enterprise, or all Negro business enterprise, is guilty of this sort of theft. I know Negro business men who have paid their debts and met their commitments and been absolutely honest in their transactions; but you and I know others who have not, and we must build for the post-war world a new Negro business morality, a morality that not only will not commit but will not countenance the stealing of money under the guise of racial business enterprise.

The Plaindealer
Kansas City, Kan

BETWEEN THE LINES

By Dean Gordon B. Hancock, For ANP

NOV 6 - 1942

Terror Tactics

Europe today is in the early throes of a reign of terror. Hitler and the Hitlerian program threaten to deluge the world with a terrorism unequaled in the histoy of mankind. The Germans themselves are terrified into supporting a war wherein their own doom is sealed. The occupied countries are terror-stricken into a subjugation that leaves life hardly worth living. The infamous firing line where the lives of Hitler's opponents are snuffed out is fast becoming a nightmare to Europe that terrorizes men everywhere.

European civilization is prostrate in the dust of defeat and all because of the notion that one race of men is superior to another. The superior race idea is proving the damnation of civilization and the end is not yet. It is just as well for the world to realize that this notion is just as damnable in America as in Europe. It is a pattern of thought that precludes peace and concord among the nations. There will surely be World War III if the present war is concluded while the race superiority ideology is extatn. This one evil notion may easily doom mankind.

NOV 9 - 1942

H. G. Wells was going to the heart of the matter when he wrote that race prejudice is the worst single thing in the life of mankind today. The races must make their choice; they must either discard the idea of race superiority or accept the curse of interminable wars of more and more devastating proportions. It cannot be otherwise in a world exposed to the Christian ethic.

The reign of terror in Europe is mirrored in the south of the United States. The resurgence of Ku Klux Klanism and the recent attempt to organize a League to Preserve White Supremacy are parts of the same terror tactics that are the damnation of Europe. It is a pattern from the same cloth. It is just as deadly and damnable here in America as in Europe. Whereas Europe is having a full dose of the civilization poison, we are having broken doses here which are proving culturally nauseous and economically depressive. These terror tactics are at variance with the victory slogans we are popularizing. It is quite possible for America to win the war and lose its soul.

NOV 6 - 1942

The recent outbreak of lynching in the South is a part of the program of terror tactics and just as damnable and dangerous as that applied by Hitler himself to the conquered people of Europe. Such tactics cannot be bad in Europe and good in America; and althought the fight to eradicate this evil may be a hard one, it is just as well that we here in America understand that wars will not end until terror tactics are banished from the earth. Terror tactics are failing in Europe, for the conquered peoples are conquered in their bodies while their spirits are free. Here in America terror tactics have failed for they leave the Negro unconquered in his spirit and this is the important thing.

The Red Black and Blue

President Roosevelt easily becomes the world's greatest figure today. The fine oratory of Churchill and the solid determination of Stalin are great, but Roosevelt is outstanding. Roosevelt's heart is right and this makes him right altogether. His most recent word of comradery to Stalin easily marks him as the biggest man on the 20th century scene. When he hails Stalin with the words "We Americans are proud to be your allies," he was saying something that was worth saying above all other worth while saying. This word of greeting was a direct thrust into the teeth of those who are trying to blow hot and cold on our alliance with Russia, There are many in this country who are still afraid of the Russian Reds although those Reds are saving our vaunted democracy from the wicked assaults of Hitler and his wicked ally Japan.

It makes a thoughtful person shudder to think on what might have happened to us had the Russions not stood up to the Nazi blitzkrieg. We would have been irretrievably lost. Just how these Russophobes can bask in the protection of Russian arms and subtly suspect the Russian Reds is beyond comprehenion. These short-sighted creatures are trying to eat their cake and have it too. Heaven pity them!

NOV 6 - 1942

But great Roosevelt comes out like the world statesman that he is and hails him whose protecting hand has been our salvation. If these semi-Nazi Americans would put as much attention on the Nazis as they put on the Negroes and Russians, this would really be a war of the Red, White and Blue instead of one against the Reds and Negroes!

48b-1942
Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

Mallon Challenged On Statements About Negro

NOV 1 - 1942

By FRANK MARSHALL DAVIS

PAUL MALLON, writer of the syndicated column, "Behind the News," does not seem to be particularly prejudiced but he is undoubtedly grossly misinformed on the race problem and shows it plainly in his Washington broadside dated October 18.

His lack of knowledge would be neither more or less serious than that of the average white American were it not for the fact that Mr. Mallon's writings are widely printed in daily newspapers presumably read by persons who conceivably might be spurred to change racial conditions were they introduced to the truth. His obvious ignorance is therefore as detrimental in effect as if he were a rabble rousing Negrophobe. He has good things to say, but they are neutralized by his antediluvian mental meanderings.

The column in question says, among other things:

"Legally and politically a Negro is entitled to any job, to any position in life. He has not attained the position to which he is legally and politically entitled, because he has not satisfied the social and economic requirements . . . You cannot make a white person sit with a Negro or vice versa anywhere, unless both want to, and both will not want it until they have reached the same social and economic level."

SHOWS LACK OF KNOWLEDGE

NOV 1 - 1942

Mr. Mallon ought to be acquainted with the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices, the United States Employment Service and the Negro division of the War Manpower Commission. These federal agencies have been giving special attention to the failure of Negroes to get jobs to which, the columnist himself says, there are "legally and politically entitled." Although the war program demands the all-out effort of every person in America, many manufacturers of battle implements, working on contracts to be paid for through taxes and bonds from both Negroes and whites, have utterly refused to hire qualified Negro workers or else have given them only taken employment, i. s., hired one or two to keep on the good side of Washington.

Failure to hire Negroes cannot be traced to "not satisfying the social and economic requirements." Many of those refused jobs are graduates of the nations' foremost universities. There they studied beside and made friends with their white fellow students, often outranking them scholastically, and being elected members and officers in campus societies by these same white students. That ought to satisfy anybody as to their special isfy anybody as to their social acceptibility, although I was unaware previously that listing in the Blue Book was a prerequisite to building guns and tanks.

NOV 1 - 1942

PUZZLING STATEMENT

As for satisfying the economic requirements, it is apparent that most Americans, whether white or black, must work for a living. Why, therefore, should a Negro who needs a job and can do the work be considered inferior economically to a white person in the same position?

Mr. Mallon further says, "The Negro is only a few generations out of the African jungle and he is living in a country which has a basis of civilization stretching back 6,000 years into an entirely different world."

It is obvious that the columnist knows little of history or anthropology. America is a combination of civilizations and influences from all parts of the world. The belief that the native African had no connection with the outside world vanished with the blunderbuss. Dr. Melville Herskovits, noted anthropologist of Northwestern university, in his well documented volume, "The Myth of the Negro Past," points to a large number of contributions of the African slave to our polygot American civilization.

INFLUENCED CIVILIZATION

Historians also know that African natives, spreading northward from the interior and east and west coasts, exerted influence upon the world's early civilization. Certain pharoahs were what are today called Negroes, and ancient Egyptian civilization antedates anything in Europe. African Negroes, by invasion and conquest, had plenty to say about Southern Italy and Spain. Meanwhile, miscengenation was going on centuries before Christ.

Some theorists of high repute have gone so far as to say that the first Europeans were Negroes, the Grimaldi, who migrated there from Africa and in the passage of centuries in a colder and less sunny climate became bleached out. Ancient art discovered throughout Europe is offered as part of the evidence. This, of course, is too shockingly horrible for the ordinary white American to contemplate. But this should be enough to show that neither "American civilization" nor "European civilization" is foreign to the African.

Says Mr. Mallon: "The Negro problem then is to raise the average Negro civilization of the country to the white average, not by fiat or other official means. but by providing the Negro with the opportunities to advance himself into it."

NOV 1 - 1942

INDEED A SURPRISE

This is a surprise to me for I had not been aware that America boasted a white "civilization" and a Negro "civilization." If he means "education," we are getting somewhere. In that case, fiat seems the only remedy because if left to themselves, the states with enforced school separation will not voluntarily provide adequate educational facilities. Not until the Gaines case decision by the U. S. Supreme court in 1937 did Missouri, North Carolina and other commonwealths attempt to provide courses in law, journalism or any of the professions for Negroes. And if the states voluntarily did this, fiat would not be necessary.

The commentator goes on to say, "Lynching, for instance, has declined greatly without any anti-lynching bill by the natural course of increasing Negro intelligence and corresponding white fairness expressed in courts of justice. Jim crowism will end when the Negro section of the car is as clean and inviting as the white section."

Just what has Negro intelligence got to do with being lynched? Does he mean that Negroes should be sufficiently intelligent to stay out of mobproof jails? In Laurel, Mississippi, last week a Negro was awaiting sentence to life imprisonment for slaying a white dairyman when a mob removed him from a mobproof jail and hanged him, less than a week after another mob 35 miles away had lynched two 14 year old Negro boys, charged with attempted assault on a white girl.

The lack of intelligence, it would seem, was displayed by these mobs.

SILLY ARGUMENT

As for jim crowism on cars, their cleanliness or dirtiness is a matter of concern to the carrier management, unless Mr. Mallon is of the opinion that each Negro passenger should be supplied with a broom and duster and told to get to work. Jim crowism is based on the silly shibboleth of white supremacy, the scientifically bankrupt doctrine that the happenstance of color makes individuals and groups fundamentally different. If it were not so, then according to his kindergartenish reasoning, there would be no discrimination when passengers boarded a carrier since, theoretically, the impersonal cars are as clean in the Negro section as in the white. My imagination falters at trying to visualize Mississippi whites boarding a train, inspecting the colored half of the baggage coach and saying, "This sure looks good to us. Some of us want to sit up here, so you black folks go back and ride with the rest of us in our section!"

NOV 1 - 1942

Still another gem from Mr. Mallon: "Instead of repealing poll taxes, give the Negroes more schools and better teachers, so their children can advance themselves in the world, earn more money and pay their poll taxes, so they can qualify to vote by educational restrictions."

LOST IN WOODS

No intelligent person believes that poll tax repeal is a cureall for the Negro's political ills. Florida has no poll tax requirement, yet that state has faced no crisis caused by Negroes voting. More schools and better teachers are needed, but there is no evidence that this will produce the ballot

48b-1942
Peoples Voice
New York, N. Y.

The Listening Post

By JOE BOSTIC Nov. 28, 1942

BIRMINGHAM—Boy, oh boy, this balmy weather is a killer! Just like early October. We watched a football game in New Orleans Saturday with the sun beaming down and the gulf blowing in a temperature of around eighty in the blazing sun (Ed. note: Story on sports page) In the other towns that we've visited, our report has concerned itself in a large measure with the trivia and the social doings, but the things that are happening in Birmingham are so pregnant with national social significance that we think it imperative we address our report on this city to those aspects. An oversized job, we'll admit, considering our limited mental equipment.

Located here is the fountain head of the Talmadge-Dixon-Wilkinson inspired school of "counter agitation" to the aggressive but logical and dignified campaign of Negro leadership, to achieve for Negroes full citizenship status in the national commonwealth.

The Negro leadership here is crystal clear in its analysis of the basic program needed to solve the complex and oft perplexing, so-called "Negro problem." As contrasted to the leadership in nearby smug Atlanta, there is no vaccillation, none of the introduction of the poppy-cock of sectionalism (such as inspired the now almost thoroughly discredited Greensboro "Charter" convocation) as a prerequisite to a constructive program for the abolition of the anti-democratic, war retarding, expensive, pro-fascist practices which blight the South's thinking; prevents its progress; and keeps it generally poverty stricken. Men of the stripe of Dr. E. W. Taggart, the NAACP head, is unlike many others in similar position who operate on the principle that the organization is a springboard for social climbing aspirants.

Nov. 28, 1942

Then, there is progressive, fearless Emory Jackson who is a living denial of the false claims of the race baiters and the Negro "appeasers" and status quo boys, who poll parrot them. Their line is to the effect that all of the agitation comes from Northern Negroes and "outside influences" and that the Negroes in the South are perfectly satisfied with the existent relationship between the races. Jackson, Editor of the *Birmingham World*, is Birmingham born and is a key leader in the fight.

The progressive youth groups of both races have gone into high gear to stimulate the growth of the trade union movement, realizing that here is an area in which there is a community of interest and hence one which will hack at the very foundation of the system which fosters race hate and keeps it alive via dastardly appeals to animal emotions. Leaders in this circle include Dr. James E. Jackson, Esther Cooper, Louis Burnham, Charles G. Gomillion, Dorothy Challenor, James Kelley, W. A. Bell, J. B. Simms and Rob Hall.

Opposed to this imposing array stand the acrimony spewing Horace Wilkinson who is the acccredited spokesman for those who are making a last desperate stand to keep the Negro from emerging from the shackles of social, political, economical and civil bondage. Both sides in Birmingham are completely aware of what the other is trying to do and each is determined that the other shall not succeed. Each represents the thought of that part of his group with a formulated program. That's why it is the considered opinion of your correspondent that the ultimate showdown between the conflicting ideologies must take place here where there is, on the one hand courage, purpose, constructive planning, interracial co-operation and vision; on the other, hatred, a fanatical desire to keep alive a vicious system predicated on morbidity and spawned in the cancerous womb of blinding, passionate prejudice.

* * *

TUSKEGEE—Really was disappointed when we were unable to promote the long anticipated interview with Dr. Carver, but the venerable gentleman, whom we worship with the deepest reverence, wasn't up to it and we didn't press the issue . . . Edith Jeter, the New York swim flash, is making quite a name for herself as a Physical Ed majorette . . . Met Louis Baker ("Miss Tuskegee" for this year) and she's the last word in charm as well as being a looker. Her ambition: Ultimately to have a hubby, home and babies. Now, is that any way for a glamour to think? . . . At the air base near by we were hosted by Capt. Roy Morse, who showed us around the place and then had us to supper in the officers' mess. Saw three other New Yorkers, Capt. Floyd McDonald, Lieut. Freeman and former athlete flying cadet Wilmeth Sidat-Singh . . . Saw the most impressive ceremony of a lifetime when we witnessed "Retreat" at the close of the day. Every man comes to a rigid attention as the band plays the national anthem and the flag is slowly taken down. Nov. 28, 1942

As one soldier put it: "There is plenty around here to make your blood boil. But, there's something about the dramatic simplicity and sincerity of that retreat just before dusk, as the sun sets over the hills, that makes you anxious to give your blood pint by pint for the protection of that flag." Well, chums, he said it all. I still get a lump in my throat when I see the scene again in my mind's eye.

Next week we'll tell you something about our visits to New Orleans, Memphis and Nashville . . . Hey, Boss, we'll be back in New York December 2nd, after catching the West Virginia-Wilberforce game and the Ray Robinson fight in Detroit. By that time I'll have completed my assignments in Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburgh and of course Detroit . . . Did you miss me? Never mind, don't answer that one.

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

Stewart No Problem, Says White Writer

DEC 26 1942

White American war correspondents bound for North Africa with a troop convoy from England found no problem in the mixing of races. DEC 26 1942

Ollie Stewart of the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers was with the group — eating, sleeping and playing with them—and the cordial relations prompted the following comment from Ernie Pyle in his syndicated column appearing in the Washington Daily News:

"Ollie Stewart is the only colored American correspondent accredited to the European theatre. He is well educated, conducts himself well and has traveled quite a bit in foreign countries before.

No "Problem"

"We all grew to like him very much on the trip. He lived in one of the two cabins with us, ate with us, played handball on deck with the officers, everybody was friendly to him and there was no 'problem'." DEC 26 1942

Others in the group included Bill Lang of Time and Life, Red Mueller of News Week, Joe Liebling of the New Yorker, Gault MacGowan of the New York Sun, Sgt. Bob Neville, correspondent for the army papers, Yank and Stars and Stripes, and two army censors Lieuts. Henry Mayer and Cortland Gillett. DEC 26 1942

Washington Tribune
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Alain Locke and the New World

12/5/42

Ever now and then—with a wide desert between the now and then—some Negro scholar comes out of his ivory tower to do something for his people. So often a Ph. D. becomes the graveyard of a Negro scholar. A Ph. D. should be the Alpha of scholarship and not its Omega. I have shed many bitter tears over the graves of colored Ph. D.'s and A.M.'s.

Mr. Alain Locke is not one of these. Seventeen years ago he edited a special issue of the SURVEY GRAPHIC called *Harlem: Mecca of the New Negro.* I still remember its inspiration, its illumination

Today Mr. Locke, in the same magazine, gives us a survey of *Color: Unfinished Business of Democracy.* I ask my readers to secure a copy of this special Negro number, at 112 East 19th Street, New York City. It is a bargain at 50 cents.

The most powerful blitz in the world is the Word. The South won the Civil War with the Word. If the United States needs the Word to win this war, we lowly Negroes need it a thousandfold. Our salvation lies in the propaganda of our just cause.

THE CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE

The Negro has suffered more from the conspiracy of silence than any other minority group. A Negro criminal can make the front page. A Negro achievement goes unmentioned in the White press. All the American public knows is what it reads in the newspapers.

12/5/42

A race must toot its own horn. Negroes waste too much time grumbling among themselves about their injustices. The Bilbos use the radio, the press, the pulpit, the classroom, and the Congress to spread the poison of race hate. If a lie is uttered often enough and loud enough, it becomes a truth to the public. That's the reason other races and nations and pressure groups propagandize. In the last election Big Business used $25,000,000 for propaganda.

We Negroes seem to think if we say nothing, we'll wake up some morning with the race problem solved. Agitation is the price of liberty. It took 150 years of agitation against human slavery to build Howard University. The master talks; the slave remains silent.

The first thing a tyrant does is to puzzle the press. Caesar did it. Hitler does it. The South does it. Napoleon was asked why he destroyed the freedom of the press.

He replied: "If I granted freedom of the press, I wouldn't last three days."

12/5/42

THE UNFINISHED BUSINESS OF DEMOCRACY

So in the November issue of the SURVEY GRAPHIC, Mr. Locke takes up the unfinished business of democracy. He breaks the conspiracy of silence. And he is ably assisted by both White and Negro writers.

I cannot give you a picture of this fine banquet of facts and inspiration. Herbert Agar is here with "The Quest for Equality." Elmer Carter with "Shadows of the Slave Tradition." Walter White with "The Right to Fight for Democracy." John A. Davis with "The Negro Outlook Today." A. Philip Randolph with "Why We Should March?" Sterling Brown with "Out of Their Mouths."

Black America and White America speak from these pages with tongues of fire. They burn through the conspiracy of silence.

Yes, Color is an outstanding example of the unfinished business of democracy. Now, my readers, how can you help finish this business? Yes, you have a weapon—the greatest weapon in the world. It is called the Word.

I mean a letter to the editor. Read newspapers. Read magazines. When some writer defends the race, write the editor a letter. When some Negrophobe condemns the race, write the editor a letter. Use the Word. It is a two-edged sword for democracy and justice.

12/5/42

As the heirs of slaves, we have been taught not to use the Word. It was a crime in slavery times to teach a Negro the Word. If we are ever to be free, we must do what Mr. Locke has done in the SURVEY GRAPHIC. We must place our cause before the bar of public opinion. We must toot our own horn.

48b-1942
Amsterdam News
New York, N. Y.

As the Crow Flies

OCT 10 1942

LISTEN FOR FARM slavery. It is in the air. An American Negro General is in England. Was there ever a British-born Negro who became an officer?



Dr. Du Bois

Mr. McNutt protests that he has not killed the FEPC—yet.

Poland, Czecho - Slovakia, Greece, Holland, Belgium, France; Dunkirk, Hong-Kong, Singagpore; Dieppe, Stalingrad; India!

The recent biography of Gen. Billy Mitchell, prophet of air power, reveals that among the "Brass Heads" who kicked him out of the army was our national hero, MacArthur, now distributing medals in Australia.

OCT 10 1942

1944: For President, Rankin of Mississippi; for Vice-President, Dies of Texas; for Congress the KKK with senators Talmadge and Blease.

"Business Men"

The son of the late Bishop Carey preached recently in his Chicago church and said "It's a sorry day when substantial business people team up with racketeers to take poor people's money under the pretext of providing amusement for soldiers."

The CHICAGO BEE claims to have discovered that a considerable number of the leading colored business men of Chicago have raised a capital of fifty to seventy-five thousand dollars to construct a recreation hall and dance pavilion in the city of Fry near Fort Huachuca, Arizona. The BEE further declares that this recreational hall is not only to be a liquor salon but in addition to this a gambling-joint with imported prostitutes. I do not know whether or not the allegations of the BEE can be substantiated but I have long been painfully aware that propositions such as this is alleged to be, have been popular among Negro American capitalists. Or in other words, American Negroes have not only adopted American business methods without question as to their morality or rightness, but only as to the amount of profit that can be made. And that while the general level of business morality among white Americans has been raised, Negro business morality has lagged behind.

OCT 10 1942

I know in my own personal experience I have several times come across this. I was driving once with a prominent physician in Charleston, South Carolina. He pointed out a row of old dirty hovels. "That is the kind of real estate investment that pays, small but regular rents, few repairs, limited investment!" I remember loking at these single room cabins and making-up my mind that if this was a way of making money, I would not make money. Since that I have been what many of my friends would call a fool with regard to accumulating wealth. I remember once that a chance was offered me to get in on the ground floor of a tottering insurance society which subsisted by collecting weekly contributions from poor people. I said no! Today the income of that organization runs into the millions, but it is still making money out of the lapsed payments of the poor. It is paying high salaries to its officials and starvation wage to its stenographers.

I once knew of a Negro bank that collected a fortune from poor colored people for its capital. It established itself and did business. It paid its officials good salaries but it never paid a single cent of interest or dividends upon its collected capital nor was the capital ever returned.

Once I had quixotic ideas of trying to buy a tenement house in New York. I was going to occupy one of the tenements with my family and see that the other tenants had every advantage and care that I demanded. The attempt was a miserable failure and I lost the accumulated savings of many years. I could have saved myself when the crash came. My neighboring landlords simply turned the tenements into one-room apartments and rented them. The whole row practically became a house of legal prostitution. I gave my interest away and moved out.

OCT 10 1942

What American Negro business men have got to remember is that a new economic morality is facing the world, and that emancipation from unfair private profit is going to be as great a crusade in the future as emancipation from Negro slavery was in the past.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

The Horizon

BY P. L. PRATTIS

OCT 17 1942

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT SHOULD HAVE LEEWAY TO ACT AS SWIFTLY AND DECISIVELY AS HITLER TO WIN THIS WAR

OCT 17 1942

I AM ALL for the strong hand at the helm. America has simply been stumbling alo toward readiness for war. She will lurch forward dizzily within the next few mont steady herself, see the magnitude of the task before her and be compelled to cast the upon which will depend not only her fate but also that of those millions of others w look to her to rescue humanity from an onrushing doom.

When that time comes, the time when America must wield the sword she is now forging in preparation, I want to see it wielded swiftly, bravely and surely. I don't want any arguments or debates about it. I don't want any fear or trepidation. I want the entire force of the American people behind the blow. Not only that, but that first blow should miss or fail to kill, I want that our leader should strike again, and yet again, always with the greatest courage, always with the greatest strength, always with the greatest confidence, until the foe, or we ourselves, are destroyed. I am for putting everything we have behind the Commander-in-Chief. I am for strong, decisive leadership and action on his part. His is the job. He must strike the blow. I am for removing all the impedimenta of the decomratic process from his way and giving him a full chance to do his best for us. If his best is not enough, we should find another leader.



Mr. Prattis

OCT 17 1942

FLOWER OF YOUTH MUST FACE DEATH

THIS mood comes upon me because I do not believe the American people have eevn yet thought enough in terms of the blood and sacrifice this war is going to demand. That they are willing, I have no doubt. But they haven't yet sensed the enormity of suffering they must go through. They are still thinking that maybe, in some way, just a few Americans will have to die. They are still hopeful that, as soon as we have our thousands of airplanes and tanks and guns ready for action, we can get them to do the job for us and save our lives. That is a false hope. The flower of American youth must face death and maiming by the hundreds of thousands.

OCT 17 1942

I'm neither a Nazi or a Fascist, although I did read Hitler's speech clear through. I didn't laugh at it and I'm not a defeatist. The one great lesson I learned from Hitler's speech was that, whatever he finds it necessary to do to win the war, he can do swiftly and completely and scientifically. He didn't have to ask a Congress if he might put soldiers to tilling the fields in the Ukraine. He doesn't have to wait upon any kind of process. I want our leader to be able to act with the same speed and certainty that our foes can. I want him to have at his hand, for instant use, every resource America has.

DEMOCRATIC PROCESS MAY BE "EXPENDABLE"

I DO NOT think democracy will suffer if we bow to the necessity for action to win the war. If a father were contemplating an addition to the family home, the chances are that he would call the members of the family, his wife, the older boys and girls, and discuss the matter, to learn what would be pleasing to all. But if the family were awakened in the middle of the night by a fire which was devouring the home, there would be no time for conference. All hands would turn to the best manner possible to combat the fire. We awoke December 7, last year, to find our house afire. Already, we have held too many conferences. If the house is saved, conferences can be held in the future. If the house is lost, what good is a process?

OCT 17 1942

You know, the democratic process of peace times may be one of the "expendables" of war. One American life is not worth an enemy gun or battleship destroyed. The democratic process during the war is not worth the democratic process after the war if, by giving up the one, we can secure the other. Some of our freedoms, especially those which flower in political debate and action, can certainly be sacrificed now to insure the greatest strength to the man at the helm when, come a few months, and the full force of America's first great offensive blow must be delivered to the enemy.

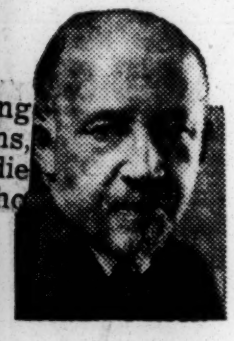
Amsterdam News
New York, N. Y.

As the Crow Flies

AUG 15 1942

By W. E. B. DU BOIS

"GOD made the country; Man made the City; but the Devil made the Small Town." This old aphorism, may not still be wholly true, but it illuminates the Hayes incident in Georgia.



Dr. Du Bois

Rome, Georgia, with 13,000 souls, lies some 60 miles south of Chattanooga, in the foot-hills of the Alleghanies, and in the "poor-white" belt of the southern South. A few miles away is Dalton, where Julia Derricottee was left to die beside the road, because the local hospital would not admit her. Through this section Sherman marched to capture Atlanta, and thence to the sea.

AUG 15 1942

In this kind of Southern town, race prejudice is bitterest; there is economic rivalry between white and black workers, with the blacks pushed more and more to the wall. With low wage and disfranchisement, the power of the blacks is small. The color line is harshly drawn and the Christian church is dumb.

What power can reach this nadir of American civilization? The Negro remedy thus far, has been to leave. Many of the finest Negro families of the larger cities of the South, and of the North, have stemmed from migrants from smaller Southern towns like Rome. But running away never finally won a battle. It must be fought out on the spot, by successful appeal to law and order and to civilization.

I hate to run away from a battle front. But if I do, I have something more than criticism for the brave and suffering victim. Even if I can say nothing helpful, I can at least keep my fool mouth shut.

AUG 15 1942

Chapter II

The differences between human beings are great and noticeable. They differ in height and size; in weight and proportion of limb; in color of skin and texture of hair; in reaction to stimulus, methods of thought and patterns of action. Of all these differences, those relating to thought and action are most important, but these unfortunately we know least; although we are beginning slowly to learn. The most striking and obvious differences, like skin-color and hair, are in all probability of least real significance, being superficial reactions to climatic and environmental conditions. More fundamental differences of psychological make-up and cultural gift, seem in no way linked to peculiarities of skin and hair.

Why, then, in a chapter on the differences between human beings, do I indicate its subject as "Color?" Because for some two hundred years the civilized world has been thinking that the chief differences among men are best indicated by the color of their skins. How could it possibly be that the best thinkers of the 19th and early 20th centuries could have been so crudely deceived? It was because this theory was calculated to ease their consciences and increase their incomes. Labor of human beings is the price of life, food and satisfaction. The forced labor of other human beings can be made to contribute this boon to us. From the beginning of time, therefore, men have forced others to work for them. The unfairness of this to the workers, has of course again and again become obvious, slavery mitigated and slaves freed. But there have been times when the results of slave labor have become so profitable to powerful groups of men, that reasons for its continuance were eagerly sought and quite naturally found.

AUG 15 1942

Some men, said the Greek philosophers, are slaves by nature. The task was then to find such "natural" slaves. And this task was not easy. When, however, in the century of awakening, the Renaissance, rich tasks were found for slaves in the new Americas, and masses of black men in Africa could be stolen from home and made to work for this wealth, the coincidence seemed to the credulous and the greedy as a revelation of a divine order. Black men were natural slaves and white men their God-appointed masters! Let Europe become rich, powerful, and happy on the toiling backs of dark peoples. From the moment this idea was firmly fixed in the minds of men, began World Wars. These wars were wars for power over the wealth and services of Negro and Asiatic workers. Slowly, but inevitably, there crept in, the revolt of the dark workers themselves; at first ostensibly to help the dominion of one group of whites; but slowly with the dawning thought of helping themselves. Moreover, to this effort was added the thought of certain whites who themselves began to doubt the religious and scientific basis of this race slavery philosophy, in which they had been nurtured.

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.

THIS MORNING



by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

"And coming events cast their shadows before."

AUG 31 1942

On afternoons in conquered Europe these days shadows begin to run before great thunderbirds. Daylight precision bombing by Flying Fortresses from America brings the war to a new phase and the Allies to a new promise of victory. These planes that make shadows are ghastly events for Germany. Of all the bombers they are the swiftest, the best-armed, the highest flying. They fly 320 miles an hour, as compared with the British Lancaster's 250. They attain altitudes of 35,000 feet. They have eight .50 caliber and two .30 caliber machine guns against the Lancaster's 10 .30 caliber ones. The Lancaster carries more bombs, it is true, eight tons as against the Flying Fortress' two to six. But the two ships are complements to each other. The Lancaster is for night bombing, the Fortress for daytime precision work. The night-flying ship will miss sometimes, with its eight tons. The ship that makes shadows will rarely miss. And with so many Allied planes gathering now against Germany, it is a practical necessity that some be for day and some for night. They would want for elbow room in the air, otherwise.

* * *

The present American Flying Fortress is the Boeing B-17E. A new model, the B-17F, will carry more than 10 tons of bombs and fly 335 miles an hour. Day or night, there will be nothing like it.

AUG 31 1942

* * *

Mr. H. V. Kaltenborn, the well-known preacher who used to be a news commentator, preached a sermon against the Flying Fortresses when he came back from England a few weeks ago. They were a great disappointment, he reported. What he must have meant was that they were a great disappointment to the Germans. Mr. Kaltenborn is hardly to be blamed for his woeful mistake. A man can't well attend to two things at once, and Mr. Kaltenborn has something else which absorbs him these days. Back in the old days when he was a news commentator, we remember how he dominated the Munich crisis almost as much as Chamberlain, Hitler, Daladier and Mussolini did.

* * *

Some of us who like to believe in the South and its leading men hate to think where all the Talmadge money is coming from in Georgia. Talmadge has the newspapers against him, true, but the advertising matter in them is immensely for him. In this week's issue of The Gainesville Eagle, for example, there is one full-page advertisement for Talmadge and, in addition, there are six separate smaller advertisements scattered throughout the 12-page paper. The paper itself is anti-Talmadge. There is only one advertisement for Ellis Arnall, Talmadge's opponent.

AUG 31 1942

We agree with Frank Dixon that federal interference with Southern poll tax laws should be opposed. The electoral situation in the South is one of several delicate and complex ones not to be entrusted to the rough hand of Uncle Sam. But we do not think Gov. Dixon is the man to make the speech about this matter. If he had fulfilled the spirit as well as the letter of his campaign promises and had gone down the line for repeal of the poll tax by the Legislature or his state, he could speak now with better reason and support. The poll tax in Southern states needs to be repealed in favor of a genuine educational qualification. Sense, not dollars, needs to be the basis for Southern voting. The fact that the federal government is not the party from whom the repeal should come imposes on state governments an extra obligation to repeal. Here as in other instances, the South's stand against Washington can be taken properly and successfully only if the South is willing to do for itself the right things it rightfully doesn't want Washington to do.

AUG 31 1942

An interesting angle on Gov. Dixon's poll tax outcry is a vicious circle it makes complete. At the time of his election there is reasnn to believe he was genuinely ready to go down the line for state repeal. If he had done so he could have succeeded for he was all-powerful with his Legislature at that time. But when the Southern Conference for Human Welfare met in Birmingham a few months before his inauguration and some of the Northerners who attended raised a great rumpus against race segregation, the resulting adverse reaction in Alabama was so furious that Dixon decided then and there to give his poll tax promise nothing but lip service. Thus, as so often before and since, a genuine reform which liberal sentiment in the South was about to impose of its own developing accord was prevented by the excesses and stupid interferences of outside reformers.

48b-1942
Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

SHEPHARD SPEAKS

DECLARES NEGRO LEADERS MISGUIDED, AND WE SHOULD FORGET OUR LAWFUL RIGHTS

BY JOSEPH D. BIBB

AS was expected, the cry of the compromising element of colored Americans is echoing out again. This writer predicted that the so-called "sane, safe and conservative type of Negro", who has been dubbed "Uncle Tom", would sooner or later venture out and seek to quell the ardor and dampen the enthusiasm of those among us who are striving to gain a plane of respectability for the darker Americans even in crucial times



Mr. Bibb

Doctor James E. Shephard, president of North Carolina College for Negroes, took it upon himself last week to inform the heads of the nation that "in the present serious situation," the question is "Not My Rights But My Duties."

A STRANGE DOCTRINE

This southern Negro educator is enunciating a strange doctrine that is anachronistic and out of shape with the times. While the whole civilized world clamors for its rights, this son of a subject race declares that contentions for justice and equality are but petty utterances and silly protests. Dr. Shepard is the same person who endorsed Judge Parker of North Carolina for the Supreme Court of the United States while the NAACP was disclosing to the country that Judge Parker had been a notorious Negro baiter and one of the exponents of the revulsive "yellow dog" contract. Now Dr. Shepahrd gives notice that "at the most opportune time I intend to make an address, as a Negro, to the people of this country."

THIS writer does not care to hear one word that he, or any of his ilk, has to say. Nobody has invited him to speak. In the writer's opinion, he is not truly representative of any red blooded Americans. He is a throw-over from the reconstruction period and his fossilized ideas can do aught but indenture and enthrall his own people. We want no word from Shephard, or any of the weazel-minded gentry, who put property rights above human rights.

Who else has asserted that we should forget our rights? Who has proclaimed that we should scrap the Constitution and do away with the Declaration of Independene? While the very national existence of the United States is in imminent danger, has not even the President and the majority of leading thinkers declared that the rights of mankind must remain inviolate. If we are to forget our rights and not be spurred on to fight and die for them, we will have little to hope for and less to die for. It is an important phase in our duties to fight for our rights. What Shephard means is that we should accept discrimination, segregation, insults and go jingling, jangling merrily along. Those sentiments were no doubt intended for slaves and scullions, but not for honest men of free thought and liberal intelligence.

RACE EXPLOITERS AND SELF-SEEKERS

NOW there are many people in this nation of narrow vision and small souls who will endorse Shephard's sophomoric, vaporings and there is a school of thought in the Negro race that will stamp its approval on them. The whites who favor such sentiments are typified by the Etheridges, the Dixons, the Talmadges, and the Rankins, while the Negro school is that which has always extended the "tin-cup," seeking donations, auxiliary funds, and gifts whereby they might fill up their miserable larders with pork chops and chicken.

THEY are the ones who have deceived and exploited the whites by posing as representatives of the "better class of Negro citizens." They are the flat-footed, scheming race problem hustlers who have been able to get the ears of the whites. They are in the minority, but they are now concocting schemes to foist upon white and black alike whereby they may again get into the limelight. Why does Shephard desire to make a speech to the people of this country? Why does he first direct his utterances to the white people and not to members of his own race? It is crystal clear that he desires to curry favor and gain importance.

HOLD SHEPHARD IN CONTEMPT

We are not unmindful of our duties. Are we not volunteering to fight in every branch of the armed services? Are we not buying our quota of Government Bonds? Are we not using every honorable method to work in wartime industry? Uncle Sam has not even intimated that the darker American has shirked his duty. Yes, we are mindful of our duty but we are having great difficulty in performing these duties in the face of obvious denials of our rights. Even Pegler admits that, if he were a Negro he would abide in constant fury and would no doubt beat out his brains against the bars.

SHEPHARD speaks as man without spine or conviction. He would condone injustice and smile as he is being kicked and buffeted, but he stands in well with the stony-hearted Americans, whose blood has been inoculated with the poisonous bacilli of racial hatred. He speaks without authority and without backing and this writer holds him in unutterable contempt.

Amsterdam News
New York, N. Y

As the Crow Flies

By W. E. B. DU BOIS

THE Eastern States would have the War. Th East is paying for it in rations and taxes The increasing unity of Asia, which must result from this war, is shown by the latest words of Indian leaders; there is no fear of Japanese domination. There is only greater determination that Europe shall never again rule Asia.



Dr. Du Bois

The arm chair war strategist is usually wrong. Yet it does seem that this war might be ended this wise: Let the United States stop trying to defend the North and South Poles. Let her prepare to defend Hawaii and the Pacific Coast by airplanes. Let her concentrate her whole fleet in the Atlantic and transport an armada of arms and materiel to Europe. Let the United States, England, the rescued French, Belgians, Dutch and peoples of the Balkans; kick Hitler so hard in the rear that his Drang nach Osten will land him face first into the Indian Ocean, where long may he rest.

Then let Europe and America deal with Asia and its intricate problems as a human councillor and friend, not as a superior race. If this plan is wrong, someone has been lying to me.

Culture, Color and Income

Chapter I (Continued)

In the long lapse of time, human systems of culture—that group habit of thought and action —have risen and fallen repeatedly in vast waves of patterns. One of the most interesting lines of speculation among students of mankind has been to differentiate and compare human cultures and try to explain the way of development. Is the kind of cultural pattern which prevails here and there at different ages, caused by the surrounding nature of soil, rock, and climate? Or is it a matter of difference of biological structure? Or is it difference in national life or deep racial characteristics?

We can trace in human history great accumulations and integrations of human cultural patterns, such as the Egyptian in Africa; the Chinese and Indian in Asia, the Greco-Roman in Europe, and the modern European-American. Besides these there have been innumerable smaller circles, touching larger or smaller groups of men. The larger cultures tended to touch, borrow or coalesce more or less. Or through war or catastrophe they absorbed each other, more or less. The smaller cultural centers, like the black Sudan, Melanesia, Mexico and Peru were overwhelmed and more or less disappeared.

"The Human Effort"

What was the meaning of all this human effort, this rise and fall of empires? Was it the progressive emergence of one great preconceived pattern, by which, gradually the Better overwhelmed the Worst until the Best—the Millenium—slowly but surely appeared? This was the comfortable belief of the 19th century, especially among those people who were happily circumstanced under prevailing conditions. But white laborers, black slaves and brown serfs; suppressed women and decimated children, contradicted this comfortable philosophy.

We fell back on the conception of human life as a struggle, with the weaker nations, and "inferior" races falling in the race, in accord with pitiless but inexorable law. Then slowly we saw that not always the Worst, but often the Best was falling in the struggle. That was the triumph of Europe over Africa in the slave trade, was not necessarily and always a triumph of civilization over barbarism; but too often of Greed over Beauty, of Might over Right.

The Twentieth Century brought us to an effort to know more about mankind and speculate less. We began to examine our dogmas about race, nation and human ability. We began to replace broad conclusions and statements about mankind, with more carefully weighed effort to understand: What were the actual habits of peoples and why were they adopted and modified? How far were these habits influenced by fixed and immutable factors like Race, and how far by human wish and Will? Could we by infinitely careful counting and measurement of human action gain any real knowledge of the reason and law behind the course of history?

If we found this in any degree possible, how far could humanity actually plan its history and future development, in accordance with reason and right?

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh. Pa.



Views and Reviews

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

Apropos the question of Negro leadership, one of the acute problems is the determination by a leader of what the followers really want and how far they are willing to go to get it. Criticism of current leaders is all well and good, but there needs to be analysis of the mass mind also if we are to judge the leaders justly.

Take the case of the NAACP upon which I touched last week. It seems to me that a not inconsiderable factor in holding back the growth of its membership has been not merely its too narrow construction of the meaning of advancement in planning its organization and tactics, but the fact that its policy has been consistently integrationist while the masses of Aframericans have been growing increasingly segregationist and racially chauvinistic to boot. This latter development results from the increasing physical separation of the two color groups on the job, in residential districts, in education and in social life, and this segregation has about the same effect on colored and white people.

* * *

We Americans, regardless of pigmentation, have become conditioned to segregation by the institutions and customs which have grown around us. I think it is undeniable that there is a widespread feeling in both groups that America is going to continue to be a bi-racial country, with "the white folks still in the lead." The failure to shake the fundamental segregationist setup in this country—North and South—during the New Deal "revolution," and even during the present total war, has made a lot of people of both groups resigned to racial separatism and willing only to put forth effort to improve the conditions surrounding the Negro WITHIN that frame work. It is axiomatic that organisms are shaped by their environment, and the American environment is one of color caste, with the darker caste suffering all of the disabilities. It is equally true that organisms follow the course of least resistance, which in the case of the so-called Negroes is toward "de luxe" segregation.

* * *

With few exceptions, those who shape opinion within the Negro group make their living and have most of their associations in a segregated setup. They teach Negroes in Negro schools, treat Negro patients in Negro hospitals, sell Negro insurance in Negro neighborhoods, write and publish newspapers for Negro readers with Negro staffs, preach in Negro churches to Negro congregations, head political organizations composed of Negroes in Negro neighborhoods, command Negro troops, etc., etc. This upper class which laps the thin cream off the top of segregation is not disposed to imperil what status it has by battling other than vocally for another status which seems unattainable in any discernible future. They may dream of that future status and passionately argue for it, but they are not ready to risk life and limb (and property) fighting for it. I am not here condemning this attitude; I am merely analyzing it. In sum, their increasing thinking and acting as a separate caste tends to freeze them in that status and to accept it even though with bitter reservations.

* * *

Turning to the masses of Negroes, I should say that they are more racially chauvinistic than their leaders who they so frequently dub "handkerchief heads," "Uncle Toms," etc. With few exceptions, they have been satisfied with segregated Federal housing. Plans for jim-crow shipyards and industrial plants have been accepted favorably in most part. They applaud the fallacious doctrine of racial proportionalism so sedulously fostered these days by certain colored "thinkers" and white "friends." Conditioned by their environment, they are in the main intolerant, suspicious and antagonistic toward white folks —an attitude which greatly retards the progress of integration from both sides. Like the whites, their first reaction to anything is a racial one. Whereas their leaders and eminent folk occasionally get glimpses of the promised land of social equality through associtaion with prominent whites, the masses rarely if ever do so, and are consequently more inclined to be racially clannish in thought and action. They will even condemn certain leading Negroes for associating with whites or for moving out of a Negro neighborhood. Very frequently (or rather, generally) the colored man or woman associating closely with a white woman or man becomes socially taboo.

* * *

The problem thus confronting the leaders of an organization committed to an integrationist policy is difficult. To increase its power it must increase its membership, but to increase its membership may endanger its program because of the increasing mass acceptance of the "just as good as" philosophy apologizing for "de luxe" segregation. Should the March On Washington movement develop into a real organization, it might conceivably become less integrationist than the NAACP (assuming its setup to be democratic rather than oligarchic) because of the "immediate demands" of the masses. So far, no organization has counseled non-co-operation with the increasing trend to segregation, and none will, although that is the logical step following failure of intergrationist propoganda to move the white caste to lower racial barriers.

On the other hand, widespread acceptance of "de luxe" segregation will increase racial chauvinism, thus inviting national disunity and worse persecution of the minority castes as a result of physical clashes. The East Indian leaders are confronted with no such complex problem as Aframerican leaders, so let us be charitable though criticial.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Fort Benning Pool Is Renamed for Col. Young

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 11—The Fort Benning (Ga.) Infantry pool has recently been renamed the "Young Pool" in honor of the late Col. Charles E. Young, first Negro to graduate from the West Point Military Academy, according to the War Department.

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Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mark Ethridge

UNFROCKED HIMSELF IN RECENT ARTICLE; LIBERATED SOUTHERNER HAS NOT SEEN THE LIGHT

BY HORACE R. CAYTON

I DISAGREE with so many persons that it really disturbs me to find myself in disagreement with the front page of my own paper. However, for sometime I've been griping to myself, and sometime out loud, about the enthusiastic reporting of relatively small gains by the Negro press, and this is another instance. On the front page of last week's Courier there were two articles, dated June 25th, extolling the wonderful results on the F.E.P.C. in Birmingham.



Mr. Cayton

I will agree that the very fact that hearings were held in Birmingham, Alabama, is a dictinct break with the conventional pattern of race relations in the South. The thing I am beefing about is the backsliding of one of the committee members which was not reported at all. I happened to pick up a copy of the Louisville Courier-Journal for June 21, and lo and behold, there was an article by Mark F. Ethridge, a member of the committee and the vice president and general manager of the Courier-Journal and the Louisville Times. I sat back to read with pleasure the fine words I thought this southern gentleman was going to say. Boy, that article took me for a ride.

FEPC ORDER NO SOCIAL DOCUMENT

According to the paper: Because the subject had a vital importance in our war effort and because Mr. Ethridge's conception of the problem was in accord with the policies of the Courier-Journal, Mr. Ethridge's statement which opened the Birmingham hearing was reproduced in its entirety. There were many good things in the statement but lots that could have been just as well unsaid—why he picked this time to sound off, I will never know. Here are some of the things which I object to:

One of the headlines stated: "Whites must accord Negroes political and economic justice; Negroes shouldn't mistake President's war order against discrimination for social document; segregation will remain in the South.

Mr. Ethridge stated plainly that he disapproves of the abolition of social segregation and sees in the Executive Order a simple expedient to organize the man power of the nation with no further hope or promise of integration in the following statements:

"Had I conceived it (the executive order and the FEPC to be a social document), I should not have accepted membership on the committee, because I would have regarded it as a perfectly futile, if not dangerous, gesture on the part of the President; because I would have conceived it to be disruptive rather than unifying, in that I would have considered a federal fiat demanding, for instance, the abolition of social segregation against the general peace and welfare; and because I would have considered a federal order of that kind to be in the Nazi dictatorial pattern rather than in the slower, more painful but sounder pattern of the democratic process."

"He (the Southern Negro) must recognize that there is no power in the world—not even in all the mechanized armies of the earth, Alied and Axis—which could now force the Southern white people to the abandonment of the principle of social segregation."

The editorial in the same issue of the paper stated that the Courier-Journal had received a great deal of criticism. That was perhaps why they were publishing the document. However, I'm telling you Mark Ethridge could have left some of these things unsaid. If he couldn't take the criticism, he should have gotten off the committee and, as a matter of fact, perhaps he should do it now.

HAD FAITH IN SOUTHERN LIBERALS

For one, I had placed much hope in this group of liberal southerners and I thought they had seen the light. I thought that they realized that the world was changing and were not as stupid as the British were, and are, in India about the color question. I thought they would act in self-interest if not in the cause of social justice. Apparently this is not the case with Mr. Ethridge. But I still have hopes for Herbert Agar, who talks like a second Lincoln. As soon as I read the article I called him in New York at Freedom House but he had not read Ethridge's statement, so could not give me his reaction. If he flunks out on us I will have lost hope in the new school of southern liberals—lost hope in their liberality as well as their political astuteness.

BUT to return to what I started with, I think the Negro press should have picked up this story. There is no point in glossing over or omitting the hard social realities of the situation or reporting in glowing terms this very serious situation.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

THE World TODAY

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

The fate of Africa and the world is being decided on the barren wastes of Libya as the armies of Rommel and Ritchie pound each other to pieces. With China effectively blockaded, Malaysia taken by Japan, and India an uncertainty, the riches of Africa become the great magnet, the pawn of rival imperialisms, the Happy Hunting Ground of exploiters.

CONTROL OF AFRICA means control of Near East oil in Iran and Iraq without which neither Allies nor Axis can win. It means control of the bauxite, wolfram, tin, graphite, copper, zinc, mica, manganese, chrome, iron, diamonds, palm oil, copra, cotton and timber of the second largest land mass in the world along with 160,000,000 unarmed, unorganized people who labor perforce for a pittance. Such control means wealth, leisure, military invincibility.

Significantly neither side has promised these 160,000,000 Africans anything but continued vassalage in event of victory. Mr. Churchill says the Atlantic Charter does not apply to them. Mr. Hitler promises merely to exploit them more ruthlessly, if that is possible. Mr. Stalin has addressed himself to the German workers but not to the Bantu workers. Mr. Roosevelt has said nothing.

EXECUTIVE ORDER No. 8802, fancifully termed "the second emancipation proclamation," is now one year old. It has been more effective than the first emancipation proclamation which actually freed nobody from slavery, but it has not been effective enough, although the Fair Employment Practice Committee has labored hard. Some Negroes have won jobs in war industries because of it. More will win jobs as time goes on. The FEPC needs more money and more authority.

Negro workers must understand that they have obligations as well as rights. While we are telling employers what THEY must do, there are several things WE can do. We can make ourselves worthy of the new and more responsible jobs we are getting. Too many Negroes are working three or four days and then laying off. Too many are not perfecting themselves in their operations with consequent accidents and spoilage. New opportunities must bring a new sense of responsibility. Complaints of shiftlessness are getting too frequent.

HARVARD MEDICAL SCHOOL scientists have discovered that beef blood plasma may be substituted for human-blood plasma in transfusions. Tried out on 2,690 Massachusetts prisoners, all but seven of the voluntary "guinea pigs" reacted favorably. The American Red Cross will probably not insist upon segregating the beef blood from the "white" blood, since so few steers are black, and none hail from Africa.

ITALIAN CIVILIANS whom Mussolini sent out to exploit Ethiopian workers, returned from East Africa to Genoa last week on two Italian liners which passed through the war zones via Capetown by agreement between the British and Italian governments. Thus ends Il Duce's ambitious scheme to introduce Mississippi conditions to Ethiopnian regions. Now Haile Selessie's countrymen have no one to fear except the British who naturally have no intention of exploiting anybody any more!

West Indians are reportedly eager to see American Negro troops, especially those with Negro officers. Their own troops never have Negro officers. So far all American troops sent down there have been white, and will continue to be. The British think they are having enough difficulty with native complaints against starvation and disfranchisement without having American Negro soldiers down there putting ideas into their heads. The U.S. officials will heed their wishes in the matter, so that's that.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE World TODAY

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Things happened last week that arouse hope for your future. In fabulous New Orleans, determined colored teachers rejected the school board's plan to gradually equalize their salaries with those paid to white teachers over a period of five years. The New Orleans colored teachers want pay equality now. Would that all of us were as determined.

IN CHICAGO hundreds of leading citizens met to congratulate Willard S. Townsend, dynamic president of the United Transport Service Employes of America (Red Caps), on becoming the first Negro union leader to serve on the International Executive Board of the CIO. Last month UTSEA became the 43rd international union to affiliate with the CIO, with jurisdiction over dining car employes, pullman laundry workers, train porters and red caps. Pretty good, that, for a union only five years old.

* * *

In Memphis, where W. C. Handy wrote the blues, colored folk were astounded when Main Street stores featured window displays of "Beale Street Sundown," latest volume by that incomparable Boswell of Beale Street, Lt. George W. Lee, who doubles as director of the Atlanta Life Insurance Company. It has never happened before in that town, but this is a day of rapid changes. Your folks are winning recognition eevrywhere.

* * *

IN NEWARK, thriving North Jersey metropolis, YMCA Secretary William R. Jackson took his seat last week as the first colored member of the Newark School Board, (and still remembering it!), Sounds familiar, doesn't it? With a rapidly increasing colored population, Newark needed a member on the school board. Of course the growth of the Negro vote also played a part. These "firsts" come so fast nowadays you can hardly keep track of them—and that's all to the good.

* * *

In Richmond, Va., erstwhile Confederate capital, in a quarrel over a crop, Waller ended his existence, in the electric chair, after awhites to the electric chair, in the death cell finally triumphed. Waller killed his employer, Oscar tenant farmer, a more liberal native land

THE PHELPS-STOKES FUND recommends increasing African education, white

policy, the need for attacking native poverty and giving Africans an increasing share in their own government. That's possible if you can get white planters and mine owners to give up the stolen land on which they now flourish, pay the black workers a living wage, build roads to native preserves (unfenced concentration camps:), eliminate the crushing taxes that force millions to slave on contract for a pittance. There is unconscious irony in the Fund's warning that totalitarian victory would "reduce the native Africans to slaves of 'the master race' in Germany." What are they now?

• • •

What Under-Secretary for Colonies Harold MacMillan told Commons last week makes hash out of Phelps-Stokes recommendation. He said "colonies still held must be developed (!) as quickly as possible" to make up for Asiatic losses. He reported "drastic measures" to increase rubber yield, and defended instances "where the manpower of colonies has been conscripted or perhaps treated roughly" as necessary because of war demands. Utopia seems to be a long way off in Africa.

• • •

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the news of separate officers' clubs for colored and white commissioned officers of the all-Negro 93rd Division at Fort Huachuca, Ariz., comes a letter asserting that, "There are in reality two 93rd Division hospital units—one for whites and one for Negroes. . . The reason for the dual hospital setup is not altogether apparent—it might as well have been just one large hospital, with white and colored physicians. However, I believe one reason for it is the fact that the place is simply overrun with "white civilians workers" from the South.

Which again proves that segregation ALWAYS means discrimination.

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

ONE MAN'S Journal

by enoc p. waters jr.

THE EMPLOYMENT of Negroes in higher paying brackets—especially in important industrial areas in the South by huge war industries such as steel mills and shipyards—is requiring many of us to readjust ourselves to a changing social pattern.

Thousands of Negroes have the money with which to buy the things they've always planned to have, but are unable to purchase them. Ministers' congregations are making the liberal contributions for which they have always pleaded, but Sunday after Sunday the ministers are required to preach well prepared sermons to rows of empty pews.

College-trained men can't get the good paying jobs that are open to men of limited education.

It is almost as if the prophetic Biblical phrase "the last shall be first and the first shall be last" has come to pass.

During the recent hearings held by the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices in Birmingham, an indignant white woman buttonholed one of the members to register a complaint.

"I think," she said, "that your committee is ruining our Negroes. They're becoming lazy and more than that, impudent."

She then told of how she had called Mary, "a nice young married colored girl" who had been doing her housework.

"When I asked her if she could come over for a few days to help with my housework, she replied that she too was looking for a maid and was was on the verge of calling to ask if I would assist her."

Interested in the story, the committee member secured the name and address of Mary and listened to her story.

Mary's husband and brother, who lives with them, are working in a steel mill and the income for the family group is such now that they prevailed upon Mary to remain at home and devote her time to making things more pleasant for them.

"I have never liked working in service and that woman, just because her husband was earning good money as an automobile salesman, looked down upon me.

"Well, he can't sell autos now and we're making more money than they, so when she called me with all her airs, I just tried to put her in her place."

The committee member smiled. He feels that the changing status of people will alter their old points of view and result in generally healthier thinking on the part of all.

Best illustration of changing status, however, comes in case of two youths who were raised together. One, who spent his time in socializing and preferred dancing to college, is today making $90 per week.

The other, who labored at odd times to earn his tuition and eventually finished college, is working now for $35 per week. He told us that he had been educated out of the money.

The personnel manager at the plant where his friend is earning a good salary told him that college men are not wanted on the assembly line.

"A college man," he said, "is looking for advancement and he wouldn't be satisfied working at a routine job. We're looking for men to whom the assembly line is their ultimate and who seek only the perfection of the skills they're working at.

"In addition," he added, "you college men will make our other workers dissatisfied with their jobs and bring about labor complications which we cannot afford at these times."

In a moderate sized city, thriving for the first time since the last war with industrial prosperity, a minister gave us his story:

"Sunday is like a week day here," he said. "They pay the steel workers who work on Sunday double time. It is no longer a day of leisure, but a day they prefer to others for working.

"Each Sunday I stand in my pulpit and preach to empty pews, while my congregation is working in the mills. Of course when I meet them on the street they give me a generous donation, and some of them even mail to me their pledges. But is does no good. We can't renovate the church because we can't get the materials. I can't preach my best because I have no congregation."

He's considering holding Sunday services Monday when many of his parishioners take the day for rest.

A soldier told us that he was unemployed until the defense program was set in motion. Six weeks after earning more money than he had ever had before, he was drafted.

A young woman complained that she had the money to buy an electric ice box, a vacuum cleaner and a car, but could get none of them.

"I never realized before," she said, "how little value money can have if you can't get what you want."

A young man we know is an army sergeant and gives orders to another young fellow who managed his life for several years as a worker for a relief agency.

Everything is topsy-turvy and we're expecting any day that one of the little boys who sells this paper will walk in and demand that we rise and salute him.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

The World TODAY

by GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Twenty-two organizations appealed to President Roosevelt to rescue the FEPC from the graveyard of the War Manpower Commission. It is still there. The CIO has appointed a committee to save the FEPC and named brilliant, militant Willard S. Townsend, UTSEA (Red Cap Union) president, as chairman. It is a tough assignment.

WHAT IS NEEDED is a Federal law banning discrimination and segregation because of color or religion in all Government departments and in all plants having war contracts, and providing punishment for those who violate it. Then we could get somewhere. The FEPC has no more bite now than a toothless crone. The way to make it mean something is to put a strong law behind it. The campaign for that law should start now.

New Orleans colored teachers will get salary raises next month amounting to one-half the difference between their former salaries and those of white teachers. Salaries will be equalized in 1943. Credit NAACP leadership with another victory. The colored teachers deserve more credit for standing fast behind NAACP leadership and repudiating compromisers.

WALTER WHITE is certainly tenacious. When he gets an idea he tracks it down like Sherlock Holmes. Following up his campaign for better roles for Negroes in motion pictures, he has now secured pledges from Hollywood's chief executives to do their utmost in this direction. You may now expect to see something besides clowns, hoofers and prima donnas wearing aprons, on the silver screen.

Sikeston, Mo., was apparently not satsified with the broiling of Cleo Wright. Last week it attempted to lynch Rev. J. B. Ross of St. Louis because he condemned the lynchers in a sermon. Happily Rev. Ross beat the pack to the train and a friendly white conductor saved his life by locking him in the men's washroom. He couldn't have been in more danger in Poland or the Philippines. Hitler would probably be welcome in Sikeston.

MARRIED MEN without children and not engaged in very vital war work will be in the Army by Christmas, according to General Hershey, Selective Service head, speaking in Chicago. "The number of able-bodied men in industry must be drastically reduced in the very near future," he said. Those men with second-class dependents (grandmothers, mothers, brothers, sisters, etc.), are next. Many who have been crying for a second front will find themselves on it by New Year's.

Men seeking Government or war jobs and needing proof of citizenship, may easily get it for as little as $1, and with certification under seal for $3, if they signed draft registration cards in 1917 and 1918. They have only to send to the Census Bureau which now has custody of the 24,000,000 cards. Information on age and birth may also be obtained from the Bureau's population records, it was announced last week.

THE WEEK'S IRONY is the demand of West Coast fruit and vegetable growers that the War Department detail soldiers to help them harvest and pack their crops. These same people were instrumental in forcing California's best agricultural workers (Japanese and Japanese-Americans) into concentration camps. Another case of cutting off noses to spite faces. Secretary Stimson is cold to the idea of using soldiers.

Guess Senator Reynolds will keep his mouth shut for a while. Last week he rightly urged that India be given immediate freedom. Senator Norris thereupon floored the North Carolinian by asking what would be his reaction if a British M.P. should suggest that Southern States "establish freedom and independence for all" by removing poll-tax restrictions on their voters? Yes, people who live in glass houses should not throw stones!

Rogers Says:-

GOVERNMENT SHOULD CRACK DOWN ON HATE-BREEDING AMERICANS

BY J. A. ROGERS

TWO WEEKS ago I published a letter written by a Negro in which Negro leaders were severely blamed for siding with white people in this war against the best interests of the Negro masses; now comes the opposite charge from a white man who says that it is the Negro leaders who are inciting the Negro masses, hoping thereby to "blackmail" the government into making racial concessions.

The charge is published editorially by the Daily Mail of Anderson, S. C., and was sent to me by Bill Jenkins.

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The editorial, which is entitled "Some Reckless, Unpatriotic Talk," deals with the recent conference of Negro leaders in New York in which it was agreed, 36-5, that the Negro is "not wholehartedly and unreservedly all out" for the war effort. As a result of this, it was said at the conference, that "the absence of the full contribution of 13,000,000 colored citizens might conceivably be the weight that would tip the balance in favor of our enemy."



Mr. Rogers

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LEADERS NOT RADICAL

Now the simple truth is that the Negro leaders are not as radical as large numbers of Negro masses would have them. And there's good reason in the case of some leaders. If such were more radical they would never get even the few meagre concessions they've wrung from the jim-crow bloc which now dominates Congress. Furthermore, the Negro masses, since they feel the pinch of discrimination more than the leaders, have all the more reason to be radical.

EVEN the boldest Negro writers cannot say all that's in their hearts at a time like this. There are always underhand, Gestapo methods of cracking down on Negro publications. Remember how the editors of The Messenger, outspoken Negro publication, were persecuted during the last war, and their paper stopped in the mails? Remember how Dr. DuBois, who, up to that time, had been called the most fiery of the Negro leaders, especially by the whites, wrote his "Close Ranks" editorial, which brought him much censure from Negroes. After the war he explained that he had written it only under pressure. Don't think that the Nazis have a monopoly of high-handed tactics.

WHO IS THE ENEMY?

Were there not a single leader the Negro masses would be sullen and discontented just the same. They've but to read how the Sojourner Truth Home built for the families of 200 Negro defense workers at Detroit, has been taken away from them by an Alabama Congressman just as the Negro families had everything ready to move in and given to white defense workers; of the massacre of Negro soldiers at Alexandria, La.; of the lynching at Sikeston, Mo.; and scores of other injustices which appear in Negro and white press alike.

BILL JENKINS, who sent me the above editorial, and who certainly cannot be called a leader, says, himself: "In a few days I am expected to be called to the army and when they train me and give me a rifle, who is my enemy? Which of the enemies shall I fight? ...Instead of Pearl Harbor, why not remember Scottsboro?"

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No, it does not need a single leader to inflame the masses. "There is but one agitator in existence," said Lord Napier, "and that is injustice."

There is but one remedy in this crisis and that is for the administration to put all politics aside and crack down on those white people whose actions are making all the trouble. At a time when Americans—white and black—are dying on the battlefields, such cruel, cold-blooded, unpatriotic creatures deserve no consideration, whatsoever!

TWO weeks ago I also published letters which said I was being "cursed bitterly" because of my stand that the Negro should give all-out support to our country during the war, while standing up firmly for his rights here at home, so, the presentation of a letter on the opposite side might not be out of order. It is from W. L. Harris, of Tallulah, La. He says:

"Through the many years reading your column in the Pittsburgh Courier I can see nothing other than you are the man this Negro race of ours is in need of as Congressman in Washington.

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"Until every Negro in America gets the same idea as you and I have, there is no freedom or anything else for us. I am in the deep South but I agree with you one hundred per cent in every word you say.

"ISN'T it possible for you to print a pamphlet and circulate it all over the United States to every Negro and wake them up? You speak facts as they are with no sugar coating. Facts that we need Facts that will win. Facts we must have or the entire Negro race will perish."

Thank you, Mr. Harris, but as regards that Congress business, people who speak facts as they are do not get elected to Congress.

Amsterdam News
New York, N. Y.

As the Crow Flies

By DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS

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Mr. Du Bois

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Perhaps more quickly to bring the world to its senses we should draw an authentic map of human misery: A. D. 1942: Starvation in Greece, hunger and distraction in France, frozen death on the white snows of Russia and Finland, silent mourning in every German home, anarchy in China, poverty in India, grim suffering in Japan, despair in England; and over all this the thick, grey mantel of fear, beneath the thunder of artillery, the whir of airplanes, the gasp of the dying boys and the tears of stricken women.

Dark Folk

The darker people of the world are torn and disturbed, twisted by conflicting loyalties. Of course they want democracy! Dear God! This is their century-old quest, as they have pounded at the door of political privilege in America, in the West Indies, in Africa and in India. Of course they oppose and hate and fight tyranny and intolerable assumption of race superiority, as the very impersonation of this world's oppression. They hate aggression with perfect hatred and pray for freedom to be men. But how to get this? With fighting whom and where? With blind obedience or red revolt? Happy is the man who sees his way clear this day; who strikes with unquestioning, unerring aim and stands with nerves that obey the will of Almighty God; but pity, deep and yearning pity, for stricken, honest folk who cannot see clearly and certainly the distinction between right and wrong as they appear today; who in desire for effort and will to sacrifice, yield no whit to any patriot but ask: How can one really fight for freedom, democracy and the utter smashing of the color line?

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Courier (Pittsburgh) Feb 7 - 1942

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By DR. W. E. B. DUBOIS

FEB 21 1942

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Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

WALTER CHIVERS SAYS:

By WALTER R. CHIVERS

Status Of Women In A Changing World

FEB 8 - 1942

THE RAPID CHANGES, in the ways of doing things in this world, are creating considerable mental and emotional confusion. Those of us who were living prior to 1914 had grown into a society which had established for itself a satisfying sense of stability. It was habitual to think of generations in terms of a quarter of a century. It was satisfying to be able to measure social changes with "rough accuracy" in terms of years.



CHIVERS

Then World War I came along and disrupted society's equilibrium. Women did "men's work," bobbed hair assumed a status of respectibility, a horse learned to retain his equinine dignity with a woman riding him astride; women wore pants in public; began to play tennis in shorts; appeared on beaches in what almost amounted to naught. Cigarette advertisements boldly and audaciously displayed women encouraging men to smoke in their presence, then they represented men as enjoying the company of "cigarette-smoking" women. Cirgarette smoking for women was at one time the sign of social privilege and individuality; today it is simply a wealthy addition for the coupon-clipping shareholders of the titanic tobacco industry. FEB 8 - 1942

MANNISH PATTERN WRONG

The female combination of short, bobbed hair, rouge-tipped cigarettes, stiff collars with bow ties, strictly tailored suits, black oxfords and long stride arrived at the status of a direct industrial and political competition with men. A noted woman writer says that "Many women have believed that they can succeed only by acting as if they were men. They have overestimated the chasm between the two sexes and tried desperately to bridge it. We can see how much tension and wasted energy must accompany such an attitude." FEB 8 - 1942

This "Mannish pattern" assumed by women was probably a natural reaction to assuming a new role in the world of tennis players, lounge lizards, and bread winners. Men from earliest primitive times have been the rulers of all life and thus the symbols of strength and security. To be secure women thought it necessary to be like men. Or did they think?

Being like a man meant being treated like a man by another man. This was not comfortable. It meant such inconveniences as being cursed by the "boss, punching the clock on the dot, standing up in the street car, paying for one's own lunch and going dutch treat to the theatre. The business girl soon unconsciously resented the role of "bachelor girl" which grew out of her "male front." You see "old maid spinster" entitled women to certain homage that carried compensations a male or "mannish" female can never experience.

BEGIN TO FIND THEMSELVES

So women in the business and professional world began to find themselves. They probably unconsciously reverted to feminine wiles. This they found to be the man's unconquerable weakness. The business and professional woman who turns on the "feminine wiles" can usually displace the male competitor. Women have often worn the smile that made them millionaires, political victors and successful salesladies. FEB 8 - 1942

The depression of early 1930's gave male and female relations another shock. Men were no longer able to find work and lost much of their right of assertiveness over women. Women by the tens of thousands had to become bread women for husbands and children. In frequent instances husbands changed roles and kept the home fires by cooking, cleaning up, and keeping babies in good clinical condition.

Men's styles probably began reflecting this situation when they started wearing pajama suits on the streets, using hair straightening, face cream, nail polish, wearing bright-colored belts and open work shoes. FEB 8 - 1942

World War II is causing habits, that have even survived all other societal shocks to be broken. More than one million British women are now wearing uniforms that have miltary significance. Men by the millions are being cooped up in military barracks or sent thousands of miles away from home for the "duration" either of the war or eternity. Children in untold numbers are being separated from mothers either by governmental decree or the hellish destruction of aerial torpedoes and Stuka dive bombers.

WAR A MAN'S GAME

War has traditionally been a man's game. It is probably the evidence of his close kinship to the lower animals but womanhood remained the guide by which he reassumed the role of a human being after war and attempted to become permanently civilized.

However, women now must go to war in ever increasing hordes—first behind the lines and then in the lines. War is still such a man's game until women who become soldiers must take on again and in more serious forms the roles of maleness. The machines of war are not susceptible to feminine wiles. The prospective horrible death dispersed by fire throwing tanks, machine guns, and bayonets mocks so terrifyingly at smiles until smiles on the battle field become only sacreligious mockery. FEB 8 - 1942

War is hell if for no other reason than it tends to destroy the humanizing fortress of men—that is womanhood.

Amsterdam News
New York, N. Y.

As the Crow Flies

By W. E. B. DU BOIS

THE japonicas are blooming in South Georgia and in Carolina.

We have hardly time these days to listen to the recurring miracle of spring with its grass and flowers and buds. Yet it is here as usual; calm and silent and infinitely beautiful.



Dr. Du Bois

All around the world above the line is spring and below is winter and at the earth's ends eternal snow. Between there is blood and pain. But the world is old enough and wise enough to re-build itself after infinite catastrophe. APR 4 1942

I was in Columbia, South Carolina, last Sunday for the first time in many years. I saw the two Negro colleges there cheek by jowl, Bennedict and Allen; Baptist and African Methodist. They occupy large blocks in what is becoming the midst of the city. They are stretching out tentacles of cooperation toward each other, but they are separate institutions with all the inevitabe duplication of work. I am rather surprised that organized philanthropy has not offered inducements and put pressure upon these institutions to become one complete college. There are, of course, difficulties of denomination and history, and long grown loyalties. And yet there is less hindrance in Columbia than there was in Atlanta; than there is in Marshall, Texas. The institutions seem to be on good terms with each other: They interchange audiences and in some cases teachers and students. But they are both poor; both depending mainly on philanthropy and the hard-earned contributions of working people throughout the state. Their presidents must give most of their time to raising money. It is the ever-recurring problem of Negro higher education in well-known form.

Talks About Reconstruction

APR 4 1942

I talked to a packed audience about the reconstruction after the war. I emphasized the fact that no matter how the war came out; after it, we would face seven problems: The basic problem of work and income, not simply in America and Europe but in Asia and Africa, to abolish the menace of poverty; the necessity of education on a broader scale for more people and for longer years, to get rid of the ignorance and stupidity which hinders all our attempts at human uplift; the problems of health and old age security and the recreation which with work brings happiness. Then I emphasized the fact that these five things must be attended to before we can have real democracy. No democracy can be built on poverty which stifles independence; nor on ignorance; nor on sickness, fear and sorrow. Having a democracy based on intelligence and security, we could have that freedom of the spirit which is the aim of life.

One incident marred and illustrated the trip. Between Warrenton and Aiken a Ford full of soldiers decided to visit a neighboring skating rink and turned left suddenly straight across my path. We side-swiped each other, but no one was injured. Then came the curious Southern pattern: There were some people in the gathering crowd who evidently wanted to be nasty, but not all. The three white soldiers were rather stupid but not drunk. I asked a passing colored man to help me jack up my car. He was afraid and flew; but a white motorist quietly followed me as I started for the garage in town and politely offered me a ride. The state patrol was polite and the soldiers and I went off to my insurance agent and the matter ended. It was a rather singular and for a while disturbing adventure, chiefly because of the apparent readiness of the by-standers to make just as much trouble as they dared. But they didn't quite dare.

48b-1942

We Must Live United And Courageously. Message To Whites and Blacks Everywhere

JAN 9 1942

With conditions as they are today, and with such a dismal future facing us as a nation, I agree with Mr. John Temple Graves of the Birmingham Age-Herald, that this is not the time for any group to seek selfish advancement because of the present emergency.

Weekly Review Birmingham Age-Herald

EDITOR'S DIGEST



By ROBERT DURR

The time has come when blacks and whites, and labor and industry, must do more than cooperate, understand each other's position and seek or hold out for any advantage or advancement at the expense of others or our war program.

This is a time when we must realize the interdependence of all these forces. I do not mean that any one of these should take the chip-on-the-shoulder attitude that any of the others' existence depends upon any one of the others' existence. This is a time for all to realize that each group exists because of the existence of the others—that there is an indispensable interdependence which means that our attitude must now be one for all and all for one.

All of us, everywhere, should make it a point to let the other know that whatever any of us want, need or, shall I say must, have to live and serve, is wanted, not at the expense of others.

JAN 9 1942

President Roosevelt told us this week about our having to supply an additional war chest of 56 billion dollars. We have not been able to balance our national budget for years. We have been operating in the red. This war chest means that we will have to give Uncle Sam one-half or more of our national income. All of which means that as long as we of this generation live, we will be paying and paying and paying—our children's children will pay and pay and pay.

There are those of us who feel that if all we have is taken away to give us victory, we would not kick. We feel that whatever we must pay to win, will be well spent, if we win. And that means we will win in the end. With victory in the end, we will still be in a tougher spot than we have ever been in this nation. I predict that we will have a civil war following that and there will be those who will want to socialize or communize our free enterprise system. There will be those who will feel that in order to exist on the little that will be left for men to exist on, that one group or groups must try to build and find security by crushing other groups. Already vigorous steps are being made along that line or to that end.

JAN 9 1942

A desperate Negro man came to see me this week. He was worried, confused, despondent and baffled. He tells me he is poor, uneducated and beset with all the problems which beset Negroes all over the land. He says he lays clay pipe at the Childersburg powder project at 65c per hour, that a white man laying cast iron pipe on the same job gets $1.25 per hour. He says he had to pay fifteen dollars in order to get his job—fifteen dollars was the union joining fee—a prerequisite to getting the job. He said the money goes to white heads of the union and that Negroes get none of that back. The fact that one man gets $1.25 per hour while he could not get more than 65c, because the union would not issue him a card was the thing that made him feel that here his fellow white workers were against him. This fellow went on to say that some such fellow workers would tell him that there was no question about it—they planned to keep the Negro down, that the Negro is a menace and all that sort of thing. Someone had told him that the Negro was so regarded in many walks of life, where when some others talk of Christianity and democracy, they found the thought of the Negro irksome and inescapable.

I asked this man, after he had asked me, what we could do, to give me the answer. He said he didn't know, but that he thought it time for the Negro to strike, or maybe to pray or maybe give his all in loyalty to the nation in the hope that God would come to the rescue of such motrals as himself. I suggested that striking at any body or anything at this time, not only means group suicide, but contributing to national suicide. I saw that his striking thought meant fertile

Amsterdam News
New York, N. Y.

As the CROW Flies

by DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS

JAN 3 1942

SEVERAL groups of people have lately been considering the status of Africa after the World War.



Dr. DuBois

It is all the more necessary to think of this because there is so much silence on the subject and so widespread a failure to realize that Africa is an important part of the modern world. I have, therefore, written out the following proposal for the consideration of one of these groups:

Looking forward to the world peace which must eventually follow World War, certain basic principles governing our thought and action in regard to the people of Africa, seem clear.

JAN 3 1942

1. We have no warrant for assuming that there are a few large groups of mankind, called races, whose hereditary differences, as shown by color, hair and measurements of the bony skeleton, fix forever their relations to each other and indicate their possibilities. There is no proof that persons and groups in Africa are not as capable of useful lives and effective progress, as people in Europe and America.

2. The great problem facing the world is to achieve such wide contact of human cultures and mutually beneficient intercourse of human beings as will gradually by inspiration, comparison and wise selection, evolve the best civilization for the largest number of human beings.

Need for Crusade

3. To accomplish this, there is need of a great crusade, a religious mission, guided by the proven conclusions of science, the object of which shall be the continuous

progress of mankind, regardless of race and color.

4. It must be clearly recognized that the main hindrance to such a movement, is today the more or less conscious feeling, widespread among the white peoples of the world, that other folk exist not for themselves, but for their uses to Europe; that white Europe and America have the right to invade the territory of colored peoples, to force them to work and to interfere at will with their cultural patterns, while demanding for whites themselves a preferred status. On the other hand, colored folk have their contacts with other and higher cultures seriously and arbitrarily restricted.

JAN 3 - 1942

5. The most dangerous excuse for this situation is the relation between European capital and colored labor involving high profit, low wages and cheap raw material. The strong motive of private profit is thus placed in the foreground of our interracial relations, while the greater objects of cultural understanding and moral uplift lurk in the background.

Result Will Be Slavery

6. So long as broad scientific philanthropy is thus hobbled by greed, the results will be and has been slavery, cultural disintegration, disease, death and war.

7. We are slowly but surely recognizing facts analogous to these within the confines of the advanced countries themselves. Here we are curbing and guiding the activities of industry and limiting the profits of private enterprise in the interest of the laboring masses. Not so in colonies and in quasi-colonial areas. There, for the most part, we are tending to repeat and perpetuate the errors of the worst days of capitalistic exploitation in Europe. This hurts not only the backward peoples by restricting their initiative, by ruining their best culture and substituting no adequate cultural patterns; but also this colonial economy frustrates and nullifies much of the reform effort within the more progressive lands which own and control colonies.

8. It seems clear, therefore, that our future attitude toward Africa should be based upon principles something like these:

A. The land and natural resources of Africa should be regarded as belonging primarily to the native inhabitants, to be administered for their advancement and well being. Where land has already been alienated, it should be eventually restored. Industry in Africa should be directed primarily toward the consumption needs of the inhabitants and only secondarily to the European demand for raw material. The necessary capital, instead of being imported quickly and at high cost, should be gradually and increasingly raised from the savings of the natives.

JAN 3 - 1942

Must Consider African

B. In ascertaining the legitimate wants of the native African, his own wishes must be taken into account and allowed the broadest possible sway under the guidance of carefully ascertained scientific principles and well-tried cultural standards; and without the interference of religious dogma or the brute force of modern wage slavery. Especially must an educated class among the natives be systematically and increasingly trained according to modern standards and its opinion given due voice and weight, instead of being, as at present, largely excluded by careless misrepresentation and deliberate design.

C. Political control must be taken from commercial and business interests owned and conducted in the foreign nations dominating the colonies and vested provisionally in an international mandates commission. This commission must be controlled by recognized statesmen and philanthropists of the highest character, with the collaboration of unprejudiced and rigorously tested science. Its rule should be carried out with the increasing participation of such educated persons as share the blood and culture of the persons affected; to the end that gradually the systematic increase of democratic methods will transfer political power to the mass of the native people as that people gains in intelligence and civilization.

JAN 3 - 1942

D. There need be no minimizing of the extreme difficulties, frustrations and mistakes that will inevitably accompany the attempt to understand, change and improve the cultural status of any people through contact with people of higher culture and through educational effort and moral teaching. But these difficulties instead of being regarded either as negligible or as insurmountable must be faced as the real kernel of the problem of human uplift and humanitarian effort.

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

The Globe Trotter

By Cliff Mackay

Prejudice As Usual

OUR GOVERNMENT is becoming increasingly concerned over the activities of those organizations and persons right here in America who do not see the supreme crisis this nation faces, insist on stupidly giving aid and comfort to the enemy.

AUG 2 1942

Within the last few weeks the Federal Bureau of Investigation has stepped up the long delayed job of rounding up these native fascists.



MACKAY

The heat was first turned on the German-American bundists. Then during the past week the anti-Catholics and the anti-Semitics have been feeling the pressure of this number one home front guardian of American democracy.

YOU MAY GET RELIEF

Indications are that with the completion of the tremendous task of rounding up these vipers, who have been gnawing at the very vitals of America, something will be done to ease the almost unbearable pressure which the anti-Negro groups have been exerting on you.

Hopeful signs of this were shown last week, when among the twenty-eight indictments returned by a federal grand jury, one named an official of the Ku Klux Klan.

Watching the intense drive the FBI was making against the German-American bund, no doubt you had begun to think that Mr. Hoover's very efficient investigators had somehow or other forgotten the [illegible] marriage of the bund and the klan at the infamous New Jersey meeting. Mr. Hoover is now showing you that the FBI never forgets.

EASIEST TARGETS

No single group in America is

CLUTCHES AT STRAW

Georgia's Governor Eugene Talmadge, now in the midst of a life and death political struggle, clutches like a drowning man at the straw of a racial issue of his own making and with his inflammatory statements gives the Axis powers more fuel for the propaganda fire our enemies are directing toward the darker peoples now fighting on our side.

All over the South persists the belief that America can win the war with "prejudice as usual." No other single thing is doing as much to hold up America's war program.

The period of talking is past. The time for action is at hand. The government has not hesitated to deal firmly with those who persist in their attempts to do "business as usual" during this crisis. An equal firmness is now needed with those who insist on maintaining "prejudice as usual." This federal action is necessary for the preservation of our very existence.

MUST BE SHARED

America cannot successfully FIGHT Hitlerism abroad and merely REGRET definite signs of it right at home. On every battlefield, on every front, it is becoming increasingly clear that democracy and freedom must be shared by all, or it will be shared by none.

That is why we contend there can be no halfway ground. The FBI has done fine work thus far in weeding out those who perniciously cling to this Nazi nonsense in an America at war. They must not stop here.

If it is seditious to talk, write and publish anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic, it is equally dangerous for this country's safety to be anti-Negro.

If those who insist on playing the game of the enemy by creating racial and class cleavages where none existed before, refuse to heed the signs of the times, it is of the utmost importance for the very safety of America, that they be placed for the duration, where they no longer can be dangerous stumbling blocks to our supreme effort of winning the war.

as anxious to have these seditious disturbers of national unity and morale placed where they belong than is this nation's fourteen millions of black citizens. Negroes, though forming the largest minority, become the easiest targets of those seeking to create dissension.

In no other country engaged in this global warfare does there exist the incongruous situation where ten per cent of the population must forever fight for the opportunity to fight in defense of their country. And this situation, it is no doubt Mr. Hoover realizes, is the direct result of agigation by these native fascist-minded groups and people.

AUG 2 1942

Perhaps the FBI already has its eagle eye on them, but for fear it has not, this writer hastens to call their attention to others, who do not fall so conveniently under the labels of bundists or kluxers, who nevertheless are achieving the same enemy-aiding results as these groups.

SIGNS OF A TREND

Out of Alabama and Georgia in recent weeks have come two outbursts from little men in high places that serve no one any good but the enemies of this country.

They are the first signs of what appears to be a growing all-out fight against the nation administration's war policy of utilizing the full potentialities of all American citizens in the winning of the war.

AUG 2 1942

It is a dangerous trend that could end in disaster for this country, now facing the most critical period in its history.

Alabama Governor Frank Dixon's refusal to accept a war contract to be filled with prison labor, because that contract contained a clause forbidding racial discrimination, plainly revealed that he is actually more determined to maintain at home the type of thing we are fighting abroad, than he is in winning the war.

48b-1942

Peoples Voice

New York, N. Y

HEADLINES Footlights

By NELL DODSON

IT WILL BE INTERESTING to see what the movie moguls do with Margaret Steen's best-seller, THE SUN IS MY UNDOING, if and when they bring it to the screen. This lengthy, colorful, and at times powerfully-written novel deals with the complications in the lives of two generations of people because of Englishman Matthew Flood's desperate infatuation for an African native girl whom he takes from the Gold Coast, surrounds with luxury and flaunts as his mistress in the face of Havana's aristocrats. The great Flood fortune, built on slave-trading, bought luxuries for the African girl, Sheba, but it could not buy happiness for her half-caste daughter, Maria Cayetuna, nor her quadroon daughter, Maria Pia, and it separated Matthew from the English white girl who loved him, Pallas.



NELL

The scene of the novel shifts from Bristol to the Gold Coast of Africa and the deep African jungles, to Havana, thence to Seville and finally back to Bristol. The book would be colorful and exciting film fare, almost a cinch for DeMille who would make capital of the sea battle between Moorish pirates and the Flood ship, and the atrocities of the slave trade. But the main point is that filming of THE SUN IS MY UNDOING would mean a change of the Negro and half-Negro characters perhaps to Malay, as is being done in the filming of WHITE CARGO, the new Hedy LaMarr film in which LaMarr takes the part of Tondelayo, a character originally Negro, but in order to pass the Will Hayes office censorship ban against showing Negroes and whites in intimate relationships on the screen, has been changed to Malay. The part of Sheba, the African native girl, is tailor-made for that accomplished little sepia actress, Dorothy Dandridge, and the role of Maria Cayetuna, the embittered, proud half-caste daughter of Sheba and Matthew, would give Fredi Washington another chance to score on the screen. I can see only one Hollywood actor as Matthew Flood, the dashing, arrogant, and at times brutal scion of a proud old English family—Clark Gable; it's something of the same type of role he did in GONE WITH THE WIND. The Reckling rental library above Woolworth's on 125 st, is carrying the book—if you can grab it ahead of about ten other people.

* * *

ITEMS IN THE NEWS: Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt's a[d]vice to soldiers and their sweethearts who ask her whether they should marry now: "My answer is that each is a personal case, but it is wise to know a person awhile before you marry him." Why, Eleanor, you're getting CONVENTIONAL!

JOTTINGS: How come the sepia press didn't ballyhoo the fine art work of Charles (Spinky) Alston and Romare Bearden in the June issue of FORTUNE? Romie's frontpiece and Alston's drawings, both of which accompanied a timely article on discrimination in defense industries, were tops, and I thought rated a headline, but murder jimcro and jitterbugs are still getting front page in a lot of our sepia sheets, ironically proving that Pegler wasn't entirely off the beam. What happens to some of the ACCOMPLISHMENTS of our race? Noboby's ever mentioned the fact that Walter Roberts, a fine young architect, is employed in one of New York's prominent white firms and that when on one job recently, 200 men were released, he was one of the skeleton staff of about 30 men retained. He left that job for one with an even more outstanding architectural firm a few weeks ago. It seems to me a little more emphasis on the progress we make from time to time is as vitally essential to the advance of our race as the constant harping on the disadvantages we suffer . . . Cab Calloway jumps and jives at the Chicago theatre in the Windy City this week, then heads westward for some of the fine coin tinkling out LA way . . . Cootie Williams, traveling by train, hits the road this week for three weeks, with dates set in Philly, Bell-A-L'air, Mass., and the Tic-Toc in Boston, according to Mercer Ellingston, his road manager. Yes, I said Mercer Ellington . . . Bill Robinson, whom I last clocked eating an ice cream cone in front of Smalls Paradise co-starred with the Andy Kirk band in Utica last week while the Esquire-tailored Pegleg Bates is hoofing on an otherwise ofay bill at the Grand Opera House in Chi . . . Buck and Bubbles also with the big names at Los Angeles Biltmore . . . The 369th boys who hit the high seas are in Honolulu, the grass skirt capital, and some of the girl friends who were sniffling because they didn't know where the lads were going are now sniffling because they're afraid of the Hawaiian atmosphere —and female influence.

New York Age

New York, N. Y

Across The Desk

By LUDLOW W. WERNER

WALTER WHITE, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, deserves paeans of praise for the scholarly and forceful address which he delivered at the now past but not forgotten Madison Square Garden mass meeting of the March on Washington Movement.

Leaving the telling of the story of discrimination against the Negro to other speakers, Mr. White said he wanted to touch on two aspects—one global, the other national—of this whole question of color. "In the Coral Sea and at Midway Island," he said, "the United States has slowed up if not checked materially the onward sweep of Japan. But it is foolhardy to believe that these apparent victories have ended or are likely to end soon the war in the Pacific.

"Even if Japan surrendered unconditionally tomorrow, her capitulation would provide only a brief interlude of peace unless the white world believes and acts without reservation to make true the words of Sumner Welles on Memorial Day, that 'Our victory must bring in its train the liberation of all peoples. Discrimination between peoples because of their race, creed or color must be abolished. The age of imperialism is ended'."



Ludlow W. Werner

"For the blunt truth of the matter," continued Mr. White, "is that the thousand million brown and yellow peoples of the Orient and the 155 millions of black people in Africa just don't believe that the white world believes this or intends to put into effect once the danger to themselves is past. Gandhi today is saying that the sole interest of the United States in India is to preserve and perpetuate British imperialism. Unless and until the United States takes unequivocal action to put the clear, brief words of Sumner Welles into effect, neither Mr. Gandhi nor the four hundred millions of his fellow Indians, nor the four hundred millions of China, nor the other millions of Burma and the Dutch East Indies and Africa will believe for a moment that the interest of the United States is not to continue British and other imperialism in the Orient."

Life mag[a]

"The plain, bitter truth," continued the speaker, "is that thinking and action on the problem of race in our own country are determinec almost completely by the most fascist-minded elements in the deepes and darkest South. This element—which practiced Nazism long be fore Hitler was born—almost completely dominates our federal gov ernment. Our President, our Army, our Navy, and our governmen generally are afraid to challenge or to offend these Southern demagogues by eliminating the color line. Disfranchisement of black people has inevitably brought about the disfranchisement of an over whelming majority of the white people of the deep South.

Thus, today, the South with only a little over one-fourth of the population of the United States, holds more than 50 per cent of the chairmanships in the United States House of Representatives and Senate. They have achieved this under a Democratic administration through the ease by which demagogues can get themselves elected and re-elected with ridiculous ease through the rotten borough system

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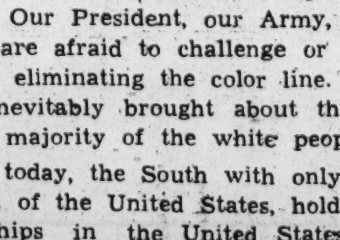
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"Chairman of the Appropriations Committee is [illegible] Glass of Virginia Of Agriculture, 'Cotton Ed' Smith of South Carolina. Of the enormously important Foreign Relations, Tom Connally of Texas who, Life magazine recently said, would be the most influential of Americans at the peace conference in troweling out the new world. I invite you to read his bitterly sardonic comments on Negroes during the seven weeks filibuster which he led against the anti-lynching bill in 1937. Having read them, I invite you to consider the kind of world Connally would trowel out with his attitude of contempt for colored people.

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JUL 4 - 1942

"In the light of the control of our government by these men who spit upon democracy whenever the Negro is involved, is there any wonder that meetings like this are tragically necessary at a time like this? Or that, irony or ironies, we Negroes must fight for the right to fight when the world is threatened with destruction? But fight we must and fight we will! And it is a fight we can and must win. There are many thousands on our side and the number constantly grows....

"How can the Negro believe the fine brave words about democracy when a cheap Mississippi demagogue like Rankin can get up on the floor of the House of Representatives and spew forth venom on the Negro because the Negro resents the imputation of inferiority when his blood is segregated?....How can a Negro believe wholeheartedly that the cause he is asked to die for is worth dying for when daily he is confronted by insult, discrimination and segregation? Prove to us, United Nations, and prove to the colored peoples of Asia, Africa and the Caribbean that you are not hypocrites when you say that this is a war for freedom. Prove it to us and we will show you that we can and we will fight like fury for that freedom. But we want—and we intend to have—our share of that freedom!"

After this recital of Mr. White's about the chairmanships of the House of Representatives and the Senate, is it any wonder that Negroes receive the treatment they do? As a factual recital of the picture as it is, this address by Mr. White was a grand and glorious service for which we feel greatly indebted.

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

The Globe Trotter

By Cliff Mackay

Our Unofficial Censors

NEGRO NEWSPAPERS these days are getting a lot of help in spreading the gospel of universal brotherhood and human justice. Most any of the slick paper magazines whose editors, judging from their complete silence, in the past did not even know there were any Negroes in the United States have suddenly under the pressure of the times "discovered" the presence of these side-tracked Americans in their midst.



MACKAY

The list of publications, which have joined the good fight, carried on single-handedly for more than 150 years by the Negro Press, would read like a Who's Who of American current literature.

And the articles they have published about the black brother, though old stuff to Negroes, are a revelation to most white people, who since America's beginning have lived, fought and worked beside him without ever really knowing him.

PEGLER IS REFORMED

The articles are written in the same vein as those carried in the Negro Press, to which Mr. Pegler before his amazing reformation, took such hostile exception. If the writer remembers Pegler labeled this type of expose "violent agitation."

But this spirit of fairplay being manifested by so many of the nation's leading publications is an unwanted and dangerous doctrine to the white press of the South.

Stubbornly resisting the trend of the times, they almost to a man stick to the old rules of the game. They operate a close-knit, unrelenting censorship against any item, any opinion that in anyway could be construed as friendly or placing the Negro's cause in a favorable light.

Unofficial as is this censorship, its simple operation is just as effective as anything cooked up by the press gaggers of the Axis powers.

Several prime examples of how this Southern traditional type of journalism serves to keep Dixie white readers ignorant of anything good by or about Negroes has come to this observer's attention in recent months.

CITE PEGLER CASE

Most recent is the case of Mr. Pegler. When Pegler was dishing out his tripe about the Negro Press, every Southern newspaper subscribing to his daily stint, printed all four of his ignorant outbursts in full. These articles were against Negroes and one gathers by inference met these publishers' approval.

Then Pegler, given a spiritual rebirth in the hail of fire coming from Negro editors, last Friday, blasted again. But this time he took to task those Americans, including himself, who had remained indifferent to the Negro's terrible plight in this so-called Christian democracy.

"If I were a Negro I would live in constant fury and probably would batter myself to death against the bars inclosing my condition," he wrote.

Every member of the Southern white press which had so gleefully printed the Pegler tirades against the Negro Press applied the unofficial censorship screws to this new place. It was quietly dropped in the waste basket, and a "filler" was quickly substituted in the usual Pegler space.

OTHER EXAMPLES

There are scores of examples how these papers, through their own peculiar code of censorship, have kept many important items from their readers.

"We can't fight the forces and ideas of imperialism abroad and maintain a form of imperialism at home," Wendell Willkie told delegates to the NAACP conference at Los Angeles. The radio carried this speech, but the Southern white press avoided it as if it were the plague.

Most Southerners, depending on their local journals to give them all the news, never knew that Vice President Henry A. Wallace, in an address last month asserted that the peace terms "must wipe out race, color and economic inequalities in the world."

It wasn't printed in the Cotton Belt just as it wasn't printed in the journals controlled by the Axis powers.

MILLER STORY NOT TOLD

Most white Southerners until today do not know the heroic story of Dorie Milller, or of the action of President Roosevelt in awarding him the Navy Cross, or of the ceremony at Pearl Harbor last month when the medal was pinned on his breast by Admiral Louis Nimitz, commander of the Pacific Fleet. The censors undoubtedly dropped the item in the waste basket or conveniently lost it.

You would think that all newspapers would run anything said or done about the President of the United States, wouldn't you? If so, you just don't know how total is this Dixie censorship.

A year ago last month President Roosevelt issued this famed Executive Order 8802, forbidding discriminatory employment policies in war industry. If white Southern workers or manufacturers depended on their local press for information about this order, they still don't know about it. And the way some of them act, one wonders if they are actually aware that the President had issued it.

STIMSON CENSORED

There are countless other incidents showing how deliberate is the effort to keep anything good pertaining to Negroes from reaching white Southerners. The announcement by Secretary of War Stimson at his press conference that 769 Negroes had been commissioned as officers was never passed on to Dixie readers.

The same fate met a subsequent announcement from the War Department that Negro soldiers were more than doing their part in the world-wide fight for freedom in such far-flung corners as New Guinea, Eritrea, Australia, New Caledonia and Egypt. It was never carrried by the white press of the South although most of these boys come from Dixie.

When it comes to censorship, here is one section of the American press from which even Herr Goebbels could take a few lessons.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

JUL 25 1942

THE WORLD TODAY

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Westbrook Pegler has hit the Sawdust Trail. Where a few weeks back he was blaming the Negro newspapers for stirring up ill-will and disunity in a time of crisis, last week he placed the blame for low Negro morale where it belonged and challenged white America to produce a democratic program of race relations when the war is over and black veterans have returned from far-flung battlefields to the only country they know and love.

Behind Mr. Pegler, unfortunately, are still those who inspired his attacks — certain government officials, reactionary publishers, poll tax politicians and our home-grown Junkers. His last week's column was not to their taste. Numerous newspapers which bought it refused to carry it. Reason? Because in their present state of mind they have no intention of altering their treatment of Negroes after the war.

Colored boys are now risking their lives in Australia, Hawaii, New Guinea, Egypt, Ireland, New Caledonia, and other fronts. Colored air wardens, plane spotters, scrap collectors, Red Cross workers and civil defense workers are helping their utmost to win the war. Colored workers and businessmen are spending millions for war bonds. They will be in no mood after the war is won to hear the words of the immortal Washington repeated: "Return to your masters and be good slaves."

INDEED, THEY ARE in no mood to hear it NOW. Of the Japanese one American general recently said: "They never send a boy to do a man's job." Colored citizens here are doing a man's job helping to win this war and they will not tolerate being treated like boys. They have assumed the duties of first-class citizens. This is the view-point of the overwhelming masses of Negroes. The colored press does not manufacture this viewpoint — it merely voices this viewpoint. Having seen the light we trust Pegler will continue spreading the message.

48b-1942
Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

The Globe Trotter • By Cliff Mackay

Enfranchising Soldiers

APR 26 1942

EMORY O. JACKSON, our good friend and contemporary, who holds down the responsible position as executive editor of the Birmingham WORLD, has been sojourning in Washington, D. C., for the past week and while there has supplied this writer with a batch of material on what is happening in what is now virtually the capital of the world.

One thing out of the mass of "tips" Editor Jackson has provided stands out from the rest as increasingly important to Negroes. It is the proposed measure fathered by Congressmen Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Republican leader in the House, providing means for soldiers to vote by mail.



MACKAY

Congressman Martin in rounding up support for his bill argues, "Soldiers fighting for the preservation of the American system should not be deprived of their voting rights merely because they happen to be away from home when election day comes around."

MUST FURNISH NAMES

Mr. Martin's bill would require the Secretaries of War and Navy to furnish the governors of the states the names of men in the services. The governors in turn would supply these men with appropriate absentee ballots.

This measure, according to Mr. Martin, will provide a means for ALL the more than three million men, who will be in the armed services by November to vote. The bill as worded by Mr. Martin does not say so, but one conjectures over the interpretation governors of our Southern states will place on that word "ALL."

If past practices can be used as a key to future action, our poll tax governors are certain to rule that this does not include the more than 200,000 Negro youths from their states now serving in the armed forces.

Mr. Martin should be advised of this, and before it is too late, insert in his measure a clause guaranteeing that this privilege of suffrage is extended to all men in the service, regardless of color.

It would indeed be an ironic situation if these black men now giving so freely of their life's blood in the defense of democracy, are denied an opportunity to exercise the chief function of a citizen in a democratic government.

WOULD BE DISAPPOINTMENT

Picture the disappointment that will register in the minds of Negro Georgians serving in Australia to see fellow white Georgians marking ballots for legislators and executives to represent them in the halls of government, while they are denied this privilege, merely because of their color.

How disillusioning it will be to these boys, many of whom have gone off to fight for democracy without ever having seen a ballot box, to find that this same unjust, fascist-like disenfranchisement has followed them to the very battleground.

APR 25 1942

And then, to make complete the democracy for which these boys are now called upon to fight and die, America should not later, but NOW lay the groundwork to insure that their participation in the selection of those who are to govern, will not cease as soon as they take off their uniforms and go back to civilian life.

Not later, but NOW when the gleaming ideal of democracy stands threatened, should be re-awakened the firm determination that democracy in truth should be allowed the full chance that it has never had in some parts of these United States.

MUST DESTROY BARRIERS

If these boys are good enough to risk their lives in defense of their country (and there is not the least hesitancy on their part to do so) they are certainly good enough to participate fully and equally with all others in ALL the benefits that rightfully belong to its citizens.

That is a fight to which all who truly believe in democracy can unequivocably dedicate themselves NOW. It is a fight which for too long has been delayed. It is duty that those not called to the armed forces owe their sons now serving in this world-wide conflict.

No better time than NOW could offer itself to press forward with this last-ditch fight to tear down the barriers which for years have suppressed the political energies of more than six million Negroes and at least four million whites in the South.

The one lesson that must be learned from this war is that the privileges and benefits of democracy must be extended to all people, if democracy is to stand. When the good things of life are grasped and held by the strong privileged people and denied to the many underprivileged, a process of slow, but certain inner dry rot results.

This was shown in Singapore and in Malaya; it was repeated in the Phillipines and it has been observed for years by eminent sociologists who have made a study of the South.

MUST REVERSE PROCESS

This process must be reversed if we are to be saved. Congressman Martin's bill should be the entering wedge for this reversal. But it does not go far enough. The privilege of the ballot must not only be for soldiers, it must be for all persons who are now called upon to make the sacrifices needed to win this war.

Those who prosecute the good fight on the home front to make real the democracy we are now called upon to defend also serve their country. Their job ahead is no easy task. Poll taxes must be eliminated, unfairly administered educational tests must be done away with and the white primary must be challenged.

Those who through the years have profited by these unfair advantages over their fellow citizens will not relinquish them without a struggle. But relinquish them they must, if democracy is to prevail, if America is to get its own house in order before it proceeds to untangle the knotty problem all over the world.

Amsterdam Star-News
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MAY 23 1942

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It must be remembered that no census is absolutely accurate. The best of them are elaborate and careful estimates. Many mistakes are made. Sometimes on a large scale as in 1870; but the reasons for that under-count were pretty clear and were mainly the dislocation after the war. The under-count of 1890 is not so clear. It is probable that the count of 1930 was reasonably accurate and that the decrease in the Negro population of many Southern states was due to the revolt and migration of the Negro tenant farmers. There is no reason to think that the count of 1940 was not as accurate as any other and whenever anybody tries to estimate a number of persons beyond a hundred they make extraordinary mistakes. I used to estimate the number of people in my audiences and then I corrected the estimate by the known capacity of the hall. Often my first number was cut in two. Nobody knows, least of all Mr. Monk, that there are 400,000 Negroes between 110th and 155th Streets. I am disposed to think that the census estimate of 300,000 is probably more correct.

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MAY 23 1942

permitted to ask; but of course questions of many sorts arose in my mind: How is this establishment financed? Just what is the object? Certainly the religious movements of our day, there is least in this that one may criticize; and as a social movement there can be no question but what it has helped many people who need help. Whether this has been done in an economical way or by methods that have any promise of permanency, few know and the facts are not easily ascertainable. Nevertheless, Krum Elbow is a lovely spot. Divine the Father Divine numbers of religious obtrusive. It does do ch no one knows) of nd giving them work. us (of all) interracial; le of the laboring and magazine, "The New is not easily readable. r. the writer is intenrobably is. He says bject to; nor on the tatement clear enough sily understandable. id that of the various It can certainly be said th

The Horizon

BY P. L. PRATTIS

"UNCLE TOM" ARMY GROWS APACE—NEW RECRUITS, WALTER WHITE, JOHN P. DAVIS, MIDIAN BOUSFIELD, ADD DISTINCTION TO RANKS

Pittsburgh Courier

THE RANKS of the "Uncle Toms" grow in size and distinction. In the reclassification brought on by the war crisis, more and more of the old stalwarts are being sent from the reception center to the special services companies of genuflections and pregnant knees. If anything is found in the educational background or work experience of a draftee for racial leadership in these [illegible] that modern the presence of common sense or sanity, the "extremist fringe" places a wreath of white woolly hair on his head and tags him malignant to racial welfare.



Mr. Prattis

Among the more or less new "Uncle Toms" are "Uncle Tom" DuBois (he thinks well of the Tuskegee air school, too), "Uncle Tom" Pickens (who, with Dubois, helped to start the NAACP), "Uncle Tom" Frederick Douglass Patterson (grandson or something of the famous abolitionist), "Uncle Tom" Walter White (whose cold vision discerned a ray of light in the recent slight adjustment of Navy policy), "Uncle Tom" John P. Davis (founder of the National Negro Congress, who also saw both good and bad in the recent Navy action), "Uncle Tom" Max Yergan (who took over the National Negro Congress when it seemed to be getting too hot for A. Philip Randolph) and, last but not least, "Uncle Tom" Edgar Brown. It should be understood that this is a new breed of "Uncle Toms" not to be confused with the oleaginous type represented by "Uncle Tom" Lieut. Oxley.

BOUSFIELD'S MAILED

IN THE WRITER'S meanderings around, he has already seen "Uncle Tom" labels awaiting the induction of Roy Wilkins, Bob Weaver, Bill Hastie, Bill Trent and Chester Franklin. It was reported that the "extremist fringe" which controls the copyright to these "Uncle Tom" labels had become impatient over the Franklin case and that, instead of waiting for his induction, it was sending him his label through the mails. One of Uncle Sam's employes delivered the label or badge to Dr. Lieut. Col. Midian Athello Bousfield several weeks ago, but the wily Rosenwald rightiest has refused to open the package. He has his right to his opinion as to whether he should wear the badge and feel proud of it.

Just what does it take to win recognition and disclaim as an "Uncle Tom?" I thought I knew ones. My early impression a quarter of a century ago was that an "Uncle Tom" was a gentleman or color who lacked backbone in defense of his own people when he was called upon to defend them before white people. Then, to be more certain still, I re-read "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and learned that by some queer quirk the character of "Sambo" had been read into the character of "Uncle Tom" who told Simon Legree that he might kill him if he wished, but he (Uncle Tom") would not sell his race.

HAVE THEY GONE BACK?

I THINK all of us were given quite a lift 25 years ago to find such men as Dubois and Pickens standing up for us as against the older generation of "Uncle Toms." I have a clear mental picture today of the alacrity with which William Pickens jumped to the platform at Clark university, Atlanta, in 1914 to challenge with fiery eye and ferocious gesture what he thought to be aspersions uttered by R. B. Eleazar and W. D. Weatherford who were known as white friends of the Negro. In those days our breasts were filled with pride for such champions as Dubois and Pickens. Now they are "Uncle Toms."

Have they gone back or has the race gone forward? There was a time when Dubois was so advanced in his thinking that many persons said he was fifty years ahead of his time. But fifty years have not elapsed before the arrival of "Uncle Tom" Dubois. What does going forward mean?

NO LABEL FOR RANDOLPH

AS YET, no "Uncle Tom" label has been set aside for A. Philip Randolph. Is there significance to this fact? Twenty-five years ago, the race was skeptical of Randolph, Owens, Domingo, the Messenger gang which flirted with Socialists and became contaminated with queer notions. They were smart, very smart, but . . .

If the race has gone forward beyond Dubois, beyond Pickens, beyond White, is the advance in the direction of Randolph? Will he be an "Uncle Tom" 25 years from now? How are "Uncle Toms" made anyhow?

Does "smartness" make a true leader and "wisdom" make an "Uncle Tom?" I don't know—I'm only asking.

There is another question: Whom do the people themselves follow, the leaders who are called "Uncle Toms" or the leaders who call other leaders "Uncle Toms?"

WIG WAITING FOR ROY

I'M ALL full of wonderment. Just think of calling Bousfield an "Uncle Tom." He doesn't stop at thinking that he is as good as any white man—he actually thinks he is better than most. Funny, but true. And Johnny Davis. Despite his ideological and party-line mixup, there is nothing of the sycophant in him, personally. It he tries to act with some sense (which he's got plenty of), they call him an "Uncle Tom." I just can't see him adorned with a white wooly wig. It doesn't look right.

And take Roy Wilkins for whom a wig is waiting. Roy would be ready to fight anybody who tried to place a crown of wool on Walter's head. I'm sure he would think a huge mistake had been made or that somebody was playing an unfunny joke if he found such a crown addressed to him But I'm willing to wager him that if he does not change his ways and his style of thinking, the mailman will ring his door bell soon to deliver a package. And that package will not contain a crown of gold.

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

ONE MAN'S Journal

by enoc p. waters jr.

MAY 16 1942

GREATEST HOPE of democracy in this country is the ignorance of most white persons of the Negro and of the problems he faces because of. paradoxically, the white man's ignorance.

It does one good occasionally to move outside his normal everyday environment and talk and listen to the reactions of persons one meets. As a result of several such experiences we are beginning to believe that the average white man is not hostile towards the Negro but ignorant.

And because he's ignorant he can be educated and that is not so difficult a task as disabusing a man's mind of well-grounded misconceptions. experiences upon which he has generalized.

A friend of ours who had the same thought took us with him to talk with a group of whites who were admittedly hostile to the Negro.

They had all been parties to drawing up and keeping in force a rigid restrictive covenant. They were members of a parent-teacher association which had the effrontery to petition the board of education to keep Negroes out of a public school. Many were members of lodges, unions and other organizations which had lily white clauses in the constitutions. They were good Christians who went to a church where the brotherhood of man was a hazy abstraction.

They consented to accept us more out of curiosity than out of a desire to promote better relations between the races. In fact it was our private opinion that they expected to convert us to their dislike of Negroes.

They had taken seriously our meeting with them for in spite of a superficial cordiality—the kind that substitutes a cold smile of recognition for a warm friendly handshake—which was extended to us "because you are not typical of your people and we think you're intelligent enough to understand our point of view," they were prepared to let us know unmistakably we weren't liked.

During a very frank talk, one in which no one's feelings were spared, it became evident that only three members of the group were actually hostile. The word of these three was accepted as authority and the group knew no more of the Negro than the abridged information offered by the three.

All three had reasons for disliking Negroes based on one or more unfortunate experiences with individual Negroes.

For example one man who was the son of a small retail merchant operating in the slums of a fair-sized southern city blamed his father's poverty upon failure of his Negro clientele to pay its bills. "And as nice as my father was" in extending credit to persons whom he had reason to believe would never pay, the store was repeatedly robbed and finally set on fire by Negro hoodlums to cover up their tracks.

He and the other two who had "reasons" for their bitterness could not be reasoned with and perhaps can never be converted to believing that Negroes are "just folks." They know it all and enough information cannot be removed from their minds to make room for the truth.

MAY 16 1942

But the others when they learned about Negroes from Negroes—and the picture we painted was not one-sided because we were anxious that they know that Negroes are saints and sinners just like whites—retreated a little from their adamant opposition.

They bristled with indignation when told of some of the obviously unsportsmanlike conditions Negroes have to face; they applauded when told of the patriotism and bravery of Negro soldiers—stories familiar enough to the average Negro but strange and almost unbelievable to them— and they laughed at some of the amusing anecdotes we told them—one woman remarking "just like my Sonny."

A little more working on and they might have been right to approach about abolishing the restrictive covenant and other devices which placed a barrier between them and their darker fellowman. We believe a seed was sown.

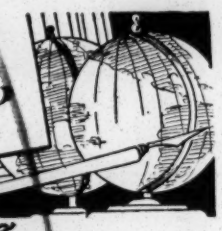
Basically, then, the trouble in this country is the spreading of misinformation by a relatively few I-know-the-Negro whites which makes the ignorant masses either superficially anti-Negro as a result of following an environmental pattern, or which effectively quiets any desire they might have to learn something of their fellowman.

It is these I-know-the-Negro whites who strip the histories, who blue-pencil novels, magazine and newspaper stories, who in our congressional halls and federal offices reject proposals, who seal the lips and censor the movies that would enlighten the ignorant masses and make as one in any effort for its mutual good the people of this country.

Not much can be done with the I-know-the-Negro whites. It is the ignorant ones who are the hope of this democracy.

48b-1942

Sketchbook



By THEOPHILUS LEWIS

People's Voice

MAY 9 - 1942

THE WAR HAS ALREADY produced one tangible salutary result. It has given the rulers of the white race a start toward a liberal education in interracial relationships.

When hitler went berserk, most of the head men of the great nations were venerable middle-aged gentlemen who assumed that God was in His Heaven and all was well with the world. Some of them, it should be mentioned for the sake of accuracy, did not believe in the existence of God or any Heaven for Him to live in. But they were quite sure that all was well with the world because the British navy was patrolling the seven seas.

They were thinking, of course, of their own little world of security and luxury, where everybody spent week ends in the country from Friday till Tuesday, and the really important people could take a jaunt to Capri or Bali as casually as you or I go to Coney Island or visit the Bronx Park Zoo. The venerable gentlemen were quite vexed when hitler disturbed the serenity of their exclusive little world of refinement and pleasure. The fellow was obviously an international rotter, and perhaps a trifle balmy, and the venerable gentlemen would have to take time out from their cricket and big game shooting and put him away somewhere to keep him out of mischief. St. Helena might be a good place. Bally clever idea!

New York, N.Y.

Only two outstanding statesmen understood that hitler's assault on civilzation was not just another war but a war synchronized with a revolution. They were Roosevelt and Leon Blum. But the United States was not immediately involved in the war and Blum was no longer premier of France. The English, French and Polish statesmen and generals who accepted hitler's challenge were under the impression that they were going to fight another war like the Franco-Prussian conflict of 1870, or the first World War only this war would be a bigger and bloodier job. The Germans knew they were making a revolution as well as fighting a war. By mobilizing social unrest along with their panzer divisions the Germans crushed France in a month and slapped the English back on their heels everywhere they could get at them.

MAY 9 - 1942

When the japanese entered the war they used the same technique, with the emphasis on racial rather than social revolution. The japs found the going tough in the Philippines because the United States had already given the natives all the rights and privileges the invaders were only promising them. In Malaya, Burma and the Dutch East Indies, where the natives were treated as a sort of sub-human species, to be exploited along with the soil, mines, oil, forests and other natural resources, it has been a different and sadder story. The story may be quite as different and just as sad if and when the japs invade India.

The venerable gentlemen, to their great astonishment, have discovered that the underprivileged masses are not eager to defend the kind of stratified world hitler attacked. The old patriotic slogans and rallying cries do not thrill them any more. They are willing to make sacrifices and die for democracy and freedom but they want to know in front that those words mean economic and interracial equality. The venerable gentlemen are slowly catching on. So we find Churchill, the most venerable of them all, writing a conciliatory letter to the NAACP and hustling Cripps off to pacify India.

It has long been known that you cannot teach old dogs new tricks or make venerable gentlemen understand new ideas. Churchill attempted to appease Nehru, Gandhi and Walter White with the double talk of old line diplomacy. The result, in each instance, was a diplomatic Dunkirk! Bang! Bang! There go the British.

The venerable gentlemen will never understand why the common people of all nations and all races, white, black and yellow, do not want to defend the kind of world symbolized by the white cliffs of Dover. That world is perishing and the common people want it to perish because it is a world of class and race divisions. The common people are not afraid to fight or die, but they want to fight to build a better world than the one they have known. They do not know precisely what kind of new world they want, but most of them believe in their hearts that any kind of "new order" would be an improvement on the world we live in.

Several new worlds are for sale and it is up to the common people of the world to choose the one they want. If they choose the wrong one we will be slaves for a thousand years. The books I am going to mention may help those who have not already decided to make a wise choice.

MAY 9 - 1942

I suggest, first, two novels by Robert Briffault, an English Communist. His "Europa" and "Europa In Limbo" describe the rotting social structure of Western civilization 30 years ago. On the eve of the first World War. One of his characters says, "The fate of Europe is in the hands of a dozen people who are not fit to be trusted with the destiny of a barnyard." We know now that the same kind of people decided the fate of the world on the eve of the second World War.

The next book I suggest is "Dynamics of War and Revolution", by Laurence Dennis, an American fascist, and, after that, "The Managerial Revolution," by James Burnham, and "The World's Iron Age," by William Henry Chamberlain.

Amsterdam Star-News
New York, N. Y.

As the Crow Flies

MAY 2 5 1942

By W. E. B. DU BOIS

I was sitting lately with an editorial committee when the matter of some proposed comment on Tuskegee came up. One of my companions said archly, "Be careful, remember you offended them lately." "What," said I. "Why, yes, your remark that Dr. Moton 'finally secured the election of his son-in-law as successor'."



Dr. Du Bois

MAY 2 5 1942

I was more than astonished. I remembered that Anson Phelps Stokes wrote me with regard to that same passage and when I explained it to him, suggested that I publish the explanation; but it seemed to me too trivial and making an issue where none was intended. But since now, after two years, it comes up again quite casually, and I learn that people have misunderstood, I am going to make myself quite clear.

When I said that Dr. Moton "secured" Dr. Patterson as his successor, I meant distinctly and clearly that he secured the best available man in my opinion for the presidency of Tuskegee. I knew several of the other candidates. None of them seemed to me to have the poise, the training, the ability and the devotion that Patterson seemed to have and of which he has given ample evidence since. I know, of course, the dangers of nepotism; of trying to secure for one's sons and relatives positions for which they are not fitted, but to which one hopes they may measure up. In the meantime, you may easily neglect and refuse preferment for men of outstanding ability. If I gave in this case the impression that I thought Patterson unduly singled out, my choice of words was singularly unhappy; because I firmly believe that a man has no right to be so modest or afraid as to deny his relatives an opportunity, for fear of unpleasant criticism.

MAY 2 5 1942

Speaks of Tuskegee

This brings us to speak of Tuskegee again, because very often, and especially lately, so many criticisms have been leveled against the institution. Most people do not remember that Tuskegee is four institutions: First, it is an old Southern town in middle Alabama with historical memories and with a certain pride of place. It has never been able entirely to accommodate itself to world opinion that Tuskegee means Tuskegee Institute. While the town has profited immensely by the presence of this widely known institution, there has always been a certain under current of resentment. There has even been at times threats of mob violence. The town, therefore, endures the celebrity of Tuskegee rather than accepts it.

MAY 2 5 1942

Gossip Is Abundant

Secondly, Tuskegee is a colored town centering around Tuskegee Institute. While the Institute owns much of the land and dominates the settlement, nevertheless, there are a considerable number of independent home owners and people pursuing their own vocations outside the Institute proper. Here has always been a natural center of gossip and criticism which was tremendously increased in the last change of administration. Because of financial stringency, many persons were dropped from the employ of the Institute and yet several of them remained in residence at their own homes. Naturally this meant bitterness and the situation has given rise to a good deal of unpleasantness. It was said, for instance, that the recent strike in the dining room of the Institute was encouraged, if not instigated, by persons in the community not officially connected with the Institute.

Third, there is the Federal Veterans Facility, a large hospital conducted by the United States Government and situated on Government-owned land. It is quite independent of the Institute, although adjoining it, and policies and happenings at the Facility are not to be attributed to Tuskegee Institute itself.

MAY 2 5 1942

Has Fine Tradition

Fourth, finally, there is Tuskegee Institute. Despite all the criticism that I and others have brought against it in the past and that can be properly mentioned today, Tuskegee Institute is astonishingly successful and a great tribute to the genius of the American Negro. That a school of this sort should be founded in the Southern South and have had as little interracial friction as Tuskegee, is a miracle. Its growth, its endowment, the men who have worked there as teachers and administrators and the body of students in attendance have from the beginning been an increasing proof of Negro ability.

MAY 2 5 1942

Impressed by Accomplishments

But I have been especially impressed during the incumbency of Dr. Patterson by several accomplishments: First, the integration of industrial teaching with available opportunity for work has been better accomplished there than in most present industrial schools. This has been employees in the course established for that purpose. This is, to be sure, only a beginning, but it is an auspicious beginning, only shown by the teaching of hotel and dining car

The Horizon

CAN WE DEPEND ON PRONOUNCEMENTS OF MRS. ROOSEVELT, WILLKIE AND WALLACE TO WHIP PREJUDICE IN THIS COUNTRY

BY P. L. PRATTIS

IF A GUY can still ask questions in this country, I have some. I ask the questions because I want information, not argument. When you're hungry and ask for something to eat, you don't want anybody arguing with you that you should not have let yourself get hungry. You want food.

I have been reading carefully the recent statements of two men and one woman, three out of a total of 130 million Americans. They are white. In my small way, I have been thinking about what they have said. I have been trying to be what my more learned friends called 'realistic.' I hate most of all to fool myself. So I have been studying the statements of these Americans to see if there is actually, really, anything in them that means anything to me—AND YOU. I must confess that what these two men and this one woman have said look very good on the surface to me. I have almost made up my mind that I want to take hold of some of their ideas and be guided by them. But I can't forget that they are white. My experience has been that whites are extremely talented and cunning and callous in the coinage of pretty-sounding phrases. Was it they who first learned that the pen is mightier than the sword?



Mr. Prattis

THEY ARE ONLY THREE

FURTHER, I can't forget that they are only three white. Against them I might stack a hundred million other whites, or three other whites such as Messrs. Pegler, Talmadge and Bilbo. But I suspect that these latter three will not have much to do with the making of a new world. I think the first three will. By whom then am I to be influenced? Must I spend all my time fighting the ill will and evil generated by these latter three and their kind who are very numerous? Have I time to spare cultivating the good will of the first three and their kind, not so numerous but growing in quality and numbers each day? Or must I distrust both groups, depend on my strength alone and follow only my own counsel?

Now the first three are only these: Eleanor Roosevelt, Wendell Willkie and Henry A. Wallace, vice-president of the United States.

Several weeks ago, Mrs. Roosevelt wrote in her column:

"Today what concerns us most deeply is the necessary change in attitude on the part of the white race. The psychology which believes that the white man alone of all the races in the world has something which must be imposed on all other races, must go. We know today that our chance to live in peace in the future lies in respect for the individual, no matter what his color. We must have a willingness to accept what anyone has to contribute to civilization, and to co-operate in the difficult business of 'live and let live'."

The sense of the above has been the recurrent theme in speeches which Mrs. Roosevelt has since made and of a contribution to the New Republic. I believe she means it.

WILLKIE SAID AS MUCH

WENDELL WILLKIE said equally as much in his recent speech at Rochester, N.Y. He declared for the equality of the races of man and asserted that no new world can be built with some races up and some races down. I believe Mr. Willkie meant what he said.

Now has come Vice-President Wallace with a speech in which the sentiment expressed was so direct, pointed and all-inclusive that the Peglers, the Bilbos and the Talmadges must wonder if this is a white man speaking and if he is in his right mind. Mr. Wallace's speech struck flush in the face the vast unconcern of the mass of American whites as to fairness in racial attitudes.

Mr. Wallace sees the common man of the world on the march to freedom. He sees a world in which "no nation will have the God-given right to exploit other nations."

"The methods of the 19th century," he says, "will not work in the people's century which is now about to begin."

"When the time of peace comes," he emphasizes, "the citizen will have a duty, the supreme duty of sacrificing the lesser interest for the greater interest of the general welfare."

"Those who write the peace," he warns, "must think of the whole world. There can be no privileged peoples. We ourselves in the United States are no more a master race than the Nazis."

Mrs. Roosevelt, Mr. Willkie, Mr. Wallace, all think of a new world of which the United States would be a part, in which all races and peoples would belong, to which the 19th century and the modern era of slavery and exploitation would be but a black milestone in humanity's forward march.

CAN WE TAKE THEIR WORD?

CAN WE afford to take THEIR word for it this time? And if we believe them, can we afford to hope that they'll be able to convert the Peglers, the Bilbos and the Talmadges to the virtue of the new world order? Can Mrs. Roosevelt, Mr. Willkie and Mr. Wallace, and their kind, whip prejudice in this country? When? How? What effect do their words have on my white neighbors? On Sikeston's lynchers? On Georgia peonage farm operators? On all those white Americans who every day in every year short change and insult and humiliate me?

I do not know, but I fear their voices alone are not enough. I want to fight with them for the kind of a world they see in the future. But I also want to do something positive and affirmative to destroy the evils which beset me now. I'd like to see my country grasp the problem of prejudice firmly and start to work on it. For too long it has been a problem the skin of which you hate to touch.

Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Pickens Should Name The Traitors

MR. WILLIAM PICKENS, Field Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, now on leave of absence to work with the U. S. treasury department in the promotion of defense bond sales, is the first American—as far as our recollection goes—to assert that one or more American Negroes have committed treason.

In a letter printed in the Richmond Times-Dispatch, Sunday May 17th, Mr. Pickens said to the editor of the Richmond paper, and to the world:

MAY 23 1942

> Of course, I know the Negro masses better than you can know them, in all sorts of organizations—and I know that they are loyal as a group, but with some few traitors, and with some very foolish persons in their midst.

This sent us to the dictionary. We have been reading the history of the Negro and we have never found a traitor—that is a Negro man or woman who had been discovered to be disloyal to his or her country. We wanted to see how much territory this simple noun covered. This is what we found:

> **Traitor,** One who betrays a trust; especially one who commits treason.

This of course, led us to turn a page or so in the dictionary and take a look at the word "treason." This is what we found:

> **Treason,** Betrayal or breach of allegiance toward government; bad faith, treachery.

Despite a clean slate up to now, from the War for American Independence through World War I, Mr. Pickens seems to have discovered that there are now "some few traitors." If that is true, it is a serious matter.

The Times-Dispatch, whose editorials Mr. Pickens was endorsing, did not go as far as the latter did. The Richmond paper said that there were some members of the race "who have no hesitation in belittling America's war effort and arguing that the Negro has nothing particular to gain through an American victory." That, of course, could be interpreted to mean that the Times-Dispatch thought that some members of the race were committing treason. But we doubt that the Times-Dispatch meant to imply treason.

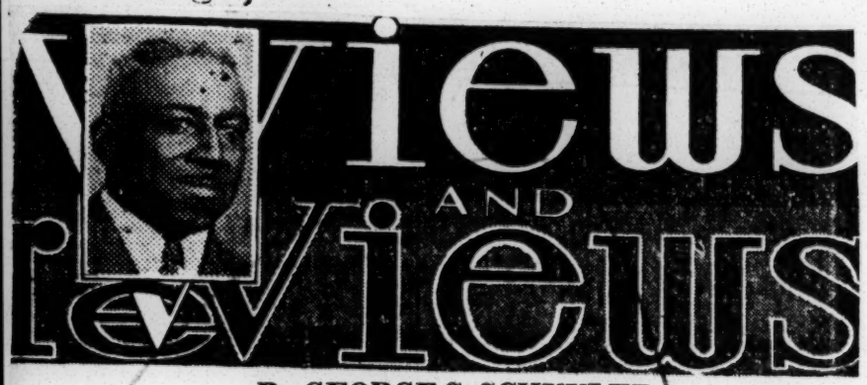
What interests us as much as Mr. Pickens' amazing statement is that once every decade or so some one connected with the official family of the N. A. A. C. P. becomes disgusted with the leadership of the Association and throws in the towel. There is no doubt that Mr. Pickens—whether he realizes it or not—has thrown in the towel, the water bucket, the sponge, his gloves and everything else that would identify him with the N. A. A. C. P.

MAY 23 1942

A few years ago the celebrated Dr. DuBois, did the same thing, in a manner as spectacular, but much more sensible than that employed by Mr. Pickens. Dr. DuBois was fed up on Dr. Walter White, and that is what is wrong with Mr. Pickens, who Dr. White tried to toss out of the N. A. A. C. P. line-up a month or so ago.

The unfortunate thing about Mr. Pickens' departure from the reservation is that he has cast a shadow over the proud record of his race, a thing which he will find extremely difficult to substantiate, and for which he will be shunned by millions who have heretofore admired and respected him.

48b-1942
Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.



By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

Marshall Field's New York newspaper PM has been conducting a drive against what it calls "hate" advertising: i.e., classified advertisements which specify that "'white," "Christian" or "light colored" help, tourists, salesmen or residents are wanted. Such advertisements are properly designated as "hate" because they are intended to discourage or prevent the applications of persons who are not white, not Christians or not light colored. They help to keep alive prejudice and discrimination based on so-called race, creed, color and nationality and so contribute materially to national disunity which most of the advertisements profess to fight. PM does not carry advertising and can therefore conduct the campaign with great enthusiasm. But the New York Post, which DOES carry advertising, has taken the laudable step of refusing such "hate" advertising. No other daily newspaper in New York or elsewhere has followed its example, although the American daily press professes to be all-out for national unity.

JUN 13 1942

It is interesting to note that many editors and publicists who thunder on occasion against racial prejudice and discrimination as undermining democracy, and who criticize Negro-owned newspapers and magazines for "stirring up Negroes against white people," eagerly accept this "hate" advertising and clamor for more. To date, Westbrook Pegler, John Temple Graves and such columnists have said nothing by way of criticism of this profitable "hate" advertising which enriches the newspapers while poisoning the public mind.

It is also to be noted that with all the "racial goodwill" editorials and columns that have blossomed on daily editorial pages, especially since December 7, 1941, practically nothing has been said by any of these "patriotic" publicists against residential covenants excluding Negro tenants and buyers, and thus perpetuating the numerous ghettoes set aside for dark Americans. Not a single white daily newspaper editor before or since Pearl Harbor has said a mumbling word against the racial pollution laws which sully the law books of two-thirds of our States and served as patterns for the Nazis. Of course none urges enforcement of the 14th Amendment.

* * *

Even worse than the "hate" advertisements which lurk on the classified pages of "our" daily newspapers is the sinister policy of identifying Negro individuals as such. This is a subtle form of discrimination designed to segregate these individuals in the mind of the public and thus bolster the national policy of bi-racialism. Thus, Paul Robeson is not a great baritone, he is a great "Negro" baritone. Dr. Carver is not just a great scientist, he is a great "Negro" scientist. Anne Brown is not merely a great soprano, she is a great "Negro" soprano. Langston Hughes is not a poet merely, he is a "Negro" poet. Augusta Savage is a "Negro" sculptor, C. C. Spaulding is a "Negro" insurance executive, R. R. Wright Sr., is a "Negro" banker, J. A. Rogers is a "Negro" historian, Willard Townsend is a "Negro" labor leaders, etc., etc., *ad infinitum*. Only a minority of the public reads the "hate" advertisements, but everybody reads these racial designations in the news columns.

* * *

No other group in this country is so singled out for racial identification, and no one can tell me that there is not a very definite reason for it. No daily newspaper refers to Mr. Morgenthau as the "Jewish" Secretary of the Treasury, or New York's Herbert H. Lehman as the "Jewish" governor, or Isador Lubin as a "Jewish" New Dealer. Mayor Rossi is never identified as the "'Italian-American" executive of San Francisco, nor is the millionaire Giannini called an "Italian" banker. There would be considerable uproar if Senator Robert F. Wagner were termed "New York's able German-American solon," or Representative Tenerowicz dubbed "Detroit's prominent Pole." When has a Utah legislator or Washington been labeled "Mormon"?

JUN 13 1942

One could go on and on, but the point is that "our" daily newspapers carefully avoid such designations except in the case of so-called Negroes. I cannot recall when I have seen a criminal referred to as a Jew, an Italian, a German or a Catholic, but it is commonplace for colored lawbreakers or suspects to be labeled "Negro."

Personally, I shall not be convinced of the sincerity of these white editors and columnists who shape America's thinking unless and until they begin treating the Negro in the news as they do other Americans. Those who continue this type of journalism are the worst sort of hypocrites when they write about democracy and national unity.

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.



"There never was a Comer who was either a coward or a fool."

* * *

This tribute from a political opponent to the late Braxton Bragg Comer was quoted editorially by The Birmingham News when he died. Mrs. J. H. McCoy, president of Athens College, widow of Bishop McCoy, recalled it in the remarkably tender and understanding address she delivered last month at the unveiling of a bronze bust of Alabama's great progressive in the Hall of Flags of the Department of Archives and History at Montgomery. She recalled many other things, too, in both the public and the home life of Gov. Comer. Her speech is a contribution to the intimate history of one of the most remarkable and useful men ever to hold office in the South.

JUN 18 1942

Gov. Comer came to office a man of independent wealth with a sense of responsibilities with the wealth and a heart for the plain people of his state. Social and economic advancement here may be said to have been something he started. Something else he started was the present Comer family and the fine advancements to which they in turn have given themselves for Alabama. In his own life and works and in the lives and works of the men and women of his family who carry on those works today, Braxton Bragg Comer stands in memory as an example of what has been done for this state by men of good will and social purpose and of the more than will be done as the years go on. He stands, too, for a public-mindedness.

* * *

Noting this column's pale dictionary-bred definition of a hypochondriac the other day, Mr. W. R. Withers, of Greensboro, Ala., says the definition he prefers is this: "A hypochondriac is one who thinks 'Good morning, how are you' is an inquiry instead of a salutation."

* * *

If Probate Judge Eugene Hawkins had to be surrendered at his own wish to the United States Army there is no one whose substitution for him could have been received with more universal praise than goes to Henry Howze. In long years of citizenship here Henry Howze has made his name one for such honor, spirit, wide learning and sure love of his community and countrymen that identification with it is a pass-key to acceptance in this part of the country.

JUN 13 1942

At beautiful and storied Hollins College, Virginia, Tuesday, where both campus and curriculum belong to the matchless ideal of the University of Virginia, it was comforting to a lonely Alabamian amid the scholastic splendors of a centennial program to find other Alabamians doing so well there that our state stood high. It was pleasant to hear President Randolph give the bachelor's degree to Miss Martha Bowman, of Montgomery, daughter of W. W. Bowman. And to know that Miss Launa Murray Dixon, daughter of Alabama's governor, was a popular undergraduate. And that so were Misses Marie Boyd, Betty H. Brown, Kitty Keaton Keyton and Callie Rives, of Montgomery, and Miss Anita Boyl, of Mobile, and Miss Jane Henderson, of Troy. And that an animated young woman by the name of Frances Wade was the daughter of Maj. Wallace Wade, who is in the history books with Alabama Rose Bowl teams.

* * *

"We were the seniors, seniors were we . . ." all the sadness of youth at its saddest was in that past tense as the graduates who had so lately been seniors marched out of the great dining room there at Hollins. And sad with their sadness were the juniors who had just become seniors, who followed afterwards, singing, "We are the seniors, seniors are we . . ." Who that ever went to school or college is not able to recall things there at once more joyous and more sad than any that have come after!

JUN 13 1942

When the intimate history of this war is written there will be chapters on the genuine patriotism many of our industrial leaders have put into their parts.

We thought of it the other day when we heard of ceaseless, unstinting and triumphant efforts here by an industrial captain whose company bears his name and who, with his vice president, is working for increased production more ardently and exhaustively than ever he worked in days when he could hope to profit from an increase. It makes no difference to these men now, apparently, that they have hated the New Deal like poison and do so still.

* * *

For the fine heart and understanding he showed in ceremonies dedicating Birmingham's second public park for Negroes the other day, we can forgive Mayor Green the word "humble" in his speech. Cooper Green is too objective and straight-forward to have in mind the sort of humility which speaks of itself, which is only a false front or which is worn in self-consciousness or which is a servile acceptance. What he had in mind, we know, was that habit of unselfishness and of ambition to be deserving and of interest in the world about one which makes a man fit in with the universe as he goes to his task in it.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

The World TODAY

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

The U.S. Navy's sincerity will be subjected to the acid test when the two young Negroes appointed to Annapolis by Congressman Mitchell enter that exclusive institution of learning. If it is for democracy and national unity, it will take special pains to see that these youngsters are given every consideration due them. A lecture to cadets and instructors beforehand would help a great deal.

—VV—

THE NAVY has been more backward than the Army in adjusting itself to the new order of things in America. It moved with great reluctance to end discrimination against Negroes and its remedy (segregation) is as bad as the disease. It had to be bludgeoned by public opinion into "finding" and honoring Dorie Miller, although it found other Pearl Harbor heroes with great alacrity.

—VV—

The Navy's morale moguls "slept" a great opportunity to lift Negro's spirits when they failed to bring Dorie Miller to the mainland and send him on tour, as they did several white heroes. Probably they do not regard Negro morale as important. It may be necessary for the White House to ask for the return of Miller.

—VV—

THE U.S. ARMY CHIEFS have been little less dense. Last week Secretary of War Stimson told the NAACP he did not believe special courses for white soldiers to insure courteous treatment of Negro soldiers was necessary. Imagine that! It disproves the old adage that "Exprience is the best teacher," because Mr. Stimson and his military associates seem to have learned nothing. Such courses given to every white soldier and officer would have prevented most of the racial trouble in and around army posts.

JUN 13 1942

Wherever American soldiers have touched foreign soil during this war, the virus of color prejudice has been carried, according to Negroes returned from various fronts. This is reminiscent of the last war when white soldiers and officers went to greatest lengths to humiliate black soldiers in France. Intelligently prepared lectures and leaflets would greatly lessen this vicious propaganda. With countless billions of dollars to spend, why is the Government reluctant to do this? Wouldn't that be fighting for democracy?

—VV—

FAVORITE ANTI-NEGRO canards circulated by mis-educated white Americans abroad in Uncle Sam's uniform is that Negroes are ignorant, social inferiors and rapists. Only known rapists abroad to date were three white Marines convicted in Iceland and Private Edward J. Leonski, white, of Brooklyn, N.Y., accused of three incredibly brutal sex murders in Melbourne, Australia, last week.

JUN 13 1942

President Roosevelt's warning to the Japanese that U.S. forces will use gas if Japanese don't stop using it against Chinese, coupled with warnings by Russians to Germans that they will retaliate in kind if Nazis use gas, are tip-offs on the kind of war the world will soon be fighting. Look out for poison gas and disease germs projected by both sides before the summer is out. Gas masks will soon be as plentiful here as ladies' purses, with no priorities.

—VV—

TO ARKANSAS are going 10,000 citizens and aliens of Japanese ancestry, according to announcement from Lieut. General DeWitt. They will be settled in Desha County, in the rich Delta plantation country where black peonage has long been the rule. Maybe the unfortunate Japanese will succeed the exploited Negroes. Southeastern Arkansas planters are probably delighted over the news. Negro citizens, unlike whites in the West, will not protest against the coming of Japanese. We usually excel whites in patriotism.

Digest

SETTING MEN FREE—INSURES FREEDOM

I have just finished reading a rather big book on the "underground railroad," written by Henrietta Buckmaster. Dr. F. D. Patterson sent the book to me. Frankly it is the most disturbing book I have read in a long, long time. Every student of the problems of the races and the Negro aspect especially should read that book.

A friend of mine, who is a student of human nature, made this significant statement this week, "History does not record an instance of slaves setting themselves free." If this be true, there is little hope of looking to the day when the conquered races of Europe will revolt against the yoke of Hitler and thusly aid in regaining their freedom. Henrietta Buckmaster's story of the underground railroad and all the things leading to the emancipation of the Negro, answers a lot of disturbing questions on how men are set free.

I think the emancipation of the slaves, had more to do with the preservation of the union than anything else. It was much as it trimmed the cancer of slavery off the [illegible] the greatest [illegible] of government man has as yet brought forth out of persecution, gegans of oppression and eternal longing for freedom from want, fear, the right of man to serve God according to the dictates of his conscience and the right to express himself freely.

No slaves ever accumulated enough power or wealth to set himself free by these things alone. In others there had to be the belief and opposition to the slave system—who because of this, set their slaves free or gave them the opportunity to earn the money with which to purchase their own freedom or took positive steps to create a voluntary demand from men and women of both races for the abolition of slavery. The resultant setting free of the slaves insured freedom for both races—North and South.

Slavery is a two edged sword—it does much harm to the slaveholders as it does to the slaves. Witness if you please as you go about and talk with people, read books, listen to radios, sermons—you will observe that after seventy-five years of freedom from recognized slavery in the United States, there is evidence that many Negroes and whites are still vicitims of the slave psychology—many in both groups, by their attitudes seemingly still want to keep the slave system alive—they have not as yet recognized that emancipating the Negro was more than just emancipating the Negro—it was also the emancipation of the nation from a way of life which would have doomed it beyound hope of salvation. The very fact that we set the slaves free here in the Unitd States, seventy-five years ago not only insured our freedom as a nation, but it put us in position to attempt to insure freedom for all people of the world today.

I have arrived at the point where I can believe that a people can be set free by law, force or by placing your opponents in concentration camps, economic and political prisons or on barren social deserts—fenced in with discriminations. Freedom is something one must achieve within and insure against destruction from without, by seeing that all men and especially the common man is given the fullest opportunity to develop that freedom within which will enable him to fit into a society of free men for free men—and which recognizes that ye who come to set men free said "In as much as you do it unto the least of these, you do unto me." He was simply saying in as much as you set others free, you make it possible for your freedom.

Prior to the advent of America into the present conflict, we had drifted far back from the beaten path of freedom. We had allowed greed, hate, prejudice and discrimination to make of us a people who either made the whole world look upon us as a nation of greedy suckers who wouldn't mind enslaving the whole world. And so, the Axis and their brothers hating this thing called democracy, set out to take over the actual, potential and constructive slaves of the world. They look upon their war effort as an effort o set men free, but to take the place of their present masters.

So, it seems to me that in every community, state and the country at large, we must make it possible for men—common men especially to achieve FREEDOM, growth and happiness as a way of life. This sort of thing will insure genuine affection for people with whom we must live. No way of life can live unless it is a way of life loved by people because of what it is today. No man can be made to love anything by force. Stripping any man's freedom from him, like like slavery corrupts the soul of disciples of slavery more than the slaves, rendering the slave-holders powerless to set the slave free. Which means that where slavery is maintained, the oppressor and the oppressed are chained together to an even posioning and destroying destiny for both.

Let America sincerely declare to all the world that we have abandoned the ways of slavery as a sectional or national policy for any of our minorities forever and this will make it possible for us to win the war and the peace.

48b-1942
Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

The Horizon

IF MR. RANDOLPH ORGANIZES THE DISCONTENTED AMONG US, JUST WHAT IS HE GOING TO DO WITH THEM?

BY P. L. PRATTIS

JUN 6 - 1942

FOR want of a better name, let's call this "March-on-Washington" month. The idea of June may be portentous. It is to be a month signalized and dramatized by protest—so far as we as a race are concerned. It is the month during which our discontent may be conditioned to boil over. The March-on-Washington Committee, under local sponsorships, has initiated three huge protest meetings, one for New York, one for Washington and one for Chicago.



Mr. Prattis

The March-on-Washington Committee, under the leadership of Mr. A. Philip Randolph was born of protest. Last year, Mr. Randolph was made the spearhead of a movement which threatened to fill the streets of the nation's capital with thousands of protesting Negroes, demanding from their government redress of their grievances. The movement won some distinction, not because of any inherent usefulness it possessed, but rather because the President and Mrs. Roosevelt became alarmed, asked that Washington be spared such a march. When they personally and officially made known their objection to the march, they (particularly the President) laid themselves open for concessions. The President, hoisted on his own petard, gave Mr. Randolph the Fair Employment Practices Committee to call the march off. Mr. Randolph did so.

VICTORY BY SQUEEZE PLAY

THE most sincere and intelligent adherents of the March-on-Washington movement know in their heart of hearts that their victory was the result of a squeeze play and that if the President had stood his ground and had not had a bad attack of the jitters, the March-on-Washington would not have been distinguishably different from the multiplicity of marches which have been made on Washington since Lincoln. The March-on-Washingtoners won a victory by default.

But the man who gets results is the man who counts and Mr. Randolph got results. Ever since there has been a yearning among some people to test the line again. The name, March-on-Washington, has been invested with a sort of magic. The presumption is that even if the committee members do not encourage a march on Washington, the name itself, because of what it now connotes, will get results if protest is made loud enough and strong enough. Hence, the series of protest meetings.

WOODS FULL OF DISCONTENT

JUN 6 - 1942

The March-on-Washington movement is spark-plugged by such words as "protest," "demand," "mass pressure," "power." Mr. Randolph, himself, has called for an "offensive" against 'the evils perpetrated against us. He is going to find plenty of support. The woods are full of discontent. Men, whatever their color, unjustly treated, do not answer the call to death with a smile on their faces. The average Negro, with his eyes wide open, is bitter. He is not enthusiastic about dying abroad for what he does not get at home. Many Negroes would prefer to fight it out on the home front. They are going to be attracted to any leader who asks them to do so. Cultivation of the Negro's discontent is bound to yield a harvest—but what kind?

If Mr. Randolph arouses and organizes the discontented, what does he purpose to do with them? They will constitute a force and a power. Is it going to be made clear to them that the nation's fight is also their fight? Or are they to become emotionally engulfed in the fight for themselves to the extent that the value of the service they are giving the nation may be questioned?

IS NATURE OF PROTEST TO BE CHANGED?

WHAT else does the March-on-Washington committee propose to do or protest that is not already being done or protested by every Negro individual and organization? The March-on-Washington committee demands the right to fight, serve and work in the Army, Navy and industry identically as do other Americans. Don't we all? The March-on-Washington committee condemns and denounces the mobbing, shooting and killing of Negro soldiers, the Jim Crow policy of the Navy, Army, Air Corps and Marines, the segregation of blood banks by the Red Cross, the Sikeston, Mo., lynching, the denial of food service to Negro soldiers on trains. Don't we all? Hasn't the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People denounced and condemned all these? The Urban League? The Church? Our newspapers? Our educational leadership? Our politicians?

One must presume that the nature and power of the protest of the March-on-Washington dissidents is expected to be different. If the leadership does not propose to trade on the elixir of the victory by default last year, it must have in mind a type of protest of special seeding. It must think the protests so far have lacked something. Or it must feel that it can make more expert use of protest once the discontented are organized.

God knows I hope so.

HELP WITHOUT HURTING

I HOPE they are going to be smarter than all the rest. I hope they are going to be able to help us without hurting us. What we need most now is the leadership which can show us how to extract the most from the present emergency. There has been no clear thinking so far along this line. As Dr. Dubois writes, we need conferences and conferences, speeches and speeches. Maybe through such a process the outlines of what we must do will begin to appear. If the proposed protest meetings expose for us the shape of things to come, their virtue and value will be unquestioned. If they serve to organize, and fail to control, discontent, this June month will be long and sadly remembered.

Peoples Voice
New York, N. Y.

Washington

JUN 6 1942

By CHARLES PEARCE

NEW YORKERS IN TOWN over the past week end included two newsmen—Leslie F. Coles and Roi Ottley. Hmm.

Dr. Emmett J. Scott, astute sage of the Republican National Committee, reached deep in his bag of tricks and pulled one last week. He announced the plans of the Pew interests in Chester to erect a new shipbuilding plant and man it with Negroes from stem to stern. Dr. Scott is the personnel man and will have about 9,000 Negroes under his watchful eye.

Look up *Fortune* magazine and see the swell drawing and paintings by Charles "Spinky" Alston and Romare Bearden, both New York kids, illustrating the feature, *The Negro's War*. Great stuff, the illustrations and the article, too.

Southern Negro Youth Congress representatives Louis Burnham and Esther V. Scott with four other delegates visited the governmental agencies the past Friday and Saturday and laid down the viewpoint of the young Negroes of the country. The boys got an earful. The heads of the departments with their colored aides for comfort and sustenance, heard plenty. These folks ain't fools.

Former Freedmen's Hospital internes meeting here with some 200 doctors in attendance. Sort of old homecoming thing, you know, with lots of extra curricula activity.

While other folks are buying war stamps and bonds, lots of us are playing the numbers (and losing). Buying war stamps may not be half as exciting nor as profitable when you hit, but it is a danged sight safer.

The grand rush for the war correspondents is on with everybody applying B.C. (and I don't mean Before Christ)—I mean before credentials are approved and granted, the stiffest kind of investigations are made of the applicants.

Rumors that certain US outfits are going to Africa have no foundation, say War Department officials—referring of course to the 93d Division, which will be in training almost a year before it is sent anywhere.

She was a light-skinned colored girl, working in one of the departments here. Lunch time, there was no place for colored folk to get a bite to eat so she went into a chain drug store nearby and ate her lunch. The manager of the store served her, but he also phoned the head of her department after finding out where she worked, and told him the young lady was eating there, passing for white. The department chief chided her and told her not to do that again. What business of his was it? Was she under his supervision off governmental property at lunch time?

JUN 6 1942

In the "groovy" manner. Two New York gals are knocking them out at the Crystal Caverns, local nitery. Lola Pierre, a stunning brown with plenty of personality, is the mistress of ceremony; while little "Angel" is just that with her violin. The full name, Angel Creasy, from Brooklyn originally but more recently of Harlem and the Juilliard School of Music. When a gal with a violin stymies the boys in this burg in a night club doin' nothing but playin' the fiddle, man that IS news.

Incidentally, "Spinky" Alston was in the Office of Facts and Figures last Thursday afternoon. Which totals the New Yorkers in town to just an even zillion.

Ed Strang of the Southern Negro Youth Congress was in town while the delegation was here, just in case.

NAACP opens its spot here Saturday with a confab.

Is it true that Charles (Urban League) Collier, Ferdinand Smith and Adam C. Powell were in Washington Thursday for a conference with Bob Weaver and Archie MacLeish?

When delegations visit government officials for conferences, always they call in the Negro specialist, who usually irons out rough spots (when they can) or else they just sit and listen and learn. Sort of moral support.

Doesn't it get your goat? You've just bought your copy of PV on your way to dinner. While you rack your hat and draw a chair, some zany grabs for it with a grin and a "Lemme see your PV?" Doesn't it get your goat? Or do they ever buy any paper?

Wesle "Pop" Mitchell of old Ace Club fame is in Washington with a labor mediation board of some kind. Gosh, it was good to see Pops.

Folks are beginning to get the real feel of Washington's heat wave now that Decoration Day has come and gone. And brother, it can burn 'em up in this town.

Laugh of the week, the Dixie madam who called the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices complaining she couldn't get any domestic help and that it was a great mistake to put colored folk to work in governmental offices. Said she wouldn't have any of this "white trash" taking care of her children. Too bad, lady, ever try staying home and taking care of 'em yourself?

Got me a wide brim senatorial style summer lid which is almost comparable to those kellys the boys wore this spring.

Congressman White of Idaho blew his top at a white gal the other day because he had to wait like you and I would to see a prominent army officer. He's the same guy who wants to run all colored folk off of You st. and send them to the bushes of Anacostia. Idaho sure is well represented in the halls of Congress. A far cry from the days of Borah.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

JUN 6 - 1942

The World TODAY

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

White newspapers are catching up with the Negro press. Last Saturday the New York Times, leading white newspaper, declared editorially that "Prejudice Is Disloyal." Our papers have been stressing this for decades. War is certainly bringing about changes.

DORIE MILLER got his Navy Cross last week from Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Fleet, Admiral Chester W. Nimitz. Ceremonies were at Pearl Harbor where Miller's heroic deeds were done. Admiral Nimitz, who once said Negroes were "too smart" to be given equal opportunity in the Navy because they would gain high places and thus "embarrass" whites, complimented Miller. The latter then returned to his kitchen work.

Six years ago Benjamin O. Davis Jr., graduated high up in his West Point class but contrary to custom, was assigned to the infantry. Last week he became an air corps lieutenant colonel, after having been promoted from captain to major only on May 19. Such is the speed of promotions in war. Young Davis is now assistant post executive officer at the Tuskegee Army flying school. Which proves it CAN happen here.

FORTUNE MAGAZINE for June adds further proof that "the sun do move." It features an excellent article on the Negroes and the war industries. Romare Bearden and Charles Alston illustrated it while whites wrote it. A fine interracial effort although "old stuff" to Negroes abreast of the times. Wealthy whites who largely read Fortune, will find much food for thought and, let us hope, for action.

Dr. Robert W. Searle of New York told the Milwaukee meeting of the Presbyterians a mouthful last week, saying "If we apply the doctrine of the master race to the minorities in our country, then our difference from Adolf Hitler is only in degree, not in kind." To which every intelligent Negro will say, Amen.

JUN 6 - 1942

WAYMAN SULLIVAN, 22-year-old Negro, feels not much different from Dr. Searle, but the Newark Negro got three years in Federal prison from a judge in Trenton on May 20. The judge asked him how he could evade the draft and the opportunity to fight Hitler who regards Negroes as only half human. Sullivan said, "There are a lot of people over here who agree with him." Retorted the judge, "Don't you think there are a lot who don't agree with him?" Replied Sullivan, "I haven't hit so many of them." To this some Negroes might say, Amen, too.

As the war gets tougher our home-grown Hitlers will have to change. Last week the F.E.P. Committee ordered eight Government contractors in the New York area to stop stalling and hire Negroes, Jews and others barred from working. Unfortunately the F.E.P. has no authority to punish these firms if they ignore its warning. Congress should remedy that defect. You should only vote for candidates who will promise to do so.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE'S "Strike a Match for Victory" campaign deserves your support. You can get 50 match packets for $1, a whole box for $5, from its office, 1133 Broadway, N.Y. Proceeds aid our fight to get skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled Negroes into war industry. President and Mrs. Roosevelt, Anne Brown, William Hastie, F. D. Patterson, Mayor LaGuardia and thousands more are buying and using these matches. Why not you?

Pro-Fascist Italian-Americans on our Pacific Coast are openly saying "Roberto will win the war" (meaning Rome-Berlin-Tokio Axis). Their pro-Fascist papers still print nothing reflecting on Mussolini, the butcher of Libya and Ethiopia. Mayor Rossi of San Francisco has been observed giving the Fascist salute. The Italian Chamber of Commerce head refuses to return his Italian Government decorations. An Italian attorney admits speaking many times before the German-American bund. Such was the testimony before California's Assembly committee investigating un-Americanism last week. Meantime loyal Japanese-American citizens are being interned just because of race! Consistency thou art a jewel.

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

Calvin's . . . Digest . . .

Advertise Us!

By L. BAYNARD WHITNEY

P M's EDITOR RALPH Ingersolhas been urging America to utilize the idea factories of our dynamic advertising organizations for the purpose of crystallizing the war aims in the American mind; of increasing production, and sustaining civilian morale

Indeed, advertising (and propaganda) is the breath of life of American business. Here is an indispensable tool which the Negro has almost, totally neglected in the matter of telling our story to white America.

The Negro in America is like a small isolated nation; there is a "colored world" and a "white world" and seldom the twain do mix. To millions of white people the Negro practically does not exist in their personal interests. The Negro generally reads the white press, but the whites generally never even hear of the Negro press, as only a handful of white people ever read a colored newspaper or magazine.

It seems to me time overdue for Negroes to buy space in white newspapers and magazines and get our story across that color line, instead of always depending on white publications to write us up (or down). We are not understood because we are not known.

One of the first and best methods of doing this, would be for a group of Negro publishers or insurance companies to pool a fund and buy space in the white press. Like a good salesman the Negro must "get seen, get heard, get believed."

IN OUR CORNER

The daily newspaper PM of New York, Democracy's barbed spearhead, again wate to bat for the Negro on the front and second pages of its June 24th issue when it erased the color line in patriotism by appealing to its readers to send their War Bond Pledges to a Colored Minute Woman, who had been snubbed by white residents of the Addesleight section of St. Albans, Queens, N. Y.

P M reported that not one white person in that section would consent to serve as Minute Man or Minute Woman. When NAACP accepted the patriotic duty, the white home owners, who were already fighting to bar colored residents from their section, froze her out ledgeless.

P M carried the fight to the people who "believe that patriotism has no color line." We hope that this kind of constructive publicity will shame or reform many intolerant Americans, and make everyone realize that in our corner there are effective people and organizations helping us to fight our battle.

"Winning Democracy for the Negro is winning the war for Democracy!"

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Pittsburgh, Pa.

Rogers Says:-

A WHITE FRIEND BECOMES CONVINCED THE NEGRO CANNOT FORGET HIS COLOR

BY J. A. ROGERS

I HAVE a white friend who is so deeply concerned over the injustice to the Negro that I often think that if the majority of Negroes were but half as deeply affected we'd be getting somewhere fast. However, he has a fixed notion which reminds me of so many Negroes, and that is, if you can only get rid of a certain name, all will be well. As some Negroes believe that if you can only change "Negro" to "colored," and "colored" to "black", and "black" to "Afro - American," and "Afro-American" to "Ethiopian," or "Ethican," or some other idiotic and time-wasting argument you will soften the situation regardless of the fact that a prisoner is still a prisoner no matter by what name you call him. So my white friend thinks that if the Negro newspapers would omit all mention of race and race discrimination, the problem would be well on the way to solution.



Mr. Rogers

ONLY ONE RACE

He thinks that it is our agitation that keeps the race question alive. Of course, I know why he feels like that but I have never told him. Just as the Negro who seeks some more respectable name for his oppression is trying to adjust himself to his prison bars, so my white friend has his feelings badly stirred every time he takes up a Negro newspaper. He feels that if race is omitted he won't be hurt. I have tried to tell him that a disease that hurts makes itself known and thus has a better chance of being cured; that the prisoner, and for that matter, a Negro, who calls himself by a name which forever reminds him of the injustice being done him, is the one most likely to fight himself free. But it's no use.

I HAVE reminded him continually that Negroes are forced to be racial in spite of themselves, that the majority of us know deeply in our hearts that the only race is the human race, but that our own government does not know it yet. In the government forms we are given to fill we have to say what "race" we are—the income-tax forms, of course, excepted.

WANT NEGROES TO FORGET COLOR

I told him of my experience with the social security blank. Beside the question "race," I wrote in "Human". The form promptly came back. There was no such animal. I sent it back saying that I knew no other race. The reply came back: You must say either "white", "colored", or something else, I can't recall now. Still my friend continued to see things his own way. A fixed notion is like any other malady. It can't be cured by logic. It needs radical treatment. Sometimes only death can help.

AT times this friend, feeling that he must have some name by which to distinguish Negroes, will say "Your people," to which I reply, "You say that as if you said 'your hat;' why I don't own anybody!" Then he'll say "You know what I mean," and when I say I don't he'll say, "Well, the colored people."

The other day he came to my home and seeing a Negro newspaper on the couch went straight for it. Across one page, streamed the line: "Forget Your Color, Pearl Buck Advises Howard Students." Picking it up he slapped it energetically, and said, "Good advice! That's what I've always said."

CONVERTED

I replied, "Fine in theory, but dangerous in practice. In many states you'd not only be breaking the law but inviting the mob." He did not reply, giving me up, I suppose, as a hopeless pessimist.

HOWEVER, I met him again last week, and here's the climax of the story. He said to me sadly, "I believe you are right, after all. Look what happened to Roland Hayes and his wife in Georgia! To Roland Hayes, one of the finest, gentlest, most cultured men in America."

"What happened?" I said, pretending I hadn't read the story.

"They just went into a store in Georgia to try on some shoes and were beaten up," he said.

"Indeed," I replied, "I'm not surprised. Anything can happen in Georgia."

WORSE THAN NAZIS

He continued indignantly—Roland Hayes is one of his heroes—"They just walked into the store and being a hot day sat near the electric fan without thinking . . ." "That they were not in Boston where they are half permitted to forget their color," I interrupted.

"YES," he said," and for that they were beaten, handcuffed, and thrown into jail. We're worse than the Nazis. All they did was to stop him from singing."

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
August 3, 1942



"Where the commonsense of most
Shall hold the fretful realms in awe . . ."

* * *

All over the South agitators of the white man are being brought or restored to leadership because of agitators of the Negro. Georgia isn't the only place where a Talmadge is being given fresh power by a Mrs. Roosevelt. And the great majorities of us—white and black—know that neither the Talmadge way nor the other way has any hope of settlement for the most difficult race problem with which any people anywhere ever had to deal. The great majorities of us have no will either for this hateful interruption to a war effort that should be supreme or for this sure trouble which is being brought upon us by unwise and intemperate extremists on both sides.

* * *

Absolutely nobody but the agitators themselves can gain from this gathering situation. Happily the common sense of our people is coming to the fore at last. Temperate men are making themselves heard in counsels of moderation and a sane facing of the facts. The busy tellers of atrocity stories on both sides are not being listened to so eagerly. People are coming to understand that their whole peace and their whole function in this war effort are threatened by exaggerated interpretations the stories get.

* * *

"I have read with full approval your views on recent race relations developments," writes Senator John H. Bankhead, whose liberalism is weaponed always with sturdy common sense. "I am enclosing a letter which I have addressed to Gen. Marshall, chief of staff of the United States Army." The letter is a document as weighty for the South as was the recent statement of another Southern liberal, Mark Ethridge. Calling Gen. Marshall's attention to "increasing indications of a difficult race problem in the South" and citing the "stationing of Northern Negro soldiers to do military duty in the South" as a principal source of trouble, Senator Bankhead wrote that "the best friends of the Negroes in the South are very much concerned about the growing anxiety that race conflicts may break out and lead to bloodshed. Our people feel that the government is doing a disservice to the war effort by locating Negro troops in the South in immediate contact with white troops at a time when the race feeling among the Negroes has been aroused and when all of the energies of both the whites and the blacks should be devoted to the war effort . . ."

* * *

Senator Bankhead then made this sensible and constructive proposal to Gen. Marshall: "If you feel obliged to have Negro soldiers in the South as the result of social or political pressure, can't you place Southern Negroe soldiers there and place the other Negro soldiers in the North where their presence is not likely to lead to race wars?"

* * *

Like Mark Ethridge, Senator Bankhead is not passing judgment on race issues. He is simply facing facts and proposing that action be based on facts. And that is all that sensible and patriotic men can do at a time like this. The greatest emergency in the history of this land exists. And with it the greatest need of attitudes which permit our people to work together rather than to be divided and conquered. Unlike the extremists, Senator Bankhead is not raising an issue. He is trying to prevent one. That is what all of us must try to do. For it can be done if our majorities will refuse the leadership of these extremists who do not represent us but merely draw us in hateful and hopeless directions.

* * *

The way of moderation. The way of fact-facing. The way of refusing to accept this cup of race trouble. We tried to speak for it in this column last Tuesday, and messages of agreement are proving in their number and quality how possible and right an ideal it is. From Alabama's famous R. J. ("Bob") Goode, of Gastonburg, for example: "My appreciation for and complete agreement with your column of July 28. I think someone with a little common sense needs to pour some oil on the troubled waters. Whether fool or knave, the one who stirs up this racial issue at this time performs no service to our people." From famed William F. Feagin, right-hand man to Benjamin Meek Miller, comes similar total agreement with views expressed here and with the need of having them expressed. Our own beloved Dr. Henry J. Willingham writes: "That column rang the bell. Keep it up. There is a great deal at stake in our future relations between the races here in the South."

* * *

Judge Romaine Boyd writes: "Recent events recall the wisdom of your talk over the Town Meeting of the Air a year ago in which you appealed for unity and the subordination of social agitation and the aims of selfish minority groups to the inevitable business of winning the war in which you foresaw that America would be involved. What a difference it would have made if Washington had been more in accord with those courageous and patriotic views of your Town Meeting talk."

Macon (Ga.) Telegraph
June 28, 1942

Such a World

President Desires Army of 10 to 12 Million Soldiers

* * *

This War Requires 18 Workers to Supply Each Soldier . . .

* * *

Problem Is to Get 190 Million Soldiers and Workers Out of 132 Million Population

—By W. T. Anderson

ON today's editorial page appears a statement by Mark F. Ethridge, formerly managing editor of The Telegraph, on the subject of racial matters which affect the war effort. This is very reassuring, considering its source, and should be read by everybody.

Macon has been deeply concerned with possible friction between the races by reason of reported "orders" from the President as to necessity for an "all-out" effort to bring into war production all available man and woman power, regardless of race, creed, color, etc.

Macon recalled the President's previous order that all workmen on war projects must belong to a labor union. And fast on the heels of that came reports of inability of many workmen to go to work where foremen of war jobs told them their services were needed, and that they only had to get permission of union bosses to be put to work. With high initiation fees and many run-rounds given applicants by the favcored unions, it has never been clear to informed people as to the urgency of the situation indicated by the President.

* * *

THEN there arrived in Macon a group of inspectors and agitators of both the white and Negro races from the North, who made investigations of various matters and reports of racial discriminations, and these charged Macon with being about the worst offenders on the list of accused Southern cities.

This was followed or accompanied by a request from federal authorities addressed to the Bibb County Board of Education's vocational committee, asking that a vocational school be set up here to train Negro girls for work in the ordnance or "fuse" plant in Macon.

* * *

AS it was known that the ordnance plant was built with the idea that there were no racial differences, that all employes used accommodations of all kinds on equal terms, including dining-rooms, rest rooms, etc., it was feared by many of the best white and colored people that this program was heading Macon into difficulties that might transfer war operations from recognized war fronts into new ground right here at home.

And that although in Macon for generations white and colored brick masons and carpenters and out-door workers generally have mixed and worked on the same jobs without any semblance of friction or disturbance, things might not go so well if this mixing were brought in-doors, under such conditions as might be set up at the ordnance plant. Strikes might ensue, and fighting over jobs take place which would be as tragic in its consequences and injurious to harmony and war effort as though it were one of the well-known battles between AFL and CIO unions.

* * *

IT was feared the President would be as adamant and insistent on the mixing of the races here in war work as he was and is on all workers in war work belonging to unions. The worker who is an American citizen and pays taxes and is competent should be as effective and necessary as any other person, and entitled to a job his country has to give out, union or no union. Likewise, the worker who is an American citizen and pays taxes and is competent should be entitled to a job his country has to give out, color or no color. Our country's need of 10 to 12 million soldiers means we must have 18 workers to supply each soldier—or 190 million soldiers and workers. How we shall get them out of 132 million population is not in my arithmetic. But it serves to illustrate the necessity for concessions by everybody in everything. We want to preserve as many of our traditions and heritages as we can, but war is no respecter of these. If I were lying on a battlefield wounded and thirsting for water, I shouldn't bother about whose canteen it was nor the color of the hand that offered it. We may not realize it, but we are all on a battlefield right now, and all of us to be wounded, more or less.

The President quoted the Constitution on jobs being given out in war work without regard to race, creed, color or previous condition of servitude, but he amended the Constitution's version by decreeing that all war workers should belong to unions and pay any iniation fees, fines and dues expected. In war, what does it matter if one is Methodist or Baptist, white or black, union or non-union?

* * *

THERE is comfort in the rumor that the federal ordnance plant at Macon is being arranged so that both white and colored people may be employed there and furnished equal but separate accommodations, and that some departments will be manned exclusively by white workers and others by colored workers. This, together with the statement of Mr. Ethridge to be found on today's editorial page, as to the President's position and that of the interracial committee recently in session in Birmingham, seems to clear the atmosphere generally and in Macon particularly.

* * *

THE South will work out its problem by groups of leaders among the white and colored people, but it will require time, and more time. Efforts to hurry matters only retard them, by causing situations that get beyond control of the best elements of all races.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
July 31, 1942

THIS MORNING



by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

"It was said of him that he was more pious than the pope."

* * *

What business men are going to need in their post-war task of saving the free enterprise on which our democracy depends may be public representatives who are less, not more, conservative than themselves. That will mean some new talent in publicity directors, politicians, lawyers, journalists and association executives acting for business. Many of them now are more reactionary than the men they represent, and that won't do if free enterprise is to be saved. For it can be saved only by defenders liberal-minded enough to be doctors as well as defenders, to mend ways as well as preserve them.

* * *

We thought of this the other day when we read a statement by a big business man which few of the lawyers, publicity men, etc., representing business would have made. "Until business men show heart and sympathy as well as ability and show a genuine desire to reduce the anxieties and problems of the workers in this country," declared famed Julius H. Barnes, onetime president and chairman of the United States Chamber of Commerce, "they will continue to be distrusted and ignored on the public questions for which their experience and judgment is peculiarly suited. And they will be voted out of influence accordingly in a democracy that requires only 51 per cent to name its officers and pass its laws." Many business men feel as Mr. Barnes does, we believe. But not many of the gentlemen who represent or speak for them are interested in that angle.

* * *

If business men would examine more critically the things said and done in their name many of them would never be said or done. At a famous convention of the American Legion in Boston in the early 1930's a resolution was passed that the Legion deplored "the practice of politicians of thinking up things to demand in our name." The Legion didn't take the resolution seriously enough really to discourage the politicians but it was a wonderful idea. Business men might adopt it in earnest to the extent of being much more analytical of many of the things demanded in their name or opposed in their name.

* * *

This is not to reflect on the fine intelligence and character of many office-holders, attorneys, publicity directors, association officers and editors representing business. It is only to say that there is such a thing as being "more pious than the pope" and that these gentlemen often outdo anything the business men they serve would do on their own initiative.

* * *

They seize on some issue which would have no attention otherwise and which is of no importance if left alone, make a fighting cause of it, build up immense feeling about it among their business clientele, go into grave council about it until the history of a thousand years seems to hang on its outcome. When so treated the issue does become important in the sense that, having built it into a challenge and a test, it has to be won if possible. But it may never have been worth winning and the net result may be only an unnecessary multiplication of antagonism among an American people who must somehow go adventuring again together if any economic system at all is to succeed.

* * *

And then there are the elaborate, torturesome plots in which some of these gentlemen engage for their clients—and engage their clients. Complicated maneuvers are set in motion to gain an end which might be had better in a simple approach or may not be worth having. Plots are made to thicken, whispers are exchanged in childish earnest, strings are pulled, secret conferences are held, rooms are darkened, sophisticated dealing is done with unsophisticated ardor and an atmosphere of masterly behind-the-scenes-stuff is created. It would be fun if it were not so often a playing with fire—as, for worst example, when the Negro question is dragged in by people who don't care a hang about it but see in it a chance to discredit the New Deal in places where it could not otherwise be discredited.

* * *

The job of saving the free enterprise system from socialism after this war is too vital and too much the American business man's job, it seems to us, to be undertaken without a checkup by business men on agents or representatives who deal with the public in their name or interest.

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SOUTHERN SAY-SO

CRITICISM IS NEVER CONSTRUCTIVE; ADVICE TO SCHUYLER AND RANDOLPH

BY M. S. STUART

IF YOU are literally technical, you probably have often found fault with the sloppy manner in which certain popular expressions are made to wear ill-fitting garments. Of course every word used need not be fresh and tight-fitting just like it first came off the shelf in the dictionary. It need not be entirely form-fitting to every idea you want to convey. Even though it may appear a little too affectionate in the seat, too generous in the flanks, baggy about the knees and skimpy around the ankles, you can tolerate all that as long as it portrays the general outlines of the figure it is supposed to envelope. But when your ideas come ringing your mental door bells attired in linguistic kimonos, then you naturally feel that your spirit of indulgence is being heavily taxed.



Mr. Stuart

CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM

Whoever coined that expression did literary paucity a mischievous turn. It takes the saddle off of malice and clothes the wolf of vengeance in the innocence of friendship. It is a "cover all" for all types of situations. It is the ready weapon for spite and envy. Whatever you want to attack—your erstwhile friend, your enemy, the Democrats, the Republicans, the Methodists or the Baptists—just soak your typewriter ribbon in vitriol, label your stuff "Constructive Criticism" and go to it.

BUT is this type of criticism ever of real value? Can criticism actually be constructive, Has anything ever been built by critics? Even the more tepid friendly criticism, can only cause improvement in that which is already under construction or already constructed. Moreover, public criticism, except that which is intended to direct attention to a song or book is rarely ever friendly and certainly not constructive. The very fact of publicity strips it of friendly intentions. You do not help a friend you think is in error by writing him up in public print. Rather, you write him a private letter or talk it over with him in private. When differences of opinions begin to appear in the newspapers, they are controversies — not constructions; and the opponents are moved by intentions to expose to public view and scorn the attitudes and views of each other.

CONCRETE CASES

Conditions may arise under which the public is served by uncovering the selfish motives and sham in movements proclaimed to be projected in the interest of the people. Only in such cases in public controversy of value. Nothing can be gained by two opponents, inspired by spiteful motives, exposing their real or imaginary shortcomings in public print. Certainly Negroes gain nothing when any of their prominent leaders engage in destructive, public criticism. Indeed, much may be lost by racial enemies taking advantage of the public differences of Negro leaders.

NOW, yes, this is leading up to something as you may have suspected and there is no use in "whipping the devil 'round the stump." But it has probably been necessary to lay out here an expansive, even apologetic, preliminary smoke screen before walking in between the two mad, snarling, literary lions—George Schuyler and A. Philip Randolph.

In this writer's mail the past week, from east and west, came lengthy matters defending the attitude and views of Philip A. Randolp against alleged public attacks. One from "A Cross Section Opinion Of The Negro Soldier", challenges the observations made by Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass, editor of the California Eagle, in an address to the second session of the NAACP (at Los Angeles) in which it is contended that Mrs. Bass criticized "the mass pressure methods" advocated by Randolph. Another, a mimeographed release of pent up fury from B. F. McLaurin, National Secretary, March On Washington Movement and International Organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, hurls some three thousand sizzling words at Schuyler in revenge of critical brevities recently published by this noted author about Philip Randolph.

THIS IS NOT CONSTRUCTIVE

This effort has no intention of "taking sides" in this controversy. It proposes to stand as far as possible out of range of the whining brick bat hurtling through the literary air. But from the side lines, it dares to whisper this admonition This type of public quarrel between .two of the race's most outstanding characters is not doing the race any good in times like these. It is not easy to think of two Negro leaders whose words and performances over a long period have been more inspiring and heartening to the masses of young Negroes than George W. Schuyler and Philip Randolph.

THE race needs both. Needs them with uncurbed, unimpugned tongue and pen and organizing genius united to combat those uncompromising enemies of the race who, armed with high official authority, miss no opportunity to make war upon people of color. Schuyler and Randolph should turn their faces toward, and direct their diatribe at such racial enemies as these.

AUG 29 1942

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE World TODAY

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

SEP 5 1942

The rumor machine among Negroes is going full force. First came reports of U-boat crews shooting boatload's of white sailors while leaving Negroes unscathed, and now comes a report of 6,000 Negro troops being lost in the sinking of a U.S. troopship. General Marshall denies the latter story and there is no official confirmation of the former. Wartime censorship naturally breeds rumors but Axis agents and smpathizers circulate much more. That is their business. It helps to weaken this country.

BEST RULE during wartime is to believe nothing you do not see in the official U.S. war communique. If a story seems fishy, check up on it before you spread it. Only the small fry enemy agents here have been nabbed by the FBI. The big boys are still working and are difficult to reach, although they will finally be reached. They see in the Negro a weak spot in America's armor, and they draw the line at nothing that will spread disunity. Unhappily they are being aided by native advocates of jim crow.

Two more dangerous spies were convicted by Federal juries last week, thus proving again the effectiveness of J. Edgar Hoover's FBI. Had they and the eight saboteurs previously nabbed, been able to accomplish their tasks, many railroad terminals, warehouses, ships, dams and factories would have been destroyed. The reminder is unnecessary that dynamite, T.N.T. and incendiary bombs are unable to recognize color and that thousands of colored and white workers alike would have perished.

SEP 5 1942

THIS WRITER has often been critical of Mr. Hoover and his young men because of their failure to investigate lynchings and kidnappings involving Negroes, was due to the indifference or inertia of the Department of Justice. But the fact remains that no branch of the Government has shown more efficiency in the conduct of the war which, always remember, is being waged as much here as abroad.

J. L. LeFlore, colored Mobile's one-man blitzkreig against jim crow, writes of the increasingly dangerous problem on buses in that Alabama city. War work has brought an army of white and black workers. Transportation is inadequate, buses are too small and bus drivers are arrogant. Negroes have been insulted, humiliated, unjustly dealt with in courts over bus seats. One black soldier has been killed and another severely beaten by bus drivers.

SEP 5 1942

MOBILE NEGROES are in an ugly mood. "The crisis has reached a breaking point," LeFlore writes, "and we must do something to protect our people." Release on $3,500 bail of the killer of the soldier, Pvt. Henry Williams, has not helped Negro morale. Neither has apparent indifference of NAACP and War Department. Here is a challenge alike to Negro and white leadership, local and national. It is out of such situations that race riots grow. J. Edgar Hoover might well have his Mobile agents investigate and render a report.

Good news for the thousands of employees of Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation, National Tube, American Steel and Wire, Columbia Steel and Tennessee Coal and Iron Companies was the granting of a 5½ per cent hourly pay boost last week by the War Labor Board. It also granted the demand of the United Steel Workers (CIO) for the check-off, minimum daily wage and maintenance of membership clause. The pay rise is retroactive to Feb. 15, which should enable the lads to catch up with living costs.

SEP 5 1942

COMPROMISING WITH EVIL sets a precedent difficult to overcome. In justifying establishment of jim crow Red Cross service clubs in England, Red Cross officials stated "the Army itself has units composed entirely of Negroes." The same excuse has been used by war industries, government bureaus and numerous other agencies. In short, if you accept segregation in one direction, how can you oppose it in another?

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Pittsburgh, Pa.

DRESS REHEARSAL

SEP 5 1942

BY HORACE R. CAYTON

GEORGIA ELECTION WILL DETERMINE IF THE TECHNIQUE OF RACE BAITING WILL WIN POLITICAL POWER IN DIXIE

WHAT'S going on down in Georgia is similar to what was happening in Germany in 1932. If there is going to be a Fascist regime in this country, this present election in the Peach state is providing a proving ground where all the techniques of race baiting can be brought out to determine their efficacy as a method of seizing political power.

In my opinion, the fight is one that will determine only one issue as far as the Negro is concerned. That issue is whether white supremacy can be used to win an election when all the forces of decency are on the other side. Gene Talmadge has not only been the dictator of the state but he has been a dictator who has failed to produce. Instead of good roads, new schools, and an increased standard of living which he had promised the electorate, he has wrecked their school system, put the state in debt and subordinated the interest of the state to his hatred of President Roosevelt and the New Deal. As the New York Post puts it, on Arnall's side are the churches, the press, the women's club, organized labor, disillusioned farmers and practically all of the state's decent, fair-minded citizens. On Talmadge's side are the anti-Roosevelt capitalists and industrialists, the par-



Mr. Cayton

doned criminals, and the entire underworld associates.

ARNALL NO FRIEND OF RACE

It is certainly important that Talmadge be defeated but don't kid yourself that it means too much to the Negro in terms of an amelioration of a Georgia racial policy. Arnall may be the fair-haired boy of the women's clubs and the churches and he certainly has been against the wrecking of the university system, but he is no liberal on the race question. He has taken no position on the defense of the Negroes' right to equitable educational opportunities. All he has done has been to criticize Talmadge for handling the issue in such a way that it resulted in a state institution of higher learning being dropped from the recognized group of schools. Recently he ruled that Negroes and whites could not be educated in the same training schools.

SEP 5 1942

THAT brings me back to the one point I have to make. As far as the race issue is concerned, this election settles only one thing and that is whether the issue of white supremacy when raised in Georgia is important enough to overweigh all of the forces of decency, i.e., Southern decency. If Talmadge is elected, it will demonstrate that racialism, even in this time of crisis, is important enough to elect a corrupt dictator whom everybody recognizes as such. If Ellis Arnall is elected, it will indicate that, though there is no intent to change at all the racial pattern of the state, at least just hollering is not sufficient to win an election.

DRESS REHEARSAL FOR FASCISM

Even more than that, as I pointed out, Talmadge has used every trick in exploiting race, and his victory will set the pattern for the Roosevelt-hating Southerners who want to fight the social legislation of the New Deal and form a new alignment in the Democratic party. In simple language, it means whether the "n—r, n—r" cry will blind the Southern electorate to this new political move which can end up in only some form of domestic fascism.

THERE is a terrific struggle for power going on in this country and it is going to break out first in the South. If the techniques which Talmadge is using are successful, they will be passed on to the other rotten borough dictators of the deep South. That's why the election in Georgia might turn out to be a dress rehearsal for fascism.

imperialistic color caste system. After all, the world's movies are practically all Hollywood movies.

SEP 5 1942

The logical strategy, then, was one designed to increase the range of roles available to Negroes, thus altering the stereotype presented to hundreds of millions of human beings on all continents; and the immediate tactic needed was to contact those who produce the films and convince them of the advantage of such a change.

Space does not permit me to go into the ramifications of Walter White's tactics, but I know that the pledges he has recently received from all the leading motion picture producers as a result of his eloquent address in Hollywood last month were obtained by virtue of his long campaign of infiltration. This involved contacts with white liberals in the East and the West, the aid of astute Negroes, several trips to California, the winning over of Wendell Willkie and the usual avalanche of letters and telegrams.

Of course the millenium has not arrived. Now that Walter White has blasted open the outer defenses, the colored people must increase their vigilance, individually and collectively. If you like the role given a Negro in a picture, send a postcard to the producing company. If you think a colored character should have been in a picture, send a postcard saying so. If you dislike a role, let the producer know it. Remember there is *no* educational medium equal to the movie.

What we need now is somebody with Walter White's temperament and outlook in Hollywood (somebody paid by the NAACP) to see every film before it is released, to confer with producers and to suggest Negro roles which would present a more balanced picture of America and of the Negro. It would cost $3600 or $4000 a year, and would be worth $10,000,000 a month. The NAACP has a headquarters in Washington. It needs one in Hollywood. Meantime, orchids to Walter White for a swell job.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Views and Reviews



By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

(This column represents the personal opinions of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

SEP 5 1942

Walter White's success in winning motion picture producers of America to the use of Negroes in superior roles in the films they produce is not only a tremendous advance in our fight toward our goal of equality but is also a great personal triumph. Mr. White has that stick-to-it-iveness, that resourcefulness, that energy that almost always wins out in this world, and for this reason he is a good leader for a minority group much too prone to let things slide and to moan resignedly that "the white folks is still in the lead." Mr. White will concede that they are in the lead but he constantly challenges the assumption that they must stay there. Unlike many of our people who have reached high position he is unwilling to "call it a day" and declare a truce with the enemy. He seems to me to be as energetically militant now as he was twenty years ago when he emerged from the depths of Georgia. He has never forgotten that the real enemy of the colored people is the white South which, with amazingly persistent propaganda, has bent the entire country to its point of view on the Negro, has spread color prejudice wherever its white sons and daughters have roamed, and today, with a great nation fast in its slimy ideological grasp, mocks and insults the increasingly ostracized colored citizen.

Mr. White would be the last to deny that there are good white people in the South. He has uncovered many of them and enlisted them in the Negro's fight for citizenship. But he has never been fooled into believing that these people are either representative or unduly influential, as have so many of our leading folk. He has no illusions about Northern white people but he knows that unlike the Southern whites they are not *always* scheming to keep the Negroes underfoot and to humiliate them into "konwing their place."

Undoubtedly one of the greatest lobbyists in America, he has a speaking acquaintance with practically everybody who is anybody. But what is more important to colored people, he has always been indefatigable in turning these associations to the advantage of Negroes. Easily able to penetrate the white American's racialistic outer defenses, he is quick to avail himself of this tactical advantage and before the person can escape, White has enlisted him in some phase of the Negro's struggle for equality.

The motion picture victory is a case in point. For many years the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has fought the caricature, libel and defamation of Negroes on the screen. It practically eliminated the Birth of a Nation in all civilized sections of the land, and was even successful in getting State laws passed against it. Whenever a Negro was given an unusual role, the N. A. A. C. P. praised the film company. All this effort (much of it little known or unknown to many who ignorantly criticize the NAACP) had a good effect in keeping the worst caricatures and libels out of films, but it did not get rid of the "grinning darky" stereotype, the shuffle-footed, liver-lipped, swivel-eyed cretins, male and female, who shuffled, jigged and dropped consonants throughout the films that reached not merely America but the whole world, white and colored. Thus an entirely distorted idea of American Negroes in particular and all colored people in general was planted in the heads of people everywhere, bolstering the vicious white-supremacy theory and helping to justify the

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DRESS REHEARSAL

SEP 5 1942

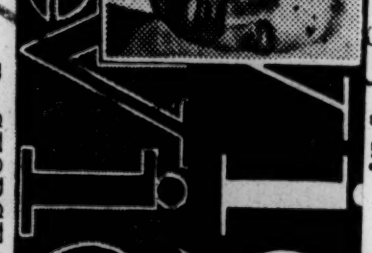
BY HORACE R. CAYTON

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VIEWS AND NEWS



By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

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SEP 5 1942

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Chicago, Illinois

DUSTIN' —off the— NEWS

— By —
LUCIUS C. HARPER

THE SOUTH, AS OF YORE, IS A DRAW-BACK TO AMERICA

IN ORDER TO GET in readiness to combat the Axis powers to a successful conclusion, America will first have to "whip" the South. There is no single element in the American scheme of things today that is throwing sand in the eyes of those who are attempting to solidify unity among the races like the white citizens of the southern portion of this country. Regardless of war, and the enemy at our very throats, southern whites are determined to safeguard their traditions of segregation and discrimination against the black man. They are not so much concerned with stopping Hitler as they are in seeing that "the Negro remains in his place," and that place, of course, is a subordinate one to every other race that inhabits this continent.


Lucius Harper

In this war in which northern America is attempting to create the sentiment of racial unity, the concept of the term remains as foreign to the southern whites as Asia is removed from Arkansas. In fact, there seems to be an effort to the point of well-planned propagation that not only will the South cement its deep-rooted prejudices against the black race in its own section, but it is now attempting—and succeeding very well — in spreading and filtering its racial bigotry throughout northern areas.

Through its governmental set-up —a method by which half of its population is kept voteless through constitutional trickery and fraud—southern politicians have been able to worm their way into the heart of our nation's ruling center at Washington, and by the same token have been able to perpetuate themselves in office year upon year until they now control and dictate the policies of the dominating committees in our national governmental structure. From these thrones of power they incessantly keep America in racial confusion.

* * *

THE NEGRO has had, and is yet having, a rather romantic career in his relationship to the South. When, after the reading of the Emancipation Proclamation, "freedom" was revealed in all its emptiness, the powers that be in the South contrived by their system of economy to re-enslave the black man. As a slave his value to his owner was chiefly as a source of free labor. He was tied to a system that was set up with but one aim in view: to enrich and confer power upon a small governing class in the community. After "freedom" dawned the status of the ex-slave underwent a change, but the economic system in which he had grown up did not. With slight variations, it remains about the same today. The men wielding the whip-lash—the sugar barons, the cotton kings, the factory owners and the absentee landlords—were just as greedy for profits as before.

What was more, they were not going to let a little thing like being whipped in war and the abolition of the blacks thwart them in their desire to perpetuate themselves and their class in power. They balked on race unity during reconstruction and the first efforts at establishing real democracy bogged miserably. By exercising a monopoly on capital, by organizing murdering societies and by having the means of production under their control, they were able to exploit the black man, thrown penniless on a hostile community, just as easily as when he was a chattel slave.

His labor, the commodity on which they had grown rich, and the ex-slave's only asset, was paid for at starvation rates. He was ill-fed and ill-housed. The result of years of bodily and mental enslavement began to reflect itself. His self-confidence, already nearly extinct, sank even lower. He began to look upon the white man (whom his ancestors in Africa had regarded as a blight upon the earth) as if he were a god. He was adjured to think of himself as an inferior being—without a past or a future, a heritage or a destiny—ordained by God to occupy the lowest rung of the human ladder. And to escape from the blind alley up which he was being pressed the black man, instead of opposing the system that oppressed him, set out, curiously, to build his hopes and ideals around it. Of course, the white South encouraged him upon this cowardly, futile and child-like program of so-called "advancement."

* * *

BUT THERE is one issue the white South overlooked and entirely miscalculated on: that was the new thought movement that was bubbling in the hearts of the offsprings of these ex-slaves. They emerged from one war chagrined with disappointments, and broken promises; they moved about in an exdous and scattered their ideas; they mingled with the New Negro and received a baptism of manhood, and they soon saw the futility of two separate races trying to dwell under one central government in a democracy with different rules and regulations applying distinctly and separately to each group. Therefore, they turned southward with howls of protests and demands for the same and equal treatment in our democratic way of life, and the white southerner today finds himself surprised at "Negro arrogance;" dismayed in his hopes to guide and control Negro advancement to certain limits; and somewhat befuddled in the predicament he finds himself by making verbal appeals for the continuation of democracy and white supremacy, when the one will invalidate the other.

Truth of the matter is that the white South is fighting on two fronts in this war. Its First Front is flanked with a dogged determination to see that the Negro does not invade or upset the social system of the South through preachments and regulations of democracy. This seems to be the first and foremost in the platform of its war aims. Its Second Front centers around its moral and patriotic duty to suppress the rising Hitler who is threatening the influence of white supremacy with a dark co-partner, the Japanese, who most assuredly are out-of-step and a threat to southern traditions and attitudes along the color line.

The South with its pronounced racial theories is actually slowing up war production. In addition to this, its policies and attitudes on racial questions are having a serious affect on the patriotic fervor of the Negro citizenry throughout America. Its disrespect for the Negro in the uniform of the armed forces; its expressions of Hitlerism from Dixon of Alabama and Talmadge of Georgia, and later Mark Ethridge of Louisville; its breeding of racial strife through discrimination and prejudice advocated and fanned into action by southerners who have gained key positions and as workers in northern industrial plants and government controlled agencies, are some of its war reactions. In a measure the white South at this time is unnecessarily re-fighting the issues of the Civil War. Senator Bankhead of Alabama wants Negro troops kept out of the South, a land they are being trained to protect and save; Gov. Dixon regards it as "extremely unfortunate" that under Executive Order 8802 of the President of the United States that Negroes are being forced against the "social structure of the South" to work alongside of whites in war industry to stop Hitler; Gov. Talmadge announces to Negroes—soldiers, probably included—that if they don't want to be discriminated against and meanwhile beaten and kicked for protesting, "stay out of Georgia."

* * *

AND FURTHER THE SOUTH is doing irreparable damage to America's "Good Neighbor Policy" and alienating, no doubt, the friendship of thickly populated dark-hued continents, such as South America, by feeding our Axis enemies with such racial foodstuff in the color platter that they can propagandize and broadcast with telling effect. And when a governor of "the home of the Confederacy" openly defies the wishes of the President of the United States by saying, "I will not permit the state of Alabama to be, subject to the whims of any Federal Committee," it is about time for the South to be "whipped again"—this time morally and spiritually, if you please,—and forced to join wholeheartedly in an all-out effort to win this war at the expense of scrapping its colorphobiaism. As it now stands, the tail is again trying to wag the dog; it so happened in 1861 and was happily corrected to the best interest of all concerned.

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

THE NEED FOR CHANGING

By JOHN McCRAY

Black Saboteurs

"Sometimes I get so mad because there are so many undependable and work-dodging people in my race that I feel our plight is hopeless." Those are not my words; they are the words of a man in South Carolina who has sacrificed personal ambitions, time, money and his health in the interest of his people. They are words uttered after 25 years of effort. They are the words we are hearing more and more these days about the amount of interest, support and dependability of Negroes.



The white folks treat us badly, they say; we need leaders, businessmen and trained people who will lead us out of the wilderness, they say. We want men and women right around us, not 1,000 miles away, men and women who know the problem first hand, to solve it and lift up the race. That is what the average man and woman tell you in the street, in civic meetings. But the minute that man or woman steps forth and starts to work the crowd whines, purrs, kicks him and in a short time sits back and laughs at the fool they made of him. The process is repeated, and so goes the story.

I am often amused at the reaction to the Negro press as an example of this sitting back and laughing; this whining and kicking. The other day this newspaper "scooped" the state on the Roland Hayes story. Two days later a man walked into the office to tell me what he thought of the treatment and dangled in my eyes the copy of a white daily. To him our story meant nothing. We had reported the incident, had "scooped" and beat the white papers. But he couldn't take our word for his conclusion. It had to be the word of a white man. He closed his interview with the suggestion that we given the mayor, the governor, the senator and "all the white folks" hell. That was his belief of our duty. If we did it and the white papers picked it up he would base his comments upon the type in the white paper. That is one type of saboteur in our midst. A majority of the "leading" Negroes run up to the white editor when they want the white folks to know how good they are. They snicker at the Negro press then. As soon as he gets his skull cracked by a none too lenient police officer they seek us.

The black saboteurs, the men and women who fail to support their "leaders" and organizations are much more dangerous to progress and final emancipation of the race than the most intolerant and abusive white man. The social cliques, the black clans, the "classyites," the would-be-whites, the leaders-or-bust-uppers, most of the "preachers," trained only to second and third grade, the stirrup and runawayers, these are the saboteurs who keep the race enslaved. And like the gentleman who complained to me, they make me "madder than the devil" to see them plying their trade on one side and howling about progress on the other.

I don't say that there are not injustices inflicted upon the race by intolerant white people. Those of course should be removed. But these things would be lifted from our shoulder much more rapidly were our own people to stick together, forget about their petty differences and kick the devil out of their souls. Professionally, I am a salesman, a salesman for my people's goodness. I can't sell a cheap, unreliable and treacherous product. It must be good to hold up for these orders must be repeated.

You black saboteurs, you wolves in sheep clothing that cause me and others like me to suffer with you while you ply your questionable trade. Begone. May the devil take hold of you and keep you! May your souls burn in hell forever and ever.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

The Horizon

OCT 3 - 1942

BY P. L. PRATTIS

HASTIE'S THREAT TO RESIGN FORCED BY RUN-AROUND OF WHICH MOST NEGRO ADVISERS ARE VICTIMS

OCT 3 - 1942

THE chances are that Judge William Hastie, civilian aide to the Secretary of War, and Truman K. Gibson Jr., assistant civilian aide, will not leave the War Department in the near future or at all. But that does not alter the fact that both of these gentlemen would like to get out, and get out in a hurry, if they thought they could help the Army, the government and their own people by so doing.

No one knows better than Bill Hastie how little fundamental good he has been able to do in the War Department as a civilian aide to the Secretary charged with the responsibility of giving guidance where the interests of the Negro soldier and the Negro citizen are involved. Don't get the writer wrong. He isn't saying that Hastie hasn't done anything. He has. He has moved into scores of minor situations and obtained results. But, so far as the general policy of segregation in the Army is concerned, he is behind where he started. No one knows that better than Hastie. No one hates this fact any more than he does. He wouldn't tell you so, but deep on the inside, he is humiliated by the forces which keep him on the spot and affront his sense of self-respect. That is the reason he recently moved toward a showdown and indicated to the top men that he would rather resign than to continue in a job where he isn't getting anywhere.



Mr. Prattis

NO ONE except a man in one of the services knows how difficult it is for any civilian, in the Army or the Navy, to get a job done. That is one of the reasons a position similar to Hastie's was not created in the Navy when the Navy Department decided to try out a segregated setup like the Army's. Civilians in the Navy who had nursed the project for extended Negro service practically admitted that if a Negro were put in such a spot, he wouldn't be able to do anything. Ultimately, he would become a disappointment to himself, the Navy and his people.

IN the case of the Army, it doesn't mean that everything is rotten. There are some men in the Army and in the War Department, high and low, who have tried to do all they possibly could to improve the lot of the Negro soldier. But they have been courageously rowing against the tide. I know of one officer of high rank who went actively to bat for the Negro. He ran head-on into the anti-Negro forces. They determined to get him. The first step was to euchre him out of his spot in the War Department. The second step was to harass him in the field. The third step was to wait for something else to turn up, for this officer to make some other kind of mistake, of the type which would ordinarily be passed up. Well, he made the mistake and he is now on the way out of the service. His career has been sacrificed because he believed in fair play and was not too diplomatic about it. However, in spite of this example, there are other men who remain and carry on the good fight.

OCT 3 - 1942

But this class is in the minority and their work by force of necessity must largely be in the open. They are the ones who must always openly object when they smell something stinky. The other crowd which is in the majority works under cover. Their voice is always that of Jacob, but their hand is the hand of Esau.

For example, there is a practical working policy responsible for the kind of segregation which amounts to discrimination throughout the United States Army. But the President himself could not find the written words embodying that policy. Nobody knows exactly where or from whom the policy emanates. It is more of an understanding arrived at by a few men in key positions. Others catch on to this understanding and carry it out.

OCT 3 - 1942

NOBODY EVER KNOWS

YOU know by this time that some form of segregation is employed against Negro soldiers who attend Army theatres at nearly every post in the United States, North, South, East and West. At first, commanders gave off the old dodge that Negroes attended the theatres in their post areas. But when Negro soldiers began to wander around and seek admission to theatres in other areas, they found the doors barred. The same policy prevailed in regard to swimming pools, recreation, service clubs, hostess houses, messing, and so forth. When you've found all this out, you know it isn't an accident. You try to dig in and discover how it all started. Who ordered jim-crow theatres in Michigan, Illinois, Pennsylvania, New York and other states where such a practice is against the law? Nobody knows who ordered it, but, you will be informed, it is policy.

You might think that Judge Hastie would have something to do with the making of jolicy, but you can bet that he wasn't consulted about this policy of segregation. As a matter of plain, cold fact, most policy affecting the Negro soldier has to be discovered by Judge Hastie AFTER it is in operation.

OCT 3 - 1942

There is a whole body of policy on the Negro in the War Department which Judge Hastie can't get any closer to than you. He is in the same position as most of the "Negro advisers" in Washington. They're called on to help out when friction arises in specific instances. But, above and beyond them, in most of the bureaus are policy-making committees in respect to the Negro that sometimes they don't even suspect the existence of. The real policy-making groups are ayways ONE HUNDRED PER CENT WHITE.

48b-1942

The Horizon

Pittsburg Courier
Pittsburg, Penn.
FEB 28 1942

PM'S RAP AT MacLEISH PROVES HOW YOU CAN BE RIGHT AND FOOLISH WITHOUT KNOWING IT

BY P. L. PRATTIS

ARCHIBALD MacLEISH, director of the Office of Facts and Figures, Washington, spoke at the annual Urban League dinner in New York two weeks ago. His speech was broadcast over a national hookup. PM, the New York newspaper, which deservedly has been commended for its liberal attitude in respect to the Negro problem, took pointed exception to parts of the speech of Mr. MacLeish. I disagree with PM and with my friends, Negro and white, who would employ the PM tactics.



Mr. Prattis

Substantially, Mr. MacLeish told the Urban League diners that the American Negro understands what the war is about and that, despite the mistreatment and stultifying frustrations he is up against in the United States because of racial prejudice, he is eager to make his full contribution to the war program. PM, with considered umbrage, through its trouble-shooters on the Negro question, Albert Deustch and Tom O'Connor (probably on the way to eligibility for the Spingarn Medal), accused Mr. MacLeish of burying his head in the sand, of not telling the truth. PM's race-ologists were horrified that Mr. MacLeish had not taken advantage of the opportunity to iterate and reiterate the catalogue of evils from which the Negro suffers and to tell the American public that the American Negro doesn't give a damn who wins the war.

FEB 28 1942

HASTIE'S QUESTION AGAIN

THEY even made a point of the question which Judge William Hastie was unfortunate in asking and representatives of a number of national Negro organizations were unwise in answering at a New York conference in January. Hastie, before the actual work of the conference began, asked the delegates if they thought the Negro was all-out for the war effort. The delegates, after considerable wrangling over the wisdom of answering the question, voted almost unanimously that the Negro was not all-out for the war effort. The next morning, to the practical exclusion of everything else which was a real part of the conference problem, the New York Times featured the answer to Hastie's question.

I, for one, don't want MacLeish or any other prominent public official to take the radio and tell the American public, which includes mobs of all kinds, that the heart of the American Negro is not with his country in this war. I don't want PM, or the New York Times, playing that refrain either. I would have been horrified if MacLeish had made such a speech, no matter how right he was and how many excuses he might have given.

FEB 28 1942

CAN BE RIGHT, UNWISE

I THINK the delegates at New York who voted that the Negro regards the war effort with mingled feelings were right. I think PM is right when it records that fact. But you can be right and not wise. I think that PM, or any white friend of the Negro, or any Negro with a passion for the truth, who expects to advance the Negro's cause at this time by random and wide broadcast of the Negro's stunted affection for the war effort, is unwise. I think the truth, such as it is, should be known and acknowledged. I think Negroes and whites in a position of influence should know the truth and acknowledge it. But I do not think it will help America or the Negro for the majority of Americans to be told that thirteen million Negroes are not with them.

I talked with Archibald MacLeish (before he made his speech). I believe he knows the truth, even as PM knows it and as you and I know it. I believe he is sensitive of all the hurts done Negroes and that he is and will be courageous in tackling, in so far as his power goes, the problem of disunity created by the Negro problem. In the present instance, I am sure that he has shown more wisdom than PM. He may not have been right in what he said, but he was wise. PM may have been right, but PM was not wise. I have met Tom O'Connor. He is a young man. He can grow in wisdom.

I should like for PM, Negro intellectuals and others, to remember that the Negro's loyalty to his country has been one of his great assets, one of his superior sales points. The mob in this country is not going to be frightened into better treatment of the Negro by being told that his loyalty is not 100 per cent.

FEB 28 1942

PATTERSON NOT THERE

THREE weeks ago, the writer, making deductions from an article released by The Associated Negro Press, expressed curiosity as to what Dr. Frederick Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, might have said when Surgeon General Magee of the United States Army insisted that Negro and white blood, donated through the Red Cross, be kept separate. The ANP article implied that Dr. Patterson and the surgeon general were in the same conference. The implication was not correct. The two men were not in conference together and Magee's prejudiced stand was taken after a conference in which Dr. Patterson had agreed to a formula that was thoroughly patriotic and American. The writer regrets having mistakenly drawn Dr. Patterson into such a situation, but still contends that lone Negro members of important policy-making bodies are at a distinct disadvantage.

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

DUSTIN' — off the — NEWS

JAN 10 1942

— By —

LUCIUS C. HARPER

LET'S LOOK INTO RUSSIA AND SEE WHAT WE FIND!

RUSSIA, the most libelled nation on the globe for the past 15 years, now becomes the hope of the world. If you doubt that remark ask Hitler; that is if you are fortunate enough to outrun him. The glib remarks of journalistic and literary oracles, heretofore in the "kept service" of the American daily press, that painted Russia in word-pictures as a demon beyond hope of social redemption, have all taken reverse action and are now describing it in glorious and magnanimous language. Their scorn and deceit now turn into vociferous applause. Why this sudden change? If I was a rascal yesterday, I'm surely not a saint today sprouting wings.

JAN 10 1942

This writer is not a Communist I do not know enough of the fundamental principles of Communism to embrace it as my guiding political star. I do know, however, from a careful and long study of the Russian situation—dating back to the old Workers Party of America of which I was a member some 15 years ago—what the experiment of Communism has done to develop Russia from an illiterate domain into the first rank nation it is today. I do know that this country that threw off the yoke of czardom has received the most horrible type of publicity in the American press that any foreign land has ever undergone.

JAN 10 1942

Many lies have flooded the pages of American newspapers about Russia with such unchecked velocity and force for the past decade that it is almost remarkable to find a single American who is willing to discuss the Russian situation, without exhibiting forthwith rank prejudice and a detestable attitude toward the mere mention of the word. Our people, for the lack of any knowledge whatsoever on the subject, are almost hopelessly anti-Russia. The thieves; its an honor to hold office there, not an opportunity to plunder the public pocketbook as it is in America in some instances. Thieves in public office when caught and convicted there are shot, not given a light sentence in a well organized prison, furnished three meals a day in a carpeted cell with radio and finally released to plunder the public again through a different route.

JAN 10 1942

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THE "MOSCOW LETTER" stated before that war that "26,000,000 children have left their desks this year in the Soviet republic for two months. In Moscow (where there are 26 parks reserved for children) the children are welcomed to the streets, parks, recreation grounds, etc., with such flags and decorations as in other lands are put up for the welcome of kings and princes, and the best entertainers in the country —musicians, actors, etc.—are hired to serve them, while 2,000,000 children from the cities have free vacations in the Pioneer camps. Higher education is even more carefully planned, and Russia now leads the world in the proportion of pupils in its secondary and technical schools. Schools at the factories and night-schools attract the illiterate adults, and the government provides books and periodicals on a gigantic scale. America is just getting to this program through its national defense organization. A British educator, Miss Beatrice King, recently wrote: "I do not go to Russia to see the newest way of teaching history or geography, or the working out of some cranky experiment. I go there to see the working out of educational ideals that the rest of the world only dreams about." All education is free, and the students at the universities and colleges get a maintenance grant. Did we copy our NYA from Russia?

In Russia, education is part of a comprehensive plan of making excellent citizens and providing every facility, at all ages, for developing the mind, taste, and character. The working mother is relieved from work, with full pay, for two months before and two months after delivery, and a nursery at the entrance to the factory then gives her baby more care than she could give it. Where is such a factory in America? Did you say something about the babies now working in our American factories, and we can't get a child labor law to keep them out? Russia is teaching the world a lesson of the most profound social importance.

* * *

NOW FOR PROOF from your own race. A. L. Foster, executive secretary of the Chicago Urban League, who travelled through Russia, told Miss Mary McDowell, noted Chicago social worker, on his return that "Russia is 20 years ahead of America in its social program, and is still working hard in the interest of the working class. Its housing program is marvelous." Did we b w our federal housing plan and slum clearance program from there? Paul Robeson, noted actor has travelled the world over; he chose Russia in which to educate his son.

JAN 10 1942

The sociological experiments Russia is carrying on threatens the prosperity of politicians, capitalists, millionaire newspaper owners, financiers, priests and militarists and the paid liars who mislead the public. That's why it is taking cannon fire to blast this truth to the world, and that's why Hitler today is running like hell—out of Russia. history of the reconstruction of Russia is a closed book in so far as we are concerned. Say "Russia" to the average Negro and he immediately pictures a bewhiskered ruffian brandishing a flaming torch, ready to set afire a baby's cradle, or something just as ridiculous. What a pity!

JAN 10 1942

LET'S GET BEHIND the scenes and see why Russia today is the hope of the world; at least, Roosevelt and Churchill think so, and they seem to know what it's all about now. Let's see why Russia today was capable of stopping Hitler and chasing out his murderous gangsters when no other country could; let's see why Russia is above all countries in morale, including our own; let's see why the people of Russia will die to the last man or woman to preserve

what they have, and then let's see if the "great" American daily press hasn't told lies in volumes about Russia and what it represents.

Twenty years ago Russia was demoralized by three years' participation in the European war and then two years of the most savage and destructive civil war. The country had still years of domestic conspiracy to hamper it and hardly a single friend to help it amongst the nations. America boycotted it: so did many other countries. At the time of the Revolution more than 70 per cent of the Russian people were illiterate, grossly exploited by their priests, neglected in character, and for the most part scattered in isolated villages over an area several times as large as the United States. The whole world was embittered against it by gross exaggerations. Churches of every country joined the press and the capitalists in stirring hatred of it and demanding intervention on the ground that the Soviet authorities persecuted religion. The impartial historian has now to record that "no case has been discovered of a priest or anyone else being punished for the practice of religion," writes I. H. Jackson in his book "The Post-War World," and Mr. Jackson ran down every clue of so-called "religious persecution" during his rigid investigation in Russia for a period of six years. Indeed, the heads of the Orthodox church and the Jewish community publicly stated this, and other priests publicly confessed that the clergy, especially the Catholic priests (who were mostly Poles), were deep in every plot against the government But the American press never printed this.

JAN * 0 1942

FOR YOUR OWN proof that Russia is not "Godless" come the reports from Bishop W. J. Walls of the A.M.E. Zion church and Dean H. H. Smith of the Chicago Baptist Institute that during their stay in Russia they had no difficulty in worshipping God as they saw fit, and Dean Smith added that "Russian Brotherhood" is far above our Christianity as practiced in America. "Would that America had such a religion as I found in Russia," he told this writer. Yet the libel on religion in Russia still circulates through the American press.

JAN 10 1942

Most people fail to understand the Russian achievement because they do not realize that, behind Stalin are the finest directive brains in the whole economic world. A large body of economic and other experts, forming the Gosplan or Economic Council, study the requirements and potentialities in each branch of production and distribution of every part of the Soviet republic; the plans are the products of a hundred scientific brains, mathematically calculated to a fraction. Nothing can arrest the progress of Russia's intellectual or planning machine except the wrecking of the country by war, and that's what the people know, and that's why they are fighting to the last man to protect it.

Americans who are interested in gaining wealth in abundance will be startled to learn that in Russia engineers, inventors, playwrights, etc., have incomes rising to $20,000 a year; and the workers who render great service—like the miner Stakhanov who speeded up the whole range of production—are proportionately rewarded. But members of the Communist party, which means the whole of officialdom from Stalin and the commissars to local officers, are strictly limited in income. Russia is unique in the sobriety and self-imposed moderation of its governing class, while in Italy and Germany the ruling class and its agents are half a million grasping money-hogs. Russia's political system is not honeycombed with

LIBERTY OR DEATH

NOT SATISFIED WITH SEGREGATED NAVAL UNITS

BY JOSEPH D. BIBB

Pittsburgh Courier

APR 25 1942

A BACKWOODS PREACHER beating his bible in a big town yelled out Sunday morning to a large crowd: "Dey done let yo'all in de Navy now and yet yo'all ain't satisfied." We are being admitted into the Navy as Negroes and not as Americans. We will be isolated and set apart from the Jews, the Chinese, the Polish and all of the other groups who make up the American melting pot. We are still stigmatized and defiled as being "different" from everybody else. It is puzzling to contemplate how men who are freed in mind and emancipated in their thought can be satisfied or content with anything other than absolute and complete freedom and liberty.



Mr. Bibb

MUST REMOVE "LEPER SIGN"

APR 25 1942

Patrick Henry once wailed out to the world: "Give me liberty or give me death." His words, his indomitable spirit and his unconquerable soul electrified the Colonies into the great war effort for Liberty. This writer has yet to read in history where Patrick Henry has not been exalted and idolized by the American people.

THERE WILL BE no liberty for us, no emancipation and no recognition until the "Leper Sign" of social difference in taken off of our backs. I cannot comprehend or understand how the darker races of the earth can ever expect to gain any freedom or liberty as long as they are not permitted to take a part in the movements of society in ought but separate file.

A THROWBACK TO SLAVERY

Pittsburgh Courier

The backwoods bible-beater is a throw-back from slavery. He represents that pitiable and unfortunate segment of unsophisticated Sambos that have always been content and satisfied with the filthy and undesirable entrails of the pig. He has no learning, no ideals and no convictions. He preaches because he is too lazy to earn his bread by honest toil. He is a menace to his race and is a pathetic parasite upon the people. His stock in trade is a loud voice and a form of criminal cunning that has enabled him to fool the whites and exploit his own. His like would not be tolerated by enlightened people anywhere else except in the benighted lands of voodoo and witchcraft.

APR 25 1942

THIS WRITER HAS many times become dismayed and confounded because of the prevalence of so many members of his race who could not and would not understand that the leading men of America, those of profound thought and positive action, have deep-founded respect for those of us who have demanded that the Jim Crow sign be removed from our backs. A liberal Caucasian who sat on a bi-racial board meeting witnessing "Uncle Tom Negroes," contend for segregated medical schools, stated to us "I am at a distinct loss as to how to help. So many colored people seem to prefer or are afraid to ask for full participation in American institutions." He added: "How can you help those who do not desire freedom?"

INSIST ON RIGHTS

APR 25 1942

Now in this present great national emergency, no colored man has any right or perogative to hinder or impede the Government's efforts to win the war. That would be treason and tyranny. We do have the right to insist that we be given the right and privilege to fight and die for the flag as all other American citizens. We have the right to insist that we be integregated into the armed forces and in the war industries without a big sign on our backs stamping and branding us as being removed and different from all others.

IN TIME of war, if we are successful in destroying the idea of hyphenation in this country, we will be in a better position to destroy it when we seek to win the peace. President Theodore Roosevelt once declared that there should be no hypenhated Americans, no Irish-Americans, no German-Americans, no Colored-Americans and no Jewish-Americans. We are all just plain Americans, he said.

That is all that we are asking for now—the right and privilege of just being plain Americans.

NO SURRENDER TO SEGREGATION

We could not expect the ignorant and comparatively illiterate "divine" to divine that, but we do not expect editors, educators and informed social leaders to comprehend these simple truths and expound them without fear of being liquidated or concentrated. The colored man need not be beyond the Basic Document of this nation, the Constitution of the United States, to determine his rights. And if the Constitution does not confer upon him any rights, and we insist that it does, it is the correlative duty of all people in the land to respect them. The Constitution does not prescribe any segregated units in the Army or Navy. It conceives all men to be free and equal. The cringing, crouching despoilers of sable skin cannot comprehend that.

APR 25 1942

WHEN WE ARE able to obliterate the color line in the Army and the Navy and in the Government itself, then we can expect to garner unto ourselves some liberty and freedom in the political and economic phases of living. The American Colored man should seek to "unconditionally destroy" every force that denies him complete freedom and liberty. Tomorrow will not tolerate those within our midst who advocate the doctrine of appeasement and the acceptance of inferior status.

48b-1942
Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

The Horizon

IS YOUR WHITE NEIGHBOR YOUR FRIEND? IS THE AVERAGE WHITE MAN RECOGNIZING THE DIGNITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL HUMAN BEING?

BY P. L. PRATTIS

WHAT gets me is my neighbors. I listen to and read all the fine things Mrs. Roosevelt, Mr. Willkie, Vice-President Wallace, even Mr. Pegler, have to say about human beings and respecting the dignity regardless of their race and color. It all reads and listens good. As I read or as I listen, I feel an upsurge of fondness and appreciation for these people who seem to be trying to lift off me the load I am bearing. But so soon after I leave them, I must meet my neighbor who is the ordinary, average white man in the street. I sense in his talk and attitude no trace of the good things Mrs. Roosevelt is saying or Miss Pearl Buck is saying or Wendell Willkie is saying. My neighbor is the same old neighbor. He still stands off from me. There is still strangeness between us. Sometimes, I suspect he is still bitter toward me. He resents me. He still believes I am different, not so good as he. He still does not recognize me as a friend, fellow patriot nor neighbor.



Mr. Prattis

If we are to have the unity we seek as the United Nations or as the United States, I do not see how it can come to be until there is awakened in the average man, white and black and red and yellow, a consciousness of kinship and common welfare on the ordinary ground level. We must come to know that we all tick the same way inside no matter how we differ in appearance on the outside.

THERE are some neighbors who are becoming friends. Some of the strangeness and resentment between neighbors is being dissipated. Not quite so many persons move when I sit beside them in the street car. Not quite so many persons stare at me resentfully when I enter the elevator. Once in a while, one of my white neighbors stops on the corner and talks to me about what this war means to US. I am doing all I can to advance this sort of good neighborliness. It is adult and reasoned and secure.

ROUZEAU'S FRIEND WRITES

YOU have doubtless read in The Courier that Edgar T. Rouzeau is one of The Courier's war correspondents abroad. Just before he left this country, he met a young white man who was going the same place. They met as strangers, of course. The white man went on official business for the War Department. His business finished, the white man has returned. Since he returned, this young white man has written Mrs. Edgar T. Rouzeau a letter. I have asked Mrs. Rouzeau to allow me to reproduce part of this letter because it is significant to me. Here is the white man's letter:

"Dear Mrs. Rouzeau:

"Allow me to introduce myself. My name is —— ——, and I am an Official War Department ——, and have just returned by air from ——.

"It has been my good fortune to have been associated with Edgar, for the past two months. He is in the best of health and sends you his love.

"We usually had our meals together, breakfast seven to seven-thirty, lunch twelve to one and dinner from five to five-thirty. Immediately after dinner we played volley ball.

"If it weren't for being separated from you, I am sure Edgar would be happy.

"There isn't any social life to speak of with the exception of a nearby plantation, where the white workers invite us for country chop occasionally (dinner to you)

I am sorry to say I do not know when he will return. If there is anything you would like to know, please drop me a line. You see, I too, am married and I think I know how wives feel. When this mess is over I sincerely hope we all can get together for one big party. In any event, if at anytime you are in Washington, and there's something I can do for you, please do not hesitate to call on me. Possibly you, my wife and I can have dinner together.

"Please forgive the form of this letter. It is not as personal as I would like it to be. However, I am writing to more than twenty other officers' wives. I hope that is reason enough.

"Do not worry. Rest assured your husband is getting along fine and that he is looking forward to his return to you.

"Best personal regards,

"Sincerely,

SAME FEELINGS

MR. ROUZEAU and this white man met as strangers. By this time, I am sure, they are the kind of good neighbors and friends all of us should try to be. How odd that a white man should write, "I, too, am married and I think I know how wives feel!" He knows that black wives and white wives have the same feelings. In that admission there is the kernel of this thing we call recognition of individual human dignity.

Black men do not mind dying and fighting for white men who write and think and feel as above. How far removed they are from those other whites who, as Mark Ethridge declaimed, could not be forced by all the mechanized armies of the world to admit the existence of this universal human dignity!

Amsterdam Star-News
New York, N. Y.

As the Crow Flies

By W. E. B. DU BOIS

WITH the thinking world, it is today a point of honor not to admit that for a moment must we consider the possibility of peace. And yet peace is in every civilized mind. How in God's name can we and quick—stop this slaughter of the innocents'.



Dr. Du Bois

The organized English propaganda in America is straining every nerve to represent India as wrong if not silly, and to tell America that the Gandhi non-violent fight on Britain is shown by riots. Here is where the government case against the Associated Press shows its justice.

We do not know what Russia thinks of America and England; if its opinion is low and suspicious, we have ourselves to blame.

WAVES

Discrimination against Negroes in this land varies from annoying insult to intolerable lawlessness. Most of the insults we can afford to ignore, although this is often not easy; other discriminations depend on the right of persons to exercise their tastes in color and hair even if this makes men stare; this discrimination must be fought, even if we know that the battle cannot be won completely in a century. But certain discriminations are illegal according to the laws made by whites themselves. Such are the refusal of the Navy to admit colored officers and the analogus attitudes of the women's auxiliary. We used to pretend that Negroes could not pass the tests of Annapolis. Today, we are boldly and frankly saying: No Negroes can be naval officers, no matter what the law says or what their ability. We are saying this by the mouth of a Republican Secretary of the Navy; by the conduct of Smith College in Abolition New England; and by consent of the President who issued the order against discrimination in industry!

Problem of White Civilization

As an example of self-stultification and unreason on the part of white America, this is the most extraordinary result of the war for Four Freedoms. It belongs in the same category as lynching; deliberate official lawlessness. It is not a Negro problem; it is a problem of white civilization.

Work and Wealth

What is the relation between work and wealth? Some would say: Very simple; work makes wealth; the more work, the more wealth; no work, no wealth. This explanation is too simple. Some wealth is free, like diamonds in unclaimed mines; drinking water in mountain brooks; ripe fruit in wild forests. On the other hand, most wealth, most well-being, depends on labor and sacrifice. Not only that, but it depends on the labor of many persons working together. Very little wealth comes from one person working alone. Even in primitive times, work is mostly cooperation — one for all and all for one. In highly developed cultures, this cooperation is intricate to the last degree, so much so that no calculus can pick from the finished product, the exact degree to which the millions of persons whose united labor made it, contributed to the final result.

Consider the house in which you live: carpenters furnished the lumber, which was cut by tools made by blacksmiths; artisans fashioned the lumber with tools made by machines; miners dug the metals from which the machines were made; engineers planned the machines; teachers taught the engineers; railroads transported these materials; business laid out the lines of railroad; laborers made the road bed; capitalists paid these laborers years before the railroad could be used; the laborers bought food which other laborers had raised. The chain is endless, and this is the method of modern industry. In this way thousands of workers, dead and alive toil together to make the world in which we live, and which large numbers enjoy.

Think, then; is the distribution of this toil and wealth and enjoyment, an easy matter? Can anyone without training, experience and thought, determine what work I shall do and what I shall get for it? And just because labor is apportioned in a certain way and long has been; just because some people are rich and some are starving, is that fact proof that this distribution of the world's well-being is the very best possible arrangement and not to be questioned nor changed?

Daily World
Atlanta, Georgia

Still In The Circle

SEP 27 1942

THE STEADY TREND of federal control toward the "freezing" of workers to their present jobs and wages portends stark tragedy for the masses of economically-depressed Negroes. This is a solemn fact which should not be ignored before this drastic step is finally taken.



Located as they now are at the bottom of the nation's rapidly expanding economic ladder, this foreshadowed government policy will immediately shatter the slight hopes that some may still cherish that they would sooner or later be allowed to better their condition.

All efforts of Negroes, particularly in the South, to smash through this steel ring of economic encirclement have met with persistent rebuff and in many instances have resulted in violence.

VIOLATES OWN TRADITION

The South has even violated some of its own sacred traditions in its determination to keep black men within the narrowing circle of underpaid, dirty and drudgery-type occupations.

SEP 27 1942

Shipyards which have long histories of employing black men as riveters, welders, caulkers and carpenters, now offer men of color nothing except the most menial of occupations at the lowest of pay.

In Mobile, Alabama, for example, Negro artisans whose skills were welcomed at the Alabama Drydock and shipbuilding Corporation in World War I now must work as janitors or migrate to other sections. Meanwhile, this corporation is importing white workers by the thousands, most of whom must be trained and for whom there is no adequate housing, school or health facilities.

AN UNNECESSARY PROBLEM

SEP 27 1942

This is one kink in the very knotty manpower problem that could be straightened without any further delay, if Administrator Paul V. McNutt of the War Manpower Commission would only get tough with those who persist in practicing this rank and wasteful discrimination.

If the government foresees the necessity of doing away with other luxuries in order to strip decks for action, racial discrimination, the most expensive of luxuries, certainly should not be allowed to continue doing "business as usual."

Far too many industrialists and unions have not yielded a single inch in their bitter determination that Negro workers shall not share the opportunity given other workers to move up the economic scale as the result of the war. This is an undisputable and tragic fact that must be considered if the "job freezing" proposals are not to work undue hardships on any one group.

THE STORY IN MACON

No excitement is created when white women quit jobs as waitresses, elevator operators and kindred tasks to seek higher pay working in the huge fuse plant at Macon, Ga., the management of which thus far has refused to consider Negro women for any of these jobs.

SEP 27 1942

But the instant Negro women in Macon begin quitting $3 a week domestic service jobs to accept the Army's offer of $2.50 to $3.00 a day to work as cooks, maids and laundresses at Camp Wheeler, a big howl is raised that the "stable wage scales" of Macon are being threatened.

W. T. Anderson, editor of the Macon Telegraph, who for years guised in sheep's clothing posed as a "friend" of Negroes, is in the van guard of the protest, going so far as to give credence to the vicious lie that is being spread throughout the South about the existence of "Eleanor Clubs" whose purpose, he says, is to "have every white woman in her own kitchen by Christman."

NEGROES DENIED TRAINING

This unreasonable protest is clearly a part and parcel of the determination shown by vocational education directors that Negroes shall not be given training for the skilled and better paying occupations.

Eight months ago, after a bitter fight by Atlanta Negro leaders, federal money was appropriated to establish a training school, which would qualify Negro graduates for skilled positions in the huge Bell Bomber plant to be opened near Marietta.

Georgia vocational education officials, playing a delaying game which virtually borders on sabotage, have thus far completely knifed this program. Almost a year later they have seen to it that not a single Negro has been given an opportunity to secure this training, that not a single piece of machinery has been installed in the promised training center, and that not even the first day of training has been provided for those who are to serve as instructors.

SEP 27 1942

KEPT WITHIN CIRCLE

Meanwhile hundreds of white men and women are being turned out of two training centers operating on a twenty-four hours' a day schedule.

Without training, Negro workers are more easily kept within the vicious economic circle which holds them to the low-paid, back-breaking jobs. And it has been no secret that training opportunities are being perniciously denied.

The South is paying heavily in loss of valuable manpower for its blind determination to keep black workers within this narrow, restricted economic circle. The second great migration is on and in numbers far surpasses the first which attained such wide proportions in World War I.

Restricted to menial and low-paid agricultural pursuits in their native states, black workers are moving in a surging, steady stream to Detroit, California and to big industrial centers in Ohio, Pennsylvania and Illinois. From Atlanta alone many thousands have gone to work at Pearl Harbor. One county in Georgia has lost more than half of its Negro population.

SEP 27 1942

MIGRATION ONLY HOPE

This migration, unless the War Manpower Commission moves to smash this economic barricade, at present offers Southern Negro workers their only chance to better their destitute condition.

To "freeze" these workers to these bottom rung jobs at this time without taking any steps to assure them an opportunity to increase their skill and consequently their incomes would be the last in a long series of acts which are playing havoc with Negro morale —already dangerously near the breaking point.

Between The Lines

Birmingham, Ala.
Weekly Review

By Dean Gordon B. Hancock
For ANP

OUR BIGGEST BOAST

The achievements of Negroes in this country have been amazing when we consider the odds against which they fought. Viewed from any angle they are noteworthy and justly provoke pride of the Negro race and nation. As Mark Twain said of the Jews, Negroes have made a wonderful fight wth their hands tied behind them and with an even chance it doth not appear what they would have been. If as our friends are wont to say, the Negro has made the "most wonderful progress of any race" within a given time, it must in justice be also added that they made it against the most dreadful odds.

We boast therefore about many things but our biggest boast is our loyalty Down through many years the enemies and traducers of the race have been foiled in their attempt to despoil us of the high honors that go with unadulterated loyalty. This column has persisted in calling the Negro super-patriot in that he taks his place at the battle front beside men who have drunk deep of the draught of democratic opportunities, while he himself had to take what was left. But the Negro always gives good account of himself and has won the plaudits of nations. Our biggest boast has been our loyalty.

OCT 10 1942

It is then with difference that we take note of recent occurrences that threaten to mar an inspiring picture. We have reference to news accounts from New York and Chicago where it is charged that Negroes have been arrested for seditions and for conspiracy. In New York five Negroes are charged with sedition; in Chicago, 34 are charged with conspiracy. If these charges are substantiated they will not impair the great record the Negro has made down through the years; they will not prove that the Negro race is a race of seditionists and conspirators; they will not vitiate our biggest boast. They will merely prove that five Negroes in one case and 34 in another have been misguided Negroes are neither saints nor supermen and they are susceptible to all the failbles of human nature. If here are seditionists and conspirators in other races they are bound to be in the Negro race. But even more conspicious than the arrest of the five seditionists in New York was the part played by Negroes in their apprehension. The heart of the Negro race is right.

OCT 10 1942

However regrettable may be these isolated instances of disaffection among Negroes, in fairness to them it must be said that their provocation has been conducive to sedition than to citizenship. Prejudice goes to such amazing extent to de-man the Negro that it no wonder that a few turn up seditious. The intelligent Negro knows that sedition and conspiracy cannot settle the Negro question in this country, but when we consider the attack that is some times launch against the inteligent Negroes we find a mitigating circumstances in these latest charges. Fortunately the disaffection noted has its roots not in the intelligent Negroes who can weigh the matters involved, but in the ignorant and gullible. A man's chance would have obviated the recent episodes in question.

OCT 10 1942

While we deplore these charges and hope that they are last, we must not forget the fundamental cause underlying them. At his best the Negro is often treated as seditionist and conspirator; it is not surprising then that a few should eventually react as seditionists. Too often no difference is made between the underprivileged and the cuvltivated peace loving Negro. Recent Roland Hayes was set upon and beaten in Georgia, a state that he helped to elevate in the eyes of the world. More recently Dr. J. C. Jackson of Hartford, Conn., was assaulted enroute to the National Baptist Convention in Memphis. Dr. Jackson is one of the most honored and venerable churchmen of thi scountry. The assault on him was an assault on the more than 3,000,000 Negro Baptists he represents.

However deplorable it may be, these unhappy occurrences are playing their part in this matter of sedition and disaffection making their unwelcome advent on the critical scene. The heart and the head of Negro leadership are right. Their preachments are sound. But the good meaning of the Negro is too often limited by the anti-Negro design of the rabidly prejudiced. Negroes must not and will not condone sedition. NEGROES, HOLD THAT LINE-OUR BIGGEST BOAST.

48b-1942
Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

LABOR'S "VV"

OUTLINES PLAN FOR AN ALLIANCE OF NEGRO, LABOR AND OTHER GROUPS

BY HORACE R. CAYTON

JUN 6 - 1942

THERE was an editorial in last week's Courier which stated in substance that Philip Murray had outlined for labor what amounted to a "Double V" campaign. The editorial took cognizance of both the fervent patriotism of the steel workers and their extreme discontent with the pushing around which they are getting from the employers. It was finally suggested that a liberal-labor alignment was being developed which would be dedicated to a fight against fascism and reaction both at home and abroad.



Mr. Cayton

I have been intrigued with this idea and its possibilities and hope that some group of Negroes would get in touch with Murray and outline a course of action which progressive labor organizations and the general Negro public could follow. So this week I am going to state what I would say in an interview with Murray.

PROBLEMS SIMILAR

JUN 6 - 1942

I thought I would start out something like this: "Look here, Mr. Murray, you know from your long experience in the labor movement that Negro workers have much in common with white workers. But now, as a minority group, all Negroes need the support of the powerful progressive labor forces. On the other hand, Mr. Murray, organized labor needs all of the support it can obtain from any source. You know that there are forces of reaction in this country which are working to suppress the Negro press and to take away from labor the gains which have been made during the new deal. Don't you think that it's time for us to get together?

"OUR problems are very similar. If organized labor is getting a kicking around, the Negro, as a minority group, is getting much worse. If labor is on the horns of a dilemma about trying to be patriotic and fighting when it is attacked internally and externally, so is the Negro. If the poll tax makes it possible for reactionary anti-labor senators and congressmen to be elected, it also makes it possible for these same senators and congressmen to become vicious race baiters with immunity. If organized labor has much to lose from a Hitler victory, or a fascist coup, so has the Negro.

BLOCK LEWIS

"Then, Mr. Murray, there is the hard, practical situation which you as a leader of organized labor must face. If we lose this war, if there is a Hitler victory, you and your boys are through. You know, and I know, that we can't win the war without the wholehearted support of our largest minority group—13,000,000 Negro citizens. Well, this country doesn't have that support now and you know why. You know, too, that if we lose Asia, we lose the war. The Japanese don't have to make up propaganda about what democracy means to non-white people for the Chinese or the Indians, the bitter truth is the best propaganda of all. The lynchings at Sikeston, Missouri, the Sojourner Truth Housing Project riot, the beating and lynching of Negroes in uniform—the bitter truth—is better than anything the Japanese could think up. What happens to the war and what happens in the new world to follow is important to you and your boys. Well, the American Negro has a lot to do with what will happen and it's your baby as well as ours.

JUN 6 - 1942

"AND again, Mr. Murray, there is a fellow called John L. Lewis. Don't you know that sooner or later he is going to go after Negroes like he did the dairy farmers. And Negroes will follow him, if no one else offers them tangible benefits, because he is one of the few powerful white men who has given them leadership in the past and obtained results. Some people think that Lewis is a fascist; that he will destroy the American labor movement. If you think that—if you think he is a threat to democracy—why not you make alliance with the great masses of Negroes organized and unorganized, laborers or what not?

"White people have always been afraid to join up with us, Mr. Murray. Other minority groups with similar problems have shied away from any joint action with us; even labor and the CIO have not been "all-out" with the Negro for common action against common foes. But now the only chance for a real national unity is one based upon a program for the extension of democracy—democracy for the Negro, for labor, for all minority groups. Few persons in the country realize this—certainly not the boys in Washington—but you do, Mr. Murray. Labor's back is against the wall just as the Negro's has been for years. O. K., so we should get together.

JOIN IN AN ALLIANCE

JUN 6 - 1942

"But by getting together I don't mean just passing resolutions at conventions—although that is good as far as it goes. What I mean is that Negroes, and any other minority groups who wish, should join with labor in alliance to form a powerful lobby in Washington. I mean that it is just as important for you to see that Negroes are represented on the policy forming boards, as it is for you to see that labor is. Our fight against the poll tax is a mutual affair and a patriotic one as it extends the basis of democracy, which is what we are fighting, for.

"SO, Mr. Murray, don't be afraid of us like the rest, just take us into your confidence. Let us work with you, plan with you, and fight for you just as you fight for us. You will find behind you the Negro press, the Negro church, and 13,000,000 men and women like your steel workers, who want to share the fruits of this democracy."

Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Some Traitors In Race, Says William Pickens

MAY 23

(See Editorial, Page 8)

RICHMOND, Va. — William Pickens, for more than 24 years a field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said in Sunday's Richmond Times-Dispatch, that while the Negro masses were loyal as a group there were "some few traitors and some very foolish persons in their midst."



Pickens

MAY 23 1942

Dean Pickens, as he is known from one end of the United States to another, had a letter in the "Voice of the People" column of the Times-Dispatch, expressing his approval of editorials which the paper carried on April 26th and May 2nd.

The editorials criticised the N. A. A. C. P. and its organ the Crisis, for what is termed unwise agitation of unattainable objectives during the war effort. In brief the criticisms of the Richmond paper boiled down to a denunciation of the N. A. A. C. P. for trying to wipe out race discrimination "over-night."

In his letter of commendation to the Times-Dispatch Mr. Pickens said that the editorials "were full of good-will for the Negro race in America."

"Of course," said Dean Pickens, "I know the Negro masses better than you can know them, in all sorts of organizations — and I know that they are loyal as a group, but with some few traitors, and some very foolish persons in their midst."

MAY 23 1942

The N. A. A. C. P. field agent indicated in his letter to the Richmond paper that he had not been in accord with N A. A. C. P. policies for some time, saying that, "I am sending you enclosed various papers of mine, written, most of them, months before your editorials were written, and as you will see, your mind and my mind have been running in about the same channel."

Following an article recently in which Mr. Pickens complimented the 99th Pursuit Squadron, in training at Tuskegee Institute, the N. A. A. C. P. board notified him, through Executive Secretary Walter White, that he could not be reelected to the staff at the April board meeting. The board backed down on this, however, and instead of dropping Pickens, gave him a reprimand, on the grounds that the endorsement of any form of segregation was not approved by the N. A. A. C. P.

Dean Pickens is on leave for the duration and is in the employ of the U. S. treasury department.

Amsterdam Star-News
New York, N. Y.

As the Crow Flies

By DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

THE War for Race Equality! The more I ponder over this, the more I like it.

The central protagonist for civilization today is Russia; page Lothrop Stoddard!



Dr. Du Bois

What would really be extraordinary would be a perfect Negro press in the midst of American white periodicals.

What we really need now is national conferences on the Negro's place in this war, every week with continuous daily oratory.

Prisoners

I receive from time to time letters from inmates and officials of American prisons. Most of them ask for reading matter. I never before realized quite why this should be, until I received from the chaplain of the Ohio Penitentiary at Columbus a letter with the following paragraphs concerning certain colored inmates: "The men for whom I write are intelligent and appreciative, and the group consists of the type one would call 'genuine book-lovers.' Many of the inmates have purchased books, through my office, when they had money with which to buy them. Now, due to change of policy, this can no longer be done.

No Cash for Periodicals

"We do not have an appropriation for any reading materials. Therefore, we are entirely dependent upon the good-will and generosity of the public. Our library is built mostly from discards, sent to us by public libraries and social organizations. For those men having an honest desire to read worth-while literature of current interest, such as we now have to offer is of little or no value to them.

"Perhaps you have books of the above mentioned for which you have no further use. Such a donation would be highly acceptable, and I assure you would be appreciated by the colored inmates of Ohio Penitentiary."

Of all the barbarities which we visit upon prisoners, I think this is the most devilish and unjustifiable. Even granted that these men are criminals (which, of course, is not true in a terribly high percentage of cases), nevertheless the least we could do for their leisure and rehabilitation would be to furnish them reading matter. If a rich civilized state like Ohio will not or cannot do this, what do you suppose the condition of prisoners is in Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi? I hope that everyone who reads this paragraph will send some books to the Rev. K. E. Wall, chaplain of the Ohio Penitentiary, especially for the colored prisoners—and don't send old and worthless ones.

Economic Illiteracy

I am continually forced to come back to the widespread ignorance among educated people, and especially among educated Negroes, about the economic process; about human work and wage; income and expenditure. There is widespread misapprehension of the industrial process and inability to face squarely the problem of the abolition of poverty. Let me take here a first proposition: "Private property is created by individual effort."

Many people believe this and from this they argue that my property is nobody else's business; that I can do what I will with it; that the interference of government with property is oppression and theft. There may have been a time in primitive human life, when each individual created a large part of his own property. There may be some isolated cases today where this is still true; but in general and for the whole history of mankind, property is a social creation and not an individual creation. It is made, invented and changed by the action of every living being in groups, in nations, in civilization. The degree to which individuals contribute to this social property varies immensely: The work of some individuals is of inestimable value; the work of others is very small; but there is no such thing as property today created by single individual effort. Here is where every honest and intelligent person who wishes to discuss work and wage must begin. Society creates property and loans it to the individual for the good of all.

Amsterdam News
New York, N. Y.

As the Crow Flies

By W. E. B. DU BOIS

HARRY Bridges may be dangerous to democracy in the United States; but there is no shadow of doubt but that he has long been dangerous to those organized monopolies on the Pacific Coast who specialize in slave wages.



Dr. Du Bois

Do not forget that freezing wages and preventing strikes is one way of keeping the majority of working people below a decent level of life; while freezing profits is preventing the manufacture of unnecessary millionaires.

If the war workers in Washington spent as much time winning the war as they do in keeping their jobs, the Axis would be in real and immediate danger.

The Negro press need not fear Westbrook Pegler or any other critic. It would better fear its own evident short-comings and seek to set its house in order.

Racial Equality

This may be the War for Racial Equality, or it may be a struggle with another name which is only the first phase of that final contest. Numbers of thoughtful people like Pearl Buck and Dorothy Thompson realize that ultimately there is going to be a contest between the white and colored peoples. At present this contest is defensive on the part of the colored peoples. It merely asks that Asia and Africa shall have a right to autonomy and not be used as the colonial appendage of Europe, catering to insenate luxury and lust for power. For colored minorities in America, it asks for unhindered cultural integration into the various nations with economic and political power. But this is only the present phase. If this war ends as it began: As simply a struggle for democracy in Europe; or if it turns into an attempt at world-wide domination on the part of England and the United States; then the ultimate war for racial equality will enter into another phase where eventually Asia and Africa will seek to dominate Europe; and whether that domination will be guided by the highest cultural ideals or the bitter cry for revenge, is on the knees of the gods. It is today certainly for the best interests of mankind that liberal Europe and America should yield gracefully and honestly to the Asiatic and African demand for self-government and self-development. This will save time and blood.

The Lack of Adequate Income

Pursuing my inquiries into economic illiteracy, let me call attention to the fact that while there is plenty of useful work to be done in the world, there is a wide and dangerous lack of adequate wage and income for the majority of men. These propositions involve no paradox or contradiction. They simply call attention to the fact that our technical control over raw materials and processed goods today, and our ability to use the free physical forces of the world, make it possible for us to provide for every family on earth, enough food and shelter for health and enough education for progress. The main reason that this is not done is because most men and most educated men, do not believe it can be done; and because a few men and a few privileged men do not want it done, even if it could be done. They rather live in a world where most men are poor, and a few men cultured, rich and powerful. This widespread belief is the first obstacle which must be attacked and done away with before we can abolish poverty.

Amsterdam News
New York, N. Y.

As the Crow Flies

By DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

THE FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE Committee fortunately is not dead yet.

Persons able to understand the news from the Australian front can easily qualify as psychological experts.



Dr. Du Bois

Slowly Africa is wheeling into the war front: Ethiopia, Libya, Dakar, Madagascar, the Congo.

The strategy of the Second Front would appear to be help for Russia just before death and then the killing of Germany. The difficulty is that Germany may have analogous plans.

When is the world best fitted to consider post-war problems? Not after the war; then we will be returned to narrow selfishness and the scramble to live. Surely, now during the war, when the tragedy of civilization and the fear of defeat make us realize what war is.

Of the various sorts of discrimination that face the American Negro that which keeps him from working; or from the best work that he is capable of doing; or from learning better methods of work through apprenticeship and shop teaching; and above all, from promotion according to desert; all these are by far the worse forms in which race prejudice expresses itself in America today. We often forget this. There has long been a feeling that social discrimination; the fact that we cannot enjoy the more blatant forms of entertainment on Broadway and at Atlantic City; that we are not invited to dinner and dance; that no person of known Negro blood could enter the Social Register. All these are discriminations, but silly rather than fatal. There is discrimination in residence and in education, in hotel accommodation and travel. These are serious and should be continuously exposed and fought. But they are not nearly as important and as fatal as the silent, persistent and extraordinarily widespread effort and determination to keep Negroes, both in America, the West Indies and Africa, from earning an income which will enable them to be civilized men. If we had the income which we earn and are capable of earning, we would get education even though we had to educate ourselves; we would provide ourselves with means of hotel accommodations and travel, even though this would be costly and a ridiculous surrender to prejudice. Nevertheless, our very economic power would break down these walls of exclusion. So long, however, as you have East Indians with an income of twenty-five dollars a year; West Indians barely exceeding one hundred dollars and American Negroes fortunate if they get more than five hundred dollars; so long as this is true, competition in cultural accomplishment between them and a world whose workers earn between twenty-five hundred and ten thousand dollars a year is absolutely impossible.

Discusses F. D. R.'s FEPC

It is fortunate then that the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee was set up. Its chief field will be in the long run not the abolition of economic discrimination in the United States; that is too deep-seated for any one effort or one organization; nor should the FEPC be criticized because after its exposure of determined and deep-seated discrimination, it is able to do little beyond publicizing it. It is too bad that the President and Congress could not implement such a committee and make the traitors to democracy suffer; but one sees easily why this is unthinkable. With public opinion in the United States as it is, with the perpetrators of discrimination against Negroes sitting in high places of power; no President ruling by force of public opinion and on Congress elected by business interests will raise their finger to stop economic discrimination against Negroes.

On the other hand the publicity which the FEPC has secured and will secure is invaluable. It ought to be set before those Americans who are screaming about democracy, and particularly organized labor; that the labor unions stand in the forefront in discriminating against labor and in treating labor unfairly. Especially the railway unions, probably the most effective labor organization in America, always have been and are and for a long time will be the center of a determined effort to keep bread and butter out of the mouths of black folk. They have resorted not only to legal methods, but to organized intimidation and murder. Their record ought to be set up that the world might read it.

48b-1942

Macon, Ga., Telegraph
August 6, 1942

Such a World

Macon's Committee On Racial Relations Step That Should Be Duplicated . . .

* * *

Tuskegee Negro Air Pilots Believe In Segregation to Distinguish Race

— *By W. T. Anderson* —

IN setting up a racial committee here in Macon to prevent and adjust troubles that might create unnecessary friction and disturbance which would tend to destroy unity, harmony and good will, and interfere with securing the greatest efficiency in war effort, the Bibb county grand jury has established a precedent which should have repercussions for good.

The grand jury's special committee of jurors held sessions with groups of leading white citizens and also with groups of leading colored citizens, and after getting the views of each, the grand jury committee appointed twenty white men and twenty Negroes, as a racial committee.

These groups organized and elected Gen. Walter A. Harris, Macon attorney, as general chairman and also as chairman of the executive committee. Each group then elected its own chairman, a secretary for each group, and two members of each group who with the chairman constitute an executive committee of seven with the general chairman.

* * *

TO hear some people talk, one would think the Negroes are all armed and ready to rise in rebellion against the white people of this country who have been their friends and helpers and well-wishers ever since the first Negro set foot on American soil.

In my opinion, such is not the case—at least with Southern Negroes. A great many have gone out of the South to other parts of the country, and have gained recognition and advantages here by reason of their small percentage of the population, etc., and it is these "furren" Negroes and scheming whites who have devoted their attentions to the South to accomplish overnight reform.

* * *

THE Negro has made faster progress with the least expense of any people in history. He has done it by fitting himself into the white man's civilization and getting the advantages of this by paying for it with his labor and suffering some hardships and impositions which are as bagatelles in comparison with what white races are suffering today in other parts of the world.

Patience is a virtue which the Negro has used to better advantage and with more acumen and intelligence than we give him credit for. The average of them understands natural race prejudice and how to overcome it. He recognizes it in himself, and makes allowance for it in the white man.

Wit, good humor, a fine philosophy of life and politeness are additional assets that he has turned to good advantage.

* * *

SOME of the Northern Negroes have lost most of these qualities. They contend that they are "just as good as anybody," and instead of demonstrating it by setting a good example that they desire to have followed, they demonstrate that they are not as good as anybody, but are a little worse than anybody.

Negroes do have a greater exaction laid upon them than do we white people, which upon the surface appears to be unjust. They are held to a stricter accountability of observing law—about which they have only hearsay and know very little that is authentic. Frequently on trains, busses and other places they get less than their money should buy. They have to be more polite, more careful of their conduct.

* * *

BUT this is only a part of the Divine plan, as I see it. If they want to register for voting, in Georgia, they have to interpret for the registrar an article or section of the constitution. And if they do not answer to the satisfaction of the registrar, he can deny the privilege of registering to vote. Frequently the United States Supreme Court disagrees on the meaning of the constitution, and certainly the registrar is not always clear as to what it means.

And yet the Negro applicant is called upon to tell the registering judge what "it" means. A white man who is a descendant of some ancient war can register without question by the registrar.

* * *

THE effect of these requirements being applied to the Negro and not to the white man is that the Negro [illegible] with his limitations [illegible] and he is stimulated [illegible] to learn and to set an example in forebearance and politeness and good citizenship so he and his children can "get along" in the white man's country. The white man is tied to the post of ignorance, is frequently impolite, sets a bad example, is smug in his complacency of thought that he is a white man and therefore does not have to struggle to qualify to vote, etc., does no have to be educated, or to learn, nor do his children have to do their best. This is Nature's plan of holding back one group while another more or less backward catches up, the evening-up process—like the rich man's son who doesn't have to be efficient and make the most of his opportunities is usually outdistanced by the poor man's son.

* * *

THE Negro's loyalty to his "white folks" has inculcated in him a loyalty to his country, and no Negro traitor has ever been discovered.

That the Negro is working out his own destiny in his own way and in his own good time is demonstrated by the fact that Macon recently was shocked with numerous reports of rapes of white women, and two Negroes were caught more or less in the act and convicted in the courts and sentenced to punishment. Not a whisper of any mob action was heard, which is to the credit of both the colored race and the white race, in the esteem and confidence and good will each holds for the other. Mobs crucify the innocent if there is any delay about finding the guilty, and as a rule very little investigation is made. Hostages are the greatest crime of the Germans, and mob violence is a duplication of that heinous crime in this country—the punishing of the innocent when the guilty cannot be located.

* * *

BOOKER Washington's Tuskegee Institute in Alabama is training Negro air pilots, who Time magazine says are a great credit to the Nation. "Trouble came," says Times, "in the irresponsible phrases of the excitable, dissatisfied Negro Press" [of the North, probably]. "For months," continues Time, "Negro editors pointedly ignored the Tuskegee flying school. When they could no longer ignore it, they poured out tirades against the 'Uncle Toms'—the Negroes who were willing to be in Negro units. One member of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People who praised the Tuskegee fighter squadron and who dared castigate critics of segregation, was read out of the organization." Whoever heard of Joe Louis complaining of segregation?

* * *

THESE segregated Negro air pilots have more sense than all the rabid Negro associations can muster. What credit would the Negro get as a pilot if he were mixed up with white pilots? As a unit the Negroes will have a chance to demonstrate unquestionably their qualities as Negroes, to win their spurs and their place in public confidence, and their entire people will profit by it. So it is with Negro soldiers. So it is with Negro citizens. And smart Southern Negroes know it. It is only the Northern Negro and his white misleaders who would make profit out of him to his undoing.

The Creator meant for each race to advance within its own sphere and as a race. And the one who advises otherwise is either ignorant or knavish.

Editorial Page

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

The Globe Trotter

Saboteurs Of Victory

IF FOR NO OTHER reason than the selfish motive of hastening the eventual day of victory, leaders of the United Nations can no longer afford to delay in making a determined effort to find a satisfactory solution to the ever plaguing racial problem.



CLIFF MACKAY

Continued delay in dealing with this monster allows this stupid and unnecessary conflict between racial groups to work for the benefit of our enemies.

The difficulty is that too many white Americans look upon the racial problem with too narrowed a viewpoint. They think of it in terms of a purely domestic issue. 'Whatever we do here is nobody else's business' is their position. Their thought closely resembles that of our sleeping isolationists before Pearl Harbor.

WORKING OVERTIME FOR AIXS

They blindly fail to see how American racial bigotry and arrogance in this time of national peril, is working overtime for Hitler and Hirohito. It is not only a stumbling block within our own country, it wields a tremendously disheartening impact on the millions of colored peoples all over the world, who fortunately are enlisted on our side in this fight to the death.

Bigotry, prejudice, arrogance stand now like grim sentinels in the path of the United Nation's struggle for a complete victory. They sabotage the will of the majority of the people who are anxious that democracy unflinchingly face its greatest challenge — the crossing of color lines. Until this challenge is met, the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms remain noble ideals and little more.

It is no military secret that most of those who so loudly profess belief in democracy cannot quite bring themselves to give democracy a full and liberal interpretation — an interpretation that gives full recognition to the brotherhood of man and the real basic democratic principle of human equality.

This failure to give a liberal interpretation to all that democracy stands for hangs like a millstone around the neck of not only America's attempt at an all-out war effort, but we find it actually blocking the full mobilization of all able-bodied men in the Union of South Africa, a member of the United Nations.

OPPOSE ARMING OF NATIVES

In this other U. S. A., half way across the world, we see professed Christians, members of the Dutch Reformed Church, violently opposing the mobilization of natives in combat units, even though the threat of a Japanese invasion is no figment of imagination.

"The principle of arming natives is contrary to the constitution and principles of the Word of God," solemnly resolved these brethren, seeking under a dubious mixture of Christian faith and racial arrogance to restrain the use of black manpower to the subordinate and menial tasks.

These South African Christians (?) would send black men off to meet the hail of enemy fire armed only with shovels and picks.

Just like Americans, who stubbornly cling to mildewed discriminatory employment practices, they fail to see that they are not hurting the natives as much as they are helping the enemies of their country. Neither these Africans nor their American counterparts yet grasp the full meaning of democracy.

MANPOWER WASTER

Disgusting is the fact that amid all of the current discussion about manpower shortages, too many American employers are allowed to continue their wasteful pre-war 'white Christian only' hiring policy.

Black men possessing skills now so sorely needed by the nation under this undemocratic policy are forced to do unskilled manual labor, if they work at all.

Machinists, plumbers, electricians, if they are black men, must load trucks and dig ditches. Racially arrogant unions holding closed shop contracts see to it that they are not allowed to work at the skills for which they have been trained.

LYICHERS AID HITLER

Working for Hitler and Hirohito too, were the Mississippi lynchers who, three times in a single week, used the axis weapon, racial bigotry, in a purely Southern manner to brutally and violently snuff out the lives of three human beings, two of them 14-year-old boys.

Blinded by hateful racial arrogance, these lynchers completely ignored the world-wide repercussions of their savage deeds. Stupidly overlooked was how they were demoralizing more than 65 per cent of all the men in the United Nations' fighting forces, who are colored. Nothing either the Hitler or Hirohito propaganda stooges did last week had as disastrous an effect on our fighting men as did these unpatriotic, Nazi-like mob terrorisms.

The actions of Mississippi's lynchers, South Africa's churchmen and prejudiced employers and unions are utterly inconsistent with the stated aims of this war for democracy. They are based on the old imperialistic and revived axis belief in the existence of "inferior" and "superior" races, — a fallicious belief that the United Nations are solemnly pledged to destroy.

TIME FOR ACTION

Our leaders can no longer be satisfied with merely saying that they believe in the doctrine of the Four Freedoms, of full and democratic recognition of human equality. The time has come that for our very safety, they must act. This problem created by bigoted racial intolerances will never be solved by the customary hush-hush method.

The solution calls for a bold, all-out attack. Racial bigotry, prejudice and arrogance must be ruthlessly blasted from our pathway to a total and complete democratic victory. The full and unrelenting force of government must be used to mercilessly destroy these saboteurs of victory. To delay is to postpone victory; to evade is to invite defeat.

Amsterdam News
New York, N. Y.

As the Crow Flies

By DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

NEVER BEFORE in the history of America has the Negro been discussed to such an extent in the public press as today. Time was when we were almost never mentioned.



Dr. Du Bois

Never before in modern history has the subject of Race been discussed so concretely and widely as today. Even despite and beyond Hitler, the question of the relations of the diverse masses of men is forcing itself on the world's attention.

Never before since the Civil War have the historical facts of Race relations been written about so widely; or so much written about matters that involve Race relations. All these things have plain significance for you and me.

There is coming within the next decade another attempt at world federation. Following the Holy Roman Empire and the Holy Alliance and coming down past the League of Nations, we are going to have in the near future an attempt to found on a legal and practical basis the United Nations of the World. The question is, Who and What is going to be regarded as a nation?

Self-Criticism

In our eagerness to point out the ways in which we have suffered and still suffer under modern organized life, we Negroes of the United States have come to the place where we might as well begin that inner self-criticism and yard-cleaning which will be sure to face us in coming days. A white man of national reputation sat in my office the other day and brought up a matter. He said, "Have you ever considered the number of Negroes whom Negroes kill?" I said that I had; that I knew from the Atlanta Daily World, for instance, which keeps record of every murder of Negroes by Negroes, that already we have killed fifty of ourselves in this city alone. In Memphis, I believe, the number has reached twenty-seven, and throughout the South the slaughter reaches really large proportions.

It is easy to explain and in part excuse this kind of violence. The Irish in the early days of immigration to the United States had a similar red record. The murder rate in London's East End, in Paris slums, in Naples, Shanghai and Singapore has been terrific. These murders have not been murders of racial and class revenge. They are not cases where the oppressed have turned in fury upon the oppressor and used and taken the most primitive step toward possible emancipation. No, they come from internal bickering and quarreling. And yet something of race friction is there. The bitterness against sursoundings, against peoples and powers beyond reach, flares and is magnified in petty quarrels with one's own. There is deep frustration; the complex of feelings of inferiority; the feeling that nothing matters and no one gives a damn.

But explanation is not justification, and certainly it is not cure. What is called for is a thorough-going understanding of the situation; an understanding which few or none of us possesses. Only a few years ago one of the best mechanics who ever repaired my car, a fine, big, pleasant-faced and good-tempered man, was killed in a quarrel over five cents. Here is a place for investigation and remedial action which social agencies often miss. It is a problem not exactly of poverty, not wholly of criminal tendencies, not altogether of housing, nor of recreation. Of these, to be sure, but combined with these, a general dislocation of interest and possibilities of adjustment. A moral question it is, but, more than that, a psychological and social question; and, above all, a field where our churches should get busy.

48b-1942
Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

As An Indian Sees It

BY KUMAR GOSHAL

LYNCHINGS AND BEATINGS MAR WAR EFFORTS ON HOME FRONT

OCT 24 1942

LET US face facts squarely and admit that in the past few days the United Nations have suffered a series of defeats—on the Home Front. In Meridian, Miss., two Negro kids, barely in their teens, have been lynched. This atrocious crime is committed while Negro soldiers are traveling 12,000 miles to India to fight and sacrifice their lives for the preservation and extension of democracy. This vicious murder of young boys follows the same old nauseating pattern: accusation of attempted attack, the jail left unguarded but for the lone warden "suddenly overpowered" by a mob so that he cannot identify any of them, the search not starting until too late to save the victims of this mob brutality. Ernest Green and Charles Lang are casualties in this war, too.



MR. GOSHAL

OCT 24 1942

NEW YORK PREACHER BEATEN

In New York, Edwin Seale, a hardworking Negro preacher of the Gospel has been brutally beaten up by two policemen on an alleged charge of carrying policy slips. Mr. Seale has a son in the army; for all I know, this young man may be in India now.

HERBERT MATHEWS writes in the New York Times, that a highly placed Britisher, repersenting majority British opinion in India, said: "Americans should realize that the British have had long experience in India and are honorable men trying to do the right thing . . We know how to run it (India) and we aren't such terrible oppressors as you think." This statement was made to the accompaniment of machine gun bullets drilling holes in the bodies of hundreds of unarmed Indians.

OCT 24 1942

AFL DODGES JIM-CROWISM

The American Federation of Labor dodged A. Philip Randolph's charge of jim-crowism and refuses to take urgently necessary action to eliminate discrimination against Negroes in many of its locals.

IT IS strange that some people still don't see the danger of these defeats. These people are only afraid of the effect on the colonial peoples and oppressed minorities when the AXIS radio broadcasts the stories of these crimes. They don't realize that even without benefit of Goebbels & Company the oppressed peoples everywhere are sympathetically aware of one another's plight. The Courier poll has effectively shown what I have also learned from personal experience — that the vast majority of the Negro people in America are keenly interested in the problem of the Indian people. And when a "highly placed Britisher" says that the British know from experience how to handle the Indians and what is best for them, the Indians don't need Goebbels to point out the fact that the Southern bourbons use similar language to justify their treatment of the Negro people.

MUST FIGHT ON HOME FRONT

OCT 24 1942

Fascism is the greatest threat mankind has yet known; to fight it most effectively we must end this dangerous paradox of a disunited United Nations. The way to render the Axis propaganda harmless is to attack it at its source; and the source in these instances is not Berlin nor Tokio, but our own home front.

TIME IS running short and we need direct action. The shortest distance between two given points is still a straight line. All genuine anti-fascists must fight together to bring to justice the murderers of the two Negro boys, the policemen who beat up Edwin Seale; to pass the Anti-Lynching Bill and to help the Indian people fight Japanese aggression under a free, national government of their own choosing.

FEW BRIGHT SPOTS

Oppressed peoples develop extraordinary sensitivities; the news that the Negro and the Indian people have gained full equality in the ranks of the United Nations will reach the oppressed under the Axis powers faster than any broadcast by Goebbels & Company.

OCT 24 1942

IN THIS gloomy panorama of the past few days there have been a few bright spots: The House has passed the Anti-Poll Tax bill; extra-territorial rights in China have been given up by England and the United States; Stalingrad still lands—a monument to Soviet unity and heroism; and Wendell Willkie, with great clarity of vision, has demanded the opening of a second front now and the immediate progressive application of the principles of the Atlantic Charter for all the colonial and minority peoples everywhere. These are potent weapons against Fascism—as powerful as guns, tanks, planes and ships, and as urgently needed.

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

HERE TO YONDER

By LANGSTON HUGHES

Why and Wherefore

THINGS THAT HAPPEN away off yonder affect us here. The bombs that fall on some far-off Second Front in Asia rattle the dishes on your table in Chicago or New Orleans, cut down on your sugar, coffee, meat ration, and take the tires off your car. Right now Hitler is about to freeze your salary or your work, although his activities at the moment are centered around Stalingrad. But it is not so far from here to yonder.



Langston Hughes

For the last 20 years, half writer and half vagabond, I have travelled from here to yonder around the world and back again, up and down the African coast, through Russia, through Asia, back and forth across America and, in general, from pillar to post. One thing I learned is that Alabama and Africa have the same problems. Stalingrad and Chicago fight the same gangsters. Two 14-year-old boys are lynched at Shubuta Bridge and Harlem shudders—also Chungking.

NOV 21 1942

What happens at the post affects the pillar, and vice versa. Here is yonder, and yonder is here. When you do wrong, it affects me. If I don't behave myself, it hurts you. When you do good it helps me. When I do good, I hope it aids you. When white folks do wrong, in the long run it lays as heavy a burden on them as it does on us. Witness India, witness Malaya, witness the poverty of the South and the sorry spectacle of Shubuta Bridge.

A year before the war in Paris, the summer of Munich, I saw the left and right literally—I mean factually—thumbing their noses at each other, shouting curses back and forth in the Place de l'Opera in the heart of the French capital—the workers and the fascists openly displaying that woeful gulf between them that brought about the fall of France and the Vichy collaboration that now sends your son, your brother, your friends, mine—and probably me—to fight on the European front to restore France to herself.

What happened that summer at Munich, in Paris, in the betrayal of Spain, and later at the Maginot Line—way over yonder—will make YOU cry right here, for some of the men we know, our relatives, friends, and fellow citizens, Negroes from Harlem and Chicago and Mississippi—some of those men will never come home again. Some will die way over yonder in Europe, in Asia, and Africa—thus forcefully and directly does the yonder reach into the here. It touches you. It touches me.

Guns, Not Shovels

The cat was taking his first physical, standing in line in front of me at the hospital where our draft board had sent us. He was talking and he didn't care who heard him. (Chalk up one point for the democracies—at least a man can talk, even a colored man.) He said, "I know they gonna send all us cats to a labor battalion. I'm a truck driver, and I know they gonna make me a truck driver in the army."

"How do you know?" I asked.

"All the guys I know from Harlem," he said, "have gone right straight to labor battalions. Look at the pictures you see of colored soldiers in the papers, always working, building roads, unloading ships, that's all. Labor battalions! I want to be a fighter!"

"I know a fellow who's gone to Officers School," I said. "And another one learning to fight paratroopers."

"I don't know none," he said. "And besides, if they don't hurry and take this blood test, I'm liable to lose my job. That Italian I work for don't care whether the draft board calls you or not, you better be to work on time. He ain't been in this country but six or seven years and owns a whole fleet of trucks, and best I can do is drive one of 'em for him. Foreigners can get ahead in this country. I can't."

"Some colored folks get ahead some," I said.

"You have to be a genius to do it," he argued.

Another man in the line spoke up, older, dark brown-skin, quiet. "Between Hitler and the Japanese," the other man said, "these white folks are liable to change their minds. They're beginning to find out they need us colored people."

It was that third fellow who took the conversation all the way from the here of Manhattan Island to the yonder of Hitler, the Japanese, and the arena of struggle—that far-off yonder—including Africa, India and China, Gandhi and Chang Kai Chek—that yonder that, in spite of all, is changing our world in Harlem, on State street, and maybe even in Mississippi.

There was no chance to talk any more for the line moved on. He went in to the little room where the doctors were, had his blood drawn, and hurried off. I do not know his name. Probably our paths will never cross again. But I hope, since he wants to be a fighter, Uncle Sam will give him a gun, not a shovel or a truck. A gun would probably help his morale a little—now badly bent by the color line.

I know lots of folks, whose names have never been in the newspapers—as interesting as those whose names have been in the papers. I shall write about them, also. Your folks and mine—as colored as me—scattered all over the world from here to yonder. From week to week, they—and you—shall be the subjects of this column. I got a feeling that you are me. And I know dog-gone well, HERE is YONDER. I even expect that in due time white will be black. Amen!

out of the hospital reported an unconfirmed rumor that Josephine Baker is slowly dying of consumption way over yonder in Casablanca on the coast of North Africa. That hit me almost as hard as the war news. I hope that report is not true for the dusky brown girl from St. Louis is one of our greatest ambassadors of charm and beauty to the world. Aubrey Pankey, young Negro singer from Minneapolis, is in Kuibyshev, U.S.S.R. Sugar Hill, is giving concerts this week in Rio de Janeiro.

Chatwood Hall, former colored postal clerk from Minneapolis, is writing a new book. These are folks I know and shall write about in future columns.

Your Folks and Mine

The afternoon paper that I bought as I came

498-1942
Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

As An Indian Sees It

LYNCHINGS AND BEATINGS MAR WAR EFFORTS ON HOME FRONT

OCT 24 1942

BY KUMAR GOSHAL

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The afternoon paper that I bought as I came out of the hospital reported an unconfirmed rumor that Josephine Baker is slowly dying of consumption way over yonder in Casablanca on the coast of North Africa. That hit me almost as hard as the war news. I hope the report is not true for the dusky brown girl from St. Louis is one of our greatest ambassadors of charm and beauty to the world.

Aubrey Pankey, young Negro singer from Sugar Hill, is giving concerts this week in Rio de Janeiro.

Chatwood Hall, former colored postal clerk from Minneapolis, is in Kuibyshev, U.S.S.R.

Arna Bontemps in Chicago is writing a new book. These are folks I know and shall write about in future columns.

HERE TO YONDER

By LANGSTON HUGHES

Why and Wherefore

THINGS THAT HAPPEN away off yonder affect us here. The bombs that fall on Asia rattle the at least a man can talk, even a colored man.) or New He said, "I know they gonna send all us cats this dangerous paradox of a dietary does the way over yonder reach into your table in some far-off Second Front in Europe, dishes on your table in Orleans, cut down on your sugar, coffee, meat to a labor battalion. I'm a truck driver, and Right I know they gonna make me a truck driver, and now Hitler is about to freeze your salary or in the army."

"How do you know?" I asked.

"All the guys I know from Harlem," he the mo- your work, although his activities at But it said, "have gone right straight to labor bat- Russia, through Asia, Stalingrad. talions. Look at the pictures you see of colored back and forth across soldiers in the papers, always working, build- can coast, through ing roads, unloading ships, that's all. Labor Africa and, in gen- battalions! I want to be a fighter!" eral, from pillar to

"I know a fellow who's gone to Officers post. One thing I School," I said. "And another one learning learned is that Ala- to fight paratroopers." bama and Africa have

"I don't know none," he said. "And besides, the same problems. if they don't hurry and take this blood test, Chicago fight the I'm liable to lose my job. That Italian I same battles. work for don't care whether the draft board Another man in the line spoke up, older, calls you or not, you better be to work on dark brownskin, quiet. "Between Hitler and time. He ain't been in this country but six these folks are liable to change their minds. or seven years and owns a whole fleet of white folks are beginning to find out they need us trucks, and best I can do is drive one of 'em Here is yonder, and yonder the Japanese," the other man said, "these for him. Foreigners can get ahead in this Here is yonder, and yonder the pillar, at the post affects me. country but six

Langston Hughes

Nov. 21, 1942

Langston Hughes fight the same gang- country.

"Some colored folks get ahead some," I said.

"You have to be a genius to do it," he argued.

Another man in the line spoke up, older, dark brownskin, quiet. "Between Hitler and these Gandhi and Chang Kai Chek—that yonder that, in spite of all, is changing our world in Harlem, on State street, and maybe even in Mississippi.

There was no chance to talk any more for the line moved on. He went in to the little room where the doctors were, had his blood drawn, and hurried off. I do not know his name. Probably our paths will never cross again. But I hope, since he wants to be a fighter, Uncle Sam will give him a gun, not a shovel or a truck. A gun would probably help his morale a little—now badly bent by the color line.

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I know lots of folks, whose names have never been in the newspapers—as interesting as those whose names have been in the papers. I shall write about them, also. Your folks and mine—as colored as me—scattered all over the world from here to yonder. From week to week, they—and you—shall be the subjects of this column. I got a feeling that you are me. And I know dog-gone well, HERE is YONDER. I even expect that in due time white will be black. Amen!

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

What's The Play?

IS WENDELL WILLKIE A MEMBER OF THE NEW DEAL OR THE NEW GUARD?

BY HORACE R. CAYTON

NOV 7 1942

WENDELL WILLKIE'S back home after dodging the verbal rotten tomatoes tossed at him all the way from Cairo to Chunking. The outraged Tories have tried everything from the razz-berries to the razor in an attempt to make Willkie appear ridiculous. Yet the streets of the world are full of apples from the carts that Willkie tipped over. Mr. Willkie has really been "flying high" in a plane with the significant title of "Gulliver" painted on its nose. And to prove that he has arrived, he gave a "Fireside Chat."



Mr. Cayton

The agitated liberals and the panicky conservatives are both having a hard time casing this corporation lawyer who once fought the TVA and who now seems to be outdealing the New Dealers . . . and on a world-wide scale. "What's the play?" everybody wants to know. Is it a double-squeeze between the home plate in Washington and an agile in-fielder who does the leg work? Well, nobody knows.

NOV 7 - 1942

IS WILLKIE AMONG THE NEW GUARD?

Last week, in the NEW REPUBLIC, Max Lerner, one of the most brilliant left-liberal political scientists, has raised a very pointed question, in a penetrating article, "The Education of Wendell Willkie." Just whom does Mr. Willkie "represent" (if anybody)? Max Lerner thinks he smells a rat. He warns us that ". . . we must understand that he is part of a movement which is not without its dangers. There is a New Guard being formed in America to take the place of the Republican Old Guard. Willkie, Henry and Clare Luce (Life-Time-Fortune), the Cowles Brothers, Stasson, Ball—these form its nucleus. They have opened their eyes to the menace of Nazism and the need for an international order. But their purpose in recognizing the wave is to enable the economic elite to ride it."

NOV 7 - 1942

PM thought it saw some cards up the Time-Life-Fortune sleeve sometime ago and raised the question of what the Luce family was up to. A few years ago this journalistic couple was for "The American Century" to replace "the Century of British Empire." Are they now for "The Century of the Common Man"? Well, I don't know what they're up to, and I don't know whether Willkie is a card-carrying member of "The New Guard." But this one thing is clear, Wendell Willkie has given the Republicans what they needed most—a foreign policy. He has also given them the chance to function as a "loyal" opposition. And a lot of Republicans were glad to jump at this gift. But it's a little too early to jump at the conclusion that Willkie is just a tail on the Republican elephant. It looks more like he might be the trunk and head—at least he's doing some A-1 trumpeting.

NEED SINCERE OPPOSITION

This country needs a left-opposition. As we have pointed out in this column, the New Dealers are bankrupt when it comes to the problem of implementing the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms anywhere except in Central Europe (where they don't have any power yet). I am not for any "New Guard" of the type mentioned by Max Lerner, but I am for folks who talk and act like Wendell Willkie. If he's sincere, this is the left-opposition we want. If he isn't, if he's a New Guarder or is just a part of an administration jockeying act, that's something different. In the meanwhile, no matter what he is or whom he represents, he's surely shooting straight from the shoulder. Even Max Lerner gives him credit for having learned a whole lot since he came a cropper in the last Presidential election. Why assume that he's now going to suddenly suffer a paralysis of the brain?

NOV 7 - 1942

MY attitude is still one of friendly admiration for the fellow who wasn't afraid to speak his piece in New York, Moscow, Chungking, and in a "Fireside Chat" . . . telling us that we mustn't let our allies down, that Africans, Chinese and Indians are people, too; that if Negroes are good enough to cook for the Navy they're good enough to shoot those big guns. I still have the will to believe. I'm still looking at the New Gulliver with some hope. Maybe if enough of the forgotten men do that we can encourage and help him to complete his education. In the meanwhile, we are sure gainers by every scare he throws into the Republican Old Guard and the Democratic New Dealers who seem to have forgotten the liberal traditions of the Civil War and the depression years as far as Negroes are concerned.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

Rogers Says:-

POLITICAL SWING TO GOP FORCED BY DIXIE'S INSISTENCE ON COLOR BAR

BY J. A. ROGERS

NOV 14 1942

THE recent election with its swing away from the Democrats towards the Republicans reminds me of what Hartmann said about the monotony of life in his "Philosophy of the Unconscious." He said that life was like a bedridden man, who, having got tired of lying on one side turned on the other side. But there was nothing else in the world but for him to get bored of lying on that side, too, so he turned back again. And so on, over and over again.



Mr. Rogers

True of the white voter, it is perhaps even more true of the Negro one. Most of us will recall the time when the Negro who voted Democrat was regarded as a traitor to his "race." "The Republican party was the ship; all else was the sea." Then came the great depression. The Republican party got the blame; along came Franklin D. Roosevelt with loaves and fishes and the Negro who voted Republican was called an idot. Now less than ten years later, the Negro vote is definitely toward the Republicans once more.

WHY SWING TOWARD GOP?

NOV 14 1942

Why are Negroes swinging Republican again? Is it because President Roosevelt is less of a favorite with them? I think not. As I see it the reason is that the Democratic party is controlled by the Southern wing and that the fixed policy of that wing is jim-crow and segregation.

THE old line Southern Democratic politician, and nearly all are of this kind, knows that when jim-crow goes he goes, too. As Senator Thomas E. Watson of Georgia, once leader of the Populist party, said, "The politicians keep the Negro question alive in the South to perpetuate their hold on office. The Negro question is the joy of their lives. It is their very existence. They fatten on it. With one shout of 'n——r' they can run the native Democrats into their holes at any hour of the day." Incidentally Watson, who had started as a reformer, adopted later the very tactics he condemned and became one of the worst Negro-baiters in history.

ENGLISH TRYING TO BREAK COLOR-LINE

These Southern politicians, who, there is every reason to believe, are responsible for the jim-crow conditions in the army and the navy, know that once jim-crow is broken down in the armed forces; that once the defenders of America, white and colored, get to know one another and become the friends common sense says they ought to be, nothing can save them. And death is the only thing an old-time politician dreads more than defeat at the polls.

SO they are desperately trying to preserve the old slave fiction of an inferior race and a superior race, which can be maintained only by keeping the so-called races in ignorance of each other. Nowhere is this desperation more evident than in England now. The English are trying hard to break down their color-line. Once an advantage to them—it was they who started it—it is now a millstone. The English see that if they keep their color-line the empire is doomed. Of their 500,000,000 people less than 80,000,000 are white. As the struggle goes on and more and more of the whites are used up, the chief hope of saving England will be this vast darker element.

However, the Americans seem determined that England must keep her color-line. The London News Leader, (Oct. 3, 1942), says, "American high-ups in London have been trying to persuade the British authorities to adopt a policy of severer discrimination between white and colored troops here. According to Hanner Swaffer (leading English columnist) the Americans have had their way.

"BUT, at their moment of triumph, the Minister of Information dropped a brick. In response to a famous Negro journalist in London, Brendan Bracken had written an article headed, 'The Colour Bar Must Go.' It was held up for some time but was finally published at the height of the Anglo-American arguments."

UNITY MUST BE MAINTAINED

NOV 14 1942

What is true of England, is true of Brazil, the West Indies, and every other land to which Americans are now going in numbers. The color line must be perpetuated at all costs in order to make America safe for the cracker politician.

THIS evil must be squashed at its source and the swing away from the Democratic party by Negroes will at least help to serve notice on the more honest leaders of that party that if they wish to remain in power they will have to get rid of the stinkers in their ranks. If not, they will surely drag them down to defeat in 1944, because an increasingly aroused element in this nation, white and colored, is determined that that unity necessary for winning this war must be attained if it is necessary to kick every cracker politician out of office.

48b-1942
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Pittsburgh, PA.

SOUTHERN SAY-SO

A REAL COURAGEOUS WHITE STATESMAN IS NEEDED IN THE SOUTH NOW

BY M. S. STUART

Nov. 21, 1942

WELL, SIR, at times human nature certainly can be queer. Have just been thinking about the conduct of some of our Southern congressmen, governors, legislators and other public officials and politicians. It is almost funny the way they do. They not only uniformly oppose nearly every movement begun, propositions made, or bill introduced in behalf of Negroes, most of whom they are supposed to represent, but they never move affirmatively themselves with any measure intended to benefit their theoretical colored constituents. It is even funnier than that. They actually think, or say they do, that Negroes should interpret their vigorous opposition and hostility as evidences of their friendship for the race. It would be funny, indeed, if the mental processes of Negroes could work out any such contradictory conclusion as that.



Mr. Stuart

A REAL STATESMAN NEEDED

But is the apparent hatred of these politicians a natural trait of their characters? Or, is their conduct in this respect prompted by cheap political considerations, and, therefore, hypocritical and malicious?

IT is not believed here that most of them entertain a natural hatred for the race. In their public capacities they probably are appealing to what they think is the sentiment of their white constituents. If this is true, then their official deportment is all the more deplorable, because they are not leading, but following a supposed brand of sentiment of their constituents, which probably is no more real than their own. Now, this may be only wishful thinking; but in the absence of anything better, the hope may be indulged that the politicians are catering to what they think is the sentiment of their electors, and their electors to that which their leaders, by their pretense, are teaching them.

If such mutual artificiality does obtain, then there is a chance that at some time there will arise on the Southern scene a real, courageous leader—a statesman with a vision to see that it is no real service to masses of people to encourage them to persist in bitterness and opposition. Such a leader should be able to convince the White South that, in holding back, holding down and keeping poor, both in spirit and worldly effects, nearly one-half of its population, it is to that extent retarding the progress of the whole section. Now a few more thoughts on the question of the sincerity of Southern white politicians.

HUMAN NATURE HEAVILY HYPOCRITICAL

Nearly every fellow, when you catch him alone, is a different, better animal than when he is acting in a crowd or in company. Argue with him in the presence of others about something he ought to do, some obligation he owes you or society, and most often you meet resistance or refusal. Now if, in the beginning you take that same fellow off aside in a friendly spirit and appeal to him to do the same thing as a personal favor, the chances are that there will be manifest a more cordial and co-operative spirit.

ALL over the South, every week individual white men are doing important favors for individual colored men. There are thousands of cases of warm friendships of long standing between whites and Negroes. In many cases there are genuine bonds of friendship between Southern members of State Legislatures and Negroes and between Southern United States Congressmen and Negroes. Now, queerly, in some cases, these same individually friendly white legislators become violent opponents of any piece of legislation promising even remotely to benefit Negroes en masse. What might be termed their public policy is in conflict with their private conduct. Only in extent are they different from most of humanity in this respect.

INDIVIDUAL EQUALITY PRACTICED

A number of instances are recalled in which, both by choice and by force of varied circumstances, individual equality of association has obtained between white and colored persons. In the old horse and buggy days, a colored man driving a white Southern aristocrat encountered a swollen stream which interfered with the journey, causing an all night wait. There was a not-distant white plantation home where the white man could have had accommodations for the night. A nearby, decent colored home offered to care for the Negro, but shied at the proposition to entertain the white man. The latter, however, persuaded the colored family to take him in.

HE refused to eat at "a first-table" supper prepared for him, and insisted on eating at the same table with the colored family and guest. Some derangements were under way to make room for the white man to have separate accommodations for sleeping. He would have none of it, preferring to sleep in the same room and bed with the colored guest. This same white aristocrat later ran for, and was elected to, the State Legislature on a social IN-equality platform.

Numerous other cases might be mentioned in which, on fishing trips, hunting and traveling together in the South, white men alone with Negroes have congenially associated on terms of perfect equality. In some of these cases, these same white men, when later approached in the presence of other white people, have appeared coldly different, as if to say thereby, "Do not attempt to get out of your place because we were congenial when alone together."

MORAL COURAGE LACKING

There is much to support the belief that many white people in the South are tiring of the awkwardness, the inconvenience, the complications and petty annoyances that grow out of the unnecessary anxiety and technical fears exhibited lest the social standards be violated. While believing as strongly as ever in the necessity of separate social standards, many are becoming disgusted with the ridiculously unnecessary measures of meanness practiced in the name of upholding those standards.

AS yet, unfortunately, however, the moral courage to oppose such atrocious folly is lacking.

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Illinois

PEOPLE AND POLITICS

By WALTER WHITE

Freezing Labor

WITHIN THE next 60 days it is as certain as anything can be in these uncertain times that by legislation, presidential executive order, or directive of the War Manpower commission all labor in the United States will be frozen for the duration. It is increasingly evident that workers, male and female, will be subjected to as rigid discipline as are members of the armed forces.



Walter White

Therein lies a danger—and an opportunity—for the Negro, which will not only affect his economic status now but in the post-war world as well. Whether it will be an advance or setback depends almost entirely on how alert the Negro himself is during the next two months.

The United States Employment service estimates that nearly 3,000,000 Negroes in the United States are today employed at skills far below the ones they possess. Freezing of the Negro in his present status will not only bar him for the duration as he is now barred from earning the high wages paid skilled, semi-skilled, executive, and other workers. It will also shut him out from the acquisition of experience and training which in the post-war years will be essential to his full integration in the economic life of the United States and of the world.

Future Status at Stake

WHAT CAN the Negro do? He must by telegrams, letters, personal interviews, and every other possible means impress on President Roosevelt, on Paul McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower commission, and on James F. Byrnes, director of the Office of Economic Stabilization, that any executive order or directive must include machinery to upgrade Negroes now working at jobs less skilled than they are able to perform.

Special insistence is necessary to insure training, employment, and upgrading without discrimination on account of race, creed, color, or national origin.

A second immediate and important step is to make as speedy and exhaustive a survey as possible of each community in which Negroes reside to get the facts if they have not already been gathered by some existing agency to show the nature and the extent of the harm which would be done not only to the Negro but to war production if Negroes were frozen in their present jobs.

The future economic status of the Negro—whether he will continue to be a pauper or whether he will at long last move into his rightful place as a wage earner on the basis of his ability and not of his color—will depend on what we do before the freezing order comes.

Norris versus Connally

I HAVE just come from the Senate. Tom Connally—of whom one of his fellow-senators said to me that, "Whenever Tom hits above the belt, it's a mistake"—has just savagely assailed the veteran and beloved Senator George W. Norris. But the venerable Nebraskan, despite his 80 years, stood toe to toe and slugged it out with the vicious-tempered Texan.

McKellar of Tennessee, who looks like a character out of Dickens, showed the character of the poll tax bloc when he berated the majority leader, Senator Barkley, in one of the most savage attacks ever heard on the Senate floor. There are those who believe that the viciousness of the southerners is because they know that the philosophy they represent is slipping and they are desperately trying to hold on to it. I wish I could agree with such a hope, but I can't.

The South has gotten away with murder with these methods for generations and they have worked. They have their fellow-senators, the White House, and everybody else scared. The southerners know this and they stake everything on browbeating their opponents.

And the Republicans are equally enigmatic. Warren R. Austin, who is assistant minority leader, has voted consistently with the filibusterers, as have Republicans Wallace White of Maine and Hiram Johnson of California. One usually well-informed Republican told me that, "If the bill is scuttled, it will be the Republicans who do it by refusing to vote for cloture as they did on the anti-lynching bill." No Republican has yet disavowed Austin's playing with the filibusterers, nor has any statement been made that his position on the bill, even though he is assistant minority leader, does not represent the attitude of the Republicans.

Meantime with a world in flames and black men as well as white men dying in Africa and the Solomon Islands, 10,000,000 Americans in the United States—6,000,000 of them white—are seeing as dirty politics as have been played in Washington for a long time determining whether they shall have any of the democracy they are being asked to fight and die for.

Amsterdam Star-News
New York, N. Y.

As the Crow Flies

By DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

HAVE YOU WONDERED about Dixon of Alabama, pal of Talmadge of Georgia? Cease your wonder; he is nephew of Tom Dixon of the "Leopard's Spots."



Dr. Du Bois

There is danger in simply wanting to be Americans. It involves aping American color prejudice, trying to ape their luxury, staking all upon success and bigness. What we should want is that Americans be men, while we achieve the goal of being men among men.

Co-operatives

Recently the Co-operative League tried to buy time on the main national radio hook-ups to tell the public about the growth of consumers' co-operation in America. They met refusal on various pretexts.

Here is foreign news with a vengeance of which the average citizen is denied knowledge. The growth of consumers' co-operation even during wartime has been phenomenal. It is energetic and progressive in China, although only 23 years old there. The British co-operative movement, which was phenomenal before the war, is even stronger today. Even in the United States, which was long regarded as a no man's land for co-operation because of its "rugged individualism," there are today 2,300,000 families buying $700,000,000 in goods through co-operative stores. There are 10,000 credit unions with 23,000,000 members; there are 600,000 farm owners getting their electricity through electric co-operatives. There are 110,000 college students in 210 colleges saving money through purchases in their own co-operative stores. In twelve cities there are group health associations and a half-million persons are buying insurance co-operatively.

Unfortunately, little of this movement is known or shared in by American Negroes. There are some shining exceptions in stores in Chicago, Gary, Richmond and elsewhere. A few Negro colleges, Hampton and Tuskegee, are pushing the co-operative movement and Atlanta University is teaching if not practicing it. Here is the great highway for the American Negro toward economic freedom and thereby toward social freedom.

What Shall Be Done?

First there must come knowledge of the movement, careful investigation, lectures and the overthrow of the fairy tales connected with it. The consumers' co-operative is no get-rich-quick scheme. It is not a way by which the huge profits which make white Americans rich can be transferred into the pockets of American Negroes. It is a method of small savings, of self-employment and of protection against adulterated and spoiled goods. In its ultimate expansion it is the only real introduction to that economic democracy which, through the consumer rather than through the producer will induce and make possible political democracy in the world.

Dr. James Warbasse says in his "Co-operative Democracy": "A co-operative society is a voluntary association in which the people organize democratically to supply their needs through mutual action and in which the motive of production and distribution is service, not profit. In the co-operative movement the ultimate tendency is toward the creation of a social structure capable of supplanting both profit-making industry and the compulsory political state."

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ASK GEORGE

BY JOSEPH D. BIBB

WHITES SEEK FACTS ABOUT US FROM MENIALS AND TOTALLY ACCEPT IT

"SAY 'GEORGE,' I am going to run for Governor of this state and I want some good Negro to head up the colored end. Who would be a good man?" "Yassah Boss, I knows de very man yuh wants," replied "George," the trusty butler.

The above dialogue reflects the time worn custom adopted by white Americans to pick Negro aides and leaders. Here we present a situation all too prevalent and customary in these United States and the irony of the situation is that the American white man swears and avows that he knows the Negro better than he knows himself.



Mr. Bibb

This is one of the most evident reasons why there is no common plane of mutual understanding and intelligence between the white and the black races in this country.

MITCHELL SPEAKS

We do not desire and it is not our purpose to cast any aspersions or insinuations on "George." His role in life as a menial is not dishonorable, but "George" is just dumb enough to believe that he is competent and intelligent enough to select the spokesman and leaders for his people. "George" sees thru the glass, but darkly, and with his clouded visions he recommends and advises. In the last and final analysis, we have, right here in America, a striking example of the blind leading the blind.

CONGRESSMAN Arthur W. Mitchell, only Negro member of the Congress, aptly set out in a recent speech in Washington the fact that the average white man knows little or nothing about the Negro. He said, "I have met whites who even argue with me that they know Negroes better than I do."

"How many have engaged thinking Negroes in an earnest effort to become acquainted with the Negro in his higher aspirations and real life?" Mitchell added.

"Of course, they know the Negro who works in their kitchen and does the menial work, but they do not know the Negroes of the higher type."

AWAKEN TO STUPIDITY

Congressman Mitchell is eminently correct. The practice of seeking advice from "George" reveals not only the ignorance of the white man as to his fellow Americans but also his pre-conceived notion that he does not amount to very much. When the white man awakens to the fact that "George" could only recommend another butler or a fine cook, but is in no position to pick out men capable of doing intricate work, the sooner will there be a better understanding between the races.

AN INTELLIGENT analysis of a Negro newspaper by unbiased open-minded white people would rudely awaken the white man to his time worn stupidity. The Negro paper—that is, the better ones, runs the entire gamut of human emotions. "George" could no more give a competent apprisal of a newspaper than he could be a leader. The white man of intelligence, who aspires to head up the affairs of a soverign state, should be of a discerning and analytical mind and seek his information from sources of authenticity and understanding.

GOVERNMENT MAKES PROBE

Another source of confusion and misunderstanding is the habit of consulting with "foundations" and "funds" which have made "surveys" and analyses" about the "colored people" but have completely failed to approximate the mass consciousness of the people. The results have amounted to mass confusion. **The methods used by whites are so nonsensical and ludicrous that there is little wonder that three has been no meeting of minds.**

THE GOVERNMENT is now going into the vitals of racial relations by the use of the famed Department of Investigation and the Bureau of Intelligence. The Government is bent on learning the truth about its citizens and maybe after the facts assembled have been arrayed in orderly fashion, a clear line of procedure will be revealed.

BASIC TRUTH NOT REVEALED

Those penetrating and discerning minds have learned many startling things about us in the last few months. Never before has the cause of the Negro been so widely paraded before the American forum, but the surface has not been scratched yet and the basic truth has not been revealed.

IT WILL BE highly important and necessary for there to be a meeting of minds between the two races, if we are to live side by side in peace and understanding. As it is now, the white man knows so little about the colored American that his ignorance is positively refreshing. He has been listening to what "George" had to say and "George" has done a fine job of confusing a perplexing situation. When the white man learns that Negroes are elusive phantoms in the realm of understanding, they can realize what Sir Stafford Cripps went up against when he confronted Pandit Jehru and Mohandes K. Gandhi.

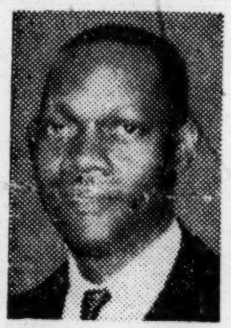
MUST TAKE THE NEGRO SERIOUSLY

The Negro is a maze of contradictions, with many conflicting schools of thought. He has his internal problems just like the East Indians and when the white man gets a clear cut conception of him, he will have accomplished something that no Negro has succeeded in. The American Negro is an enigma—one that must be taken seriously. It is utter folly to ask "George" about it.

Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Pattern For Justice Must Precede Post-War Reconstruction Program

JUDGING by official pronouncements from responsible leaders in the fields of politics, economics and finance many of whom are already playing important roles in gathering facts and shaping the pattern for "a world of peace and international brotherhood" after the Axis nations have been defeated by the United Nations, there is reason for justification for the expressed fear of racial minorities and colonial states that it is too risky to WAIT until the war is won to present their claims for justice and equality.



S. A. HAYNES

In his radio address to the nation two weeks ago, Secretary of State Cordell Hull made this significant observation: "With victory achieved, our first concern must be for those whose sufferings have been almost beyond human endurance. When the armies of our enemies are beaten, the people of many countries will be starving and without means of procuring food: homeless and without means of building shelter . . . Disease and danger of disease will lurk everywhere . . . Victory must be followed by swift and effective action to meet these pressing human needs."

Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden of Great Britain said the same thing in a different way in a recent sketch of outlines of future peace. Said he: "With the United States, Soviet Russia, China, and other nations, we shall take our part in working for the development of a great worldwide civilization." Mr. Eden cited two or three urgent problems of peace — feeding the starved populations; and enabling the devasted, impoverished and economically undeveloped countries to restart their industry and agriculture."

We have the opinion of Mr. R. [illegible]ock, president of the Building Industries National Council in London that, "an outlay of 4 billion dollars for 10 years will be necessary in [illegible] post-war rebuilding in Great Britain." These figures may be doubled if it takes us from five to ten years (as of December 7, 1941) to crush Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito.

"First things first," has already been adopted as the number one policy in post-war reconstruction. We are convinced that these United States of America shall come out of the present conflict as the dominant world power; that Washington shall become the capital of the world; that American leadership, American finance, American organization, American skills, American industry and labor, and American charitable agencies shall be called upon to play the major role in the rehabilitation of Great Britain, Asi, Australia, the Dutch East Indies and Malaya, Burma and the Philippines. We are convinced also that it shall be necessary to mobilize the entire medical and scientfic resources of America to combat diseases, epidemics and famines in these stricken continents and islands, and to revitalize whole populations.

The pertinency of what Dr. Ernest Martin Hopkins, president of Dartmouth College said recently needs re-emphasis here. "This war," he said, "is going to alter radically the lives of every one of us. It not only will alter our lives during the immediate years after the war, but it will alter the lives on this planet throughout our lives and the lives of our children. And whether it is going to be the kind of a life in its influences and in its developments that we want it to be, and is going to be the kind of a life that will give us the most satisfaction in having lived, is going to be dependent on how we utilize these years that are right here now—on our understanding of what are the necessities of a post-war world after a catastrophe such as this is."

Enlightened statesmen and the liberals and lovers of justice throughout the world are lifting up their voices in unison in emphasizing the "necessities" of a post-war world — the core of which is primary recognition that another war is enevitable unless policies and laws and customs designed to perpetuate racial and national hates and distrusts are abolished in favour of the "four freedoms" which President Roosevelt has made the cardinal basis for a more peaceful and enduring civilization.

Racial minorities and colonial states entertain the hope that the gigantic program of world construction now being shaped may not indefinitely postpone consideration of their rights to larger representation in government and economic security.

Kansas City Call
Kansas City, Mo.

Sees Similarity in Speeches of Ethridge and Booker T.

By GEORGE F. McCRAY

Most striking is the similarity between that Birmingham speech of Mark Ethridge at the Birmingham hearings of the Fair Employment Practices committee in 1942 and that historic address of Booker T. Washington at the Atlanta exposition in 1895.

Both men were trying to persuade southern white people to support a limited program which the speakers believed to be of great immediate and ultimate value to the progress of Negroes and democracy.

Both Ethridge and Washington claimed the south could grant certain rights and privileges to the Negro out of sympathy, goodwill, or as a matter of right without disturbing the basic pattern of race separation and segregation. Washington illustrated his point by stating that the races should be as the fingers on the hand, separate, though unified and working in harmony.

Ethridge "went him one better" as the boys in the mills would have it. He asked for economic opportunity, the right to vote, and civil justice for Negroes. He also warned that all the mechanized power of war could not force the south to abandon the principle of race separation.

'Any-Type of Contract'

I certainly do agree with the type of criticism which Du-Bois, then a fledgling professor at Atlanta univ[illegible] and his associates used to tempt the compromise program which Dr. Washington was preaching in order to gain limited benefits for a people, whom southern reaction by 1895 had stripped of every prestige of citizenship.

Washington, seeing the Negro completely deserted by the north, opened (in trade union parlance) negotiations with the south with the feeling that any type of contract recognizing the mutual interests of Negroes and whites in the south would be a victory.

Many Negroes today think this any-type-of-contract policy was statesmanship of the highest rank; others still feel, however, it was a blunder of the greatest magnitude.

Despite the indecision on Booker T., one must agree with the essential criticism of the statement of Mark Ethridge as expressed by men like Earl B. Dickerson, Horace Cayton, and in the editorials of various Negro papers.

For despite whatever compromises we make for momentary expediency; despite whatever defeats we accept because of overwhelming pressure, we can never surrender our fight for equality of citizenship.

However, I think there is one question we should answer before marching on Louisville to scalp Mr. Ethridge in the offices of the Louisville Courier Journal. The question is this: "In terms of genuine progress what does southern liberaism as expressed by Mr. Ethridge offer Negroes and the south as a whole?"

Need Ethridge Now

If this question be answered from the point of view of our ultimate objective; namely, full social, political, and economic equality, I am certain we would overlook the strategic value of having men like Ethridge supporting us at this stage of our struggle.

It should make no difference to us at the moment if these men are supporting some of our demands because of a desire to protect the larger interests with which they are identified.

These men, certainly the liberal labor movement, feel the political suppression and the economic exploitation of Negro labor prevent the founding of the type of social order in which they and their ideas and interests can flourish.

Seek Worker Equality

If these men do not see eye to eye with us on the question of social equality and all our ultimate objectives, it is because they do not feel it is necessary to support these things in order to get what they want . . . namely, political and economic equality for all American workers. It would seem that the Negro will achieve equality as a worker long before he achieves it as a citizen for as a worker he is no longer a minority.

Now what attitude should Negroes take toward such men? Shall we observe no difference between them and men like Rankin from Mississippi, and Talmadge of Georgia? The latter group is not only opposed to social equality but to political, economic and civil rights for Negroes.

Minor Victories First

If we repudiate the limited support of men like Ethridge, where can we find men in the majority group who will make common cause with us on various issues of mutual interest?

The main strategic value of men like Ethridge and that small but growing body of southern liberals is the fact that these men are offering the Negro something which he does not have, but which is absolutely essential to the progress not only of Negroes but of the south generally.

And at the risk of infuriating the Negro all-or-nothing boys, it is well to point out we will win many minor equalities long before we win social equality or drive segregation and discrimination out of American life.

However, these minor victories will be the strategic positions which we will have captured by infiltration or assault, from which and only which we can launch an all out attack to win full social equality.

We Need a Program

Political and economic equality offered by the liberal labor movement and the civic and political liberals in the south offer us our best chances for immediate progress.

Then why aren't we out building a Negro-white progressive alliance? I think this failure is due to one thing. We Negroes know what we want ultimately, but I don't think we have the slightest idea about a program or a step method of achieving what we want. Failing this, much of our criticism is pointless and ineffective.

48b-1942
Amsterdam Star-News
New York, N. Y.

The Watchtower

By Roy Wilkins

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—Well, it has happened to Roland Hayes. If Roland Hayes can be beaten up and thrown in jail, his wife held in the cell with him, and his small daughter placed just outside the cell in Rome, Georgia, U. S. A., in 1942, then few, if any, Negroes are safe.



Mr. Wilkins

The white folks can spout all they please about democracy and they can "deplore" this and similar incidents, but until some direct action is taken the talk about democracy does not mean a thing. This writer went to Detroit just after the Sojourner Truth housing riot and wrote then that Negroes were "fed up with talk of democracy." Since that time other Negroes in other communities have made the sentiment unanimous. All across the continent on our way to the N. A. A. C. P. conference here we met and talked with our people. They all say the same thing. The shoe shine boys say they "don't want that democracy jive." A Pullman porter said: "They (the whites) have not given more than an inch and they need to do a lot more before they will be doing right by our people." The dining car waiter said: "It makes me sick to see the way they treat our boys in uniform . . . they are a long way from being fair."

Gets Information at Dance

A big, strapping man at the entrance here for the N. A. A. C. P. delegates stopped me in the lobby, apologized for talking shop while we were supposed to be relaxing from the conference grind. Said he: "I am a veteran of the first war. I would like to know what we are going to get for our patriotism in this war. They are not treating us right. Of course this is our country, but it looks like everyone else gets something out of it but us. You people in the East are closer to Washington. Does it really look like we are going to get a square deal this time?"

I could not answer him in the affirmative. I could not tell a lie because he and thousands like him can spot a lie before you can get the words out. They had read about Roland Hayes. They had read about the Texarkana lynching. They knew about the boys here in Los Angeles who tried to enlist in the Marines only to be told they would have to pay their way to Dallas, Tex., to enlist. And one of the biggest Marine training stations is three hours away in San Diego!

So I, who had read about Roland Hayes (doesn't it make your blood boil to think of that gentle, sensitive, cultured artist of international fame smashed in the face by a hulking cracker cop who probably never went beyond the fourth grade?) told him that things were not good, better than the last war, but still not good; and that if the Negro got anything out of the present situation he would have to take it by sheer power pressure and smart moves combined with war movements.

The spirit is in the air. Every one of the few appeasers present at the N. A. A. C. P. conference was blasted off the floor. The keynote speech of the convention was a call to militant action for results now, not after the war. The other speeches followed the same pattern. The meetings were packed to the rafters, with hundreds of standees. The greatest cheers were for straightforward talk.

The Hayes Case

Roland Hayes, beaten and handcuffed for the great "crime" of resenting the way his wife was treated by a shoe store clerk, is one more demonstration to Negro Americans that they must get together and fight or they are lost. For Hayes was defenseless. The poll tax and the white Democratic primary keep his people from having any power at the ballot box. A cop can beat him and even kill him in Georgia and nothing will be done about it.

That is the message for us. On every front, everywhere, there must be democracy for all or there will be democracy for none. There is no sense in fighting Hitler in Europe and "deploring" Hitlerism in Georgia.

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

L'Affaire Pegler

CAYTON BELIEVES PEGLER'S GREATEST SERVICE WAS TO SHOW NATION AND NEGRO PRESS ITS HISTORIC ROLE

BY HORACE R. CAYTON

WELL I'm not a guy that liked Pegler before he found out that the Negro had a legitimate beef—I didn't like his politics nor his economic thinking then and still don't. Now he has taken a forthright position on the Negro in his recent articles (hope he hasn't changed his point of view again before this comes out.) But as all of my colleagues have been talking about this, I'll use it simply as a jumping off point to discuss the question of the suppression of the Negro press.

There has been a lot of loose talk and veiled editorial comments about the possibility of suppression of the Negro press. As a matter of fact, Pegler friend was one of the first to bring this question out into the open. Perhaps that's why the Negro press as a group started a field day on Pegler—he was talking about something they feared and they felt they could criticize him with immunity. But be that as it may, the affaire Pegler illustrates the point that I would like to make about the social usefulness of the Negro press.

PEGLER COULDN'T LAUGH IT OFF

MR. PEGLER stated in his recent article that he became acquainted with a young Negro boy who had enlisted in the army. The fact that this lad had joined the army when he did not have to, and in spite of the jim crowism he would meet in the army and afterwards in civilian life, brought to the columnist an emotional realization of the depths of the problem "called Negro". It is my opinion that Pegler had an intellectual understanding of the problem by reading the Negro press long before he met this boy. This lad simply gave a pointed, personal meaning to the things he had read in cynical mode in Negro papers. Somehow even Pegler could not laugh off a kid who joined up to fight for a country that didn't give him much of a chance.

It is my contention that the whole Pegler affair was a blessing in disguise. Byt it, what the Negro press is trying to do to interpret life and current affairs to Negroes and whites in this country has been brought vividly to the attention of the entire nation. A few weeks' ago Pegler was classifying the Negro press with Father Coughlin's Social Justice and suggesting that it perhaps should be suppressed. Now we have a Pegler who has at one swoop shown to more people than the entire Negro press could reach in years both the seriousness of the position of Negroes in the United States and, at least by inference, how useful is the Negro press in fighting for the elemental rights of this country's largest racial minority.

WOULD BE STUPID

BUT let's go on to the general problem of the suppression of the Negro press. In the first place, it would be the most foolhardy and stupid of mistakes on the part of any administration. For a Roosevelt Administration with the Chicago Tribune, the New York Daily News and Mrs. Cissie Patterson sniping at their heels and John L. Lewis, stalking it like his namesake Joe—it would be almost fatal. No one knows this better than does the administration. Of course there are a lot of brass hats in the war department who are in favor of suppressing anything they don't like—but they aren't running the country yet, and God help the country when they do. People like the President, Wallace and the more enlightened politicians know that to drive the legitimate organ of protest of all Negroes underground would be fatal to democracy whether they care anything about Negroes or not.

How I ask you could we face Mr. Nehru and the Indian people if the Negro press were suppressed? How would we explain it to our Chinese allies or to the brown and black people of South America? Then we are going to have an election in this country in 1944 and there are a million or so Negro votes to be counted. I tell you this stuff about suppressing the Negro press is the bunk.

The Negro press has won a number of victories—not for Negroes but for the theory and practice of democracy. Take the matter of the Navy. It was because of the insistent demands of the Negro press that the Navy finally opened up its doors to Negroes. The concessions which have been granted by the army (small as they are) represent victories for the Negro press. The entire fight for civil liberties is another instance in which the black newspapers have made a contribution to all Americans—white or black.

FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM

THE role of the Negro press in this crisis has been historically defined and the Negro press will not fail to do its duty. I'm no Joe Louis and so I can't make a slogan for the Army, but I do know that we are fighting on the side of democracy—democracy for all of the people and, as I get it, that's what it's all about.

So we (and I am glad to be able to count myself as a small cog in this mighty machine, the Negro press) are fighting for freedom. It is imperative that we continue to fight the infamy of jim crowism, segregation and discrimination in the armed forces of the nation which makes a "mockery" of democracy and humiliates and degrades both Negroes and whites. It is our sacred trust to fight this in the army, the navy and in any place that the degradation of people is the first prerequisite of their serving their country.

This, my friends and my colleagues, is our first obligation given to us by history. As Americans, as Negroes, as believers in democracy we cannot evade it. The Negro press will not be suppressed if it is forthright, fearless and decent. "We are fighting," as Mr. Louis says, "on God's side."



Mr. Cayton

Amsterdam News
New York, N. Y.

As the Crow Flies

By W. E. B. DU BOIS

THE race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong; but England, Russia and China are steadily losing the war and America has not yet begun to fight.



Dr. Du Bois

The justice of Taxation lies not in ease of collection but in equitable distribution of burden. The present bill before Congress, will make the poor pay more than the rich, when one considers their relative income. And what else should be considered?

The West Indies can raise such vital necessities as rubber, hemp, quinine and palm oil. But why not try, in this case, good wages, civilized conditions

of work, compulsory education, and democratic forms of government; instead of the exploiting monopoly methods of the East Indies? In other words, why not mean what we say?

Plans for a Book

I have a book in mind and I am going to outline it in these columns. Say a chapter to a column. The subject will be: Culture, Color and Income; it will be an essay on the way human beings act; and how that action is modified and directed by Habit and Custom and Agreement. How again human deeds are guided by inborn physical differences—such as psychological reaction, natural gifts; size, strength and color. Finally and most important, I want to explore the influence of income on human deeds: How men act, achieve, fail, because of the possibility vouchsafed them to enjoy the goods and services and opportunities of this world. This last I will frankly base on that infinitely poignant word of Odell Waller:

> "In my case I worked hard from sunup until sundown, trying to make a living for my family and it ended in death for me. You take big people as the President, Governors, judges: Their children don't never have to suffer. They has plenty money. Born in a mansion, nothing to worry about. I am glad some people are that lucky."

Chapter One: Culture

Words change their meanings from generation to generation. Such changes are often unknown, unnoticed or forgotten. So when, for instance, the word "invaluable," changes from its old meaning of "no value," to a totally different meaning of inestimable. Much more mystifying is the change in the meaning of a substantive like "culture." In the 19th Century, culture meant education, refinement, good manners. It still retains that meaning in some connotations; but it has taken on a new and significant meaning, especially in scientific discussion of social change: It means in this case, manners, whether good or bad; customs which people, generation after generation have learned to follow, until they become more deep-seated than statute law; until such culture patterns of thought and action, become the most powerful indication of a people's inner soul. It is only recently that students have realized the real meaning of a people's customs. In other days we used to think that what we did was right and wise, while all customs of others which differed were wrong, funny or heathen.

Man Began Early

In some way, primitive man, began to do things in a certain way. He hunted with arrows; he cooked with fire; he welded iron. How he learned to do these things, it is difficult to say: Sometimes by chance; again by repeated experiment; sometimes by imitation. Then these methods and a thousand others—actions, thoughts, words; family customs, methods of work, methods of play—were handed down from father to son, and son's sons, until a definite, largely complete culture of a folk appeared—a holy, untouchable thing.

We have come to realize in the 20th Century, what strong, peculiar and characteristic thing a culture is. All cultures are unique and yet bear wide resemblances. The new study of human cultures of all time is today the study of man—anthropology; the pre-history of human conduct, and the introduction to the social sciences.

Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

— World Horizon —

By S. A. HAYNES

Pegler Writes Nicely About Us — Is This Fear Or Conversion?

WE WERE about to comment this week on the serious development in India where the uncompromising Mahatma Gandhi and the bull-headed government of Prime Minister Winston Churchill are about to engage in another titanic battle over the question of complete independence for India, which may have disastrous results for the [illegible] of the United Nations, when we took time out to read Westbrook Pegler's column last Friday.



S. A. HAYNES

We will comment on the Indian situation later. Mr. Pegler's latest dissertation on the Negro is so much more sympathetic than his previous blasts against the Negro press, we feel impelled to give space here to certain pertinent opinions expressed by him which may have escaped quite a few people. In line with the policy of most white men in public life to preface compliments to, and emphasize friendship for the Negro by relating the virtues of an old "Southern Mammy," or the simple traits of a Negro servant or acquaintance, Pegler opened his release by paying tribute to a young Negro soldier of 18, the uncle of whom he claims as "one of my close friends."

"UNCOMPLAINING" AND "HAPPY"

The service lad, about to depart for a foreign battlefield was denied service in a white restaurant in Florida, and subjected to humiliations common to hundreds of Negro soldiers in Southern army camps. Impressed by the fact that the Florida experience left the young soldier "uncomplaining" and "happy," at the very moment of embarkation, Pegler was inspired to write on the questionable status of the American Negro in the post-war world.

Before we applaud Pegler for this choice release about us, let us wait and see whether he wrote it under the fire of conversion to human decency and respect for the truth, or whether it was "dictated" by his boss who can no longer remain indifferent to the overwhelming weight of public opinion which is against Peglerism as expressed in anti-Negro tirades, and even more viciously in exploiting the weaknesses of the American Labor Movement.

Powerful unions of the AFL and the CIO threaten to cease patronage of newspapers carrying Pegler's column unless he tones down his vicious attacks, and are receiving strong support from the Negro and his friends. The manner in which the columnist went on the defensive in recent weeks, suggests that his boss no longer believes that Peglerism can withstand the onrushing tide of public disfavour. Is the boss and his puppet fearful of the inevitable? Has the Scripps-Howard syndicate seen the light?

Pegler said he is glad he provoked discussion of the weaknesses of the Negro press because the experience made him realize what awful conditions white indifference has put upon Negro fellow Americans. "If I were a Negro," he climaxed, "I would live in constant fury" etc. Is this the language of the convert? Or is it a sap to placate his critics?

New York Age
New York, N. Y.

Across The Desk

By LUDLOW W. WERNER

RACE MISLEADERS

One of the crying needs of the Negro today is leadership, real leadership as opposed to assumed leadership. The lack of the right kind of leaders has been, and is now, responsible for the present plight of the Negro in America. Lest this be construed as an indictment against those leaders who are earnest and sincere and are really attempting to do a job, I hasten to say that unfortunately their number is far too small for the task that lies ahead of us.

Not only do we need leadership to guide us in world affairs, but also do we need leadership to chart our personal courses. So that it was with chagrin that I read an Associated Press dispatch from Louisville, Ky., that "The American Negro was advised today by one of his leaders, 'This is not the time for the Negro to unduly press for advantages'."



Ludlow W. Werner

The statement was made before the two-day planning session of the American Teachers Association by Dr. F. M. Wood, former president of Kentucky State College for Negroes, and now supervisor in the Baltimore school system.

Dr. Wood is quoted as having said: "Regardless of the shortcomings in the United States system of government, wartime is no time to raise such issues."

The statement is not surprising in view of the fact that Dr. Wood, as a former president of the Kentucky State College for Negroes and at present supervisor in the Baltimore school system, must be thoroughly schooled in what his "boss man" would have him say. As onetime president of a jim crow college and now as supervisor of a jim crow public school system he wouldn't be expected to say anything else. He wouldn't be expected to say to Negroes that he is opposed to the various indignities and inequalities suffered by them in these United States. That is, he wouldnt say those things and continue to hold his job or be considered a "good Negro." So that is the price that Negroes say. Because one Negro who holds a position is the price that Negroes pay. Because one Negro who holds a position the race must suffer.

I should like to ask Dr. Wood when does he feel is the time to not only talk but also do something about the shortcomings right here at home. Does he advocate that Negroes supinely sit by and watch Negro soldiers and members of the armed forces shot down, arrested and brutalized by Southern white policemen? Does he advocate that Negroes sit down and remain silent while war production work remains at less than half-capacity for lack of manpower because Negroes are not hired by prejudiced plant owners? Does he advocate that the jim crow system which he apparently loves be allowed to spread because Negroes remain silent?

Not even the President of the United States thinks it unwise for Negroes to agitate for their rights. For if he did he would not have issued his now famous Executive Order 8892, the Navy would not have changed its policy of enlistments as far as Negroes are concerned, and the Army would not have promoted to Brigadier General, Benjamin O. Davis, or integrated Negroes into every phase of its services, even to activating a Negro Pursuit Squadron in the Army Air Force.

Negroes like Dr. Wood do our race a great disservice when they publicly advocate "Uncle Tomism" and satisfaction with conditions. There is no more loyal or patriotic a citizen than the Negro, and fighting for his rights NOW does not make him any less loyal or patriotic a citizen. In fact it makes him more of a citizen because he is able to more fully assume the obligations and duties imposed on all citizens in times of war.

48b-1942
New York Age
New York, N. Y.

Across The Desk

By LUDLOW W. WERNER

PEGLER AGAIN!

A couple of cloumns back I gave Westbrook Pegler hell and said that he was to be more pitied than censored because he had shown "his abyssmal ignorance of things Negro." But just as quickly as I can condemn a man when he is wrong I can bestow praise on him when he is right.

In his Thursday, July 16, column, Westbrook Pegler acknowledged his ignorance and wrote a column about the Negro which showed that the recent storm of criticism which fell on his head from the Negro press did some good. For [illegible] thing, Pegler is now admitting that the lot of the Negro is not a happy one and concludes by saying "If I were a Negro I would live in constant fury and probably would batter myself to death against the bars inclosing my condition."



Ludlow W. Werner

"Some time ago," his column starts off, "a Negro boy whom I have known about three years came to New York with his regiment and telephoned his uncle, who is one of my close friends, to say that he had a few hours in town before embarking for an unknown destination, somewhere oversea. The boy is only 18 years old. He is an orphan and a volunteer soldier who might have waited for the draft and might have tried to make himself indispensable at a bench or lathe in some war factory. He enlisted last fall on his own decision from motives that make him a worthy comrade-in-arms of Buth O'Hara or Colin Kelly or Douglas MacArthur and to the approving and proud surprise of his uncle and aunt, who are his only living relatives. He had lived with his old grandmother in the outskirts of Jacksonville, Fla., until she died, in a region which must have been a ramshackle, smelly slum if I know my Jacksonville, as I certainly do.

"His uncle then brought the orphan to New York and put him into a suburban high school for a term or two, where he did all right. Then abruptly, he quit and got work at a succession of such jobs as are available to Negro boys. He was now on his own and free to go helling around the drinking joints of Harlem until all hours and to get into trouble and, in some reckless or accidental adventure, establish a permanent police record as a bad actor, if he felt so inclined.

"But last fall he enlisted and was sent to a number of army places before he found himself back in Florida driving a big truck. He didn't tell me, he didn't have to tell anyone because everybody knows that, although he was an American soldier in the uniform of his country, in Florida he still found himself in a class below that of the most treacherous undiscovered traitor of the German Bund and barred not only from the haunts of the white civilians whose very lives he had volunteered to defend with his life, but forbidden even to buy a sandwich or a glass of milk in a white restaurant.

"Nevertheless, at the very moment of embarkation for a voyage through dangerous waters to face other dangers overseas, he not only was uncomplaining but happy and anxious only lest his uncle worry about him.

"Now, assuming that this boy comes back from the war to a victorious country, what status will he come back to? Will he be nigger-ized again and restricted to menial jobs, Jim-Crowed and driven back to the dreadful ghettos of our cities or will he be treated as an American?

I doubt that consciously this boy has any idea that in fighting the foreign enemy of his country and of all freedom he is fighting a special fight of his own people for a decent measure of opportunity and consideration from the white Americans. But shame, if no other force, should compel the white American to face at last the fact that this boy and his people are the victims of a dirty deal that simply cannot go on. He cannot be asked to fight. His patriotic offer of his life cannot be accepted in human decency if, when it is all over, he is to be barred absolutely from all decent and pleasant surroundings for his home by reason of his race, barred from the trades and the factories and, in politics, only exploited as a club in the hands of one faction to beat another.

"The injustice to the Negro people of the United States is more a matter of superstition, tradition, ignorance and indifference than of conscious cruelty in the hearts of the white men. They live among us, but we do not know them. Except when they erupt and riots result, we ignore their existence. We accept foreigners from Europe and organize leagues to protect their rights, we welcome them into all our residential districts with no more restraint than that of snobbery and all our professions and trades are open to them. But the Negro who was born among us and fights for the United States when war is up is told to stand aside because he is a Negro.

"Although my recent adventure with the Negro press has subjected me to some spiritual violence, I am glad I provoked the subject because the experience has made me realize what awful conditions our indifference has put upon these fellow Americans. If I were a Negro I would live in constant fury and probably would batter myself to death against the bars inclosing my condition. I would not be a sub-American or a subhuman being, and, in docile patience, forever yield my rightful aspiration to be a man, to work, to progress and to move out of the slums; yield even to strangers come from other countries, including even strangers who had fought against me in the wars.'"

Yes, this is the same Westbrook Pegler on whom fell the massed hell and damnation of the Negro press generally for his columns on the Negro press. This is the same Pegler who in his April 28th column wrote: "These Negro papers agitate violently and, I think, to the same dangerous degree that was alleged against Charles R. Coughlin's weekly, particularly in their appeal to colored soldiers whose loyalty is constantly bedeviled with doubts and with the race-angling of news."

So, perhaps, Pegler's latest column on the Negro will tend to offset some of the harm that he did. At least it shows that he is broad enough to admit that he didn't know what he was writing about when he wrote his first few columns on the Negro.

EDITOR'S DIGEST



By ROBERT DURR

"White Men Think"

Birmingham, Ala.

We have a lot of white leaders, with some of them we often have a heart to heart talk—man to man. We really enjoy talking with a lot of them for in this way we have been able to better understand each other. Most people are really decent at heart and you find that out once you have "a prayer meeting" with each other on matters pertaining to our mutual welfare. If you have reason to disagree with people, very often you will find them quite willing to work with you most satisfactory in efforts to make things better for all.

Early this week a white man, whom I have never seen, called me from out in West End of Birmingham and informed me that he was a regular of this newspaper and asked me if I knew Mr. Robert W. Kincey of the Birmingham News. I told him I knew Mr. Kincey, but had not had the pleasure of meeting him. My caller told me of an article Mr. Kincey wrote under the title, "Business, Industry and Defense" in a recent issue of The Birmingham News-Age-Herald. In the course of our very pleasant conversation, this white man said he felt that the white man owed it to himself to take a helpful interest in the problems of the Negro people. And to this of course I said, Amen, Amen.

I asked this white friend to send me the clipping of Mr. Kincey's article. Here is what Mr. Kincey said:

"A VISITOR from New York is interested, among other things, in the probable future of industry in the South after the war. He is interested in the so-called Negro question. He is interested in the war "consciousness" of the people of these Southern communities.

Because I talked to this department it seems appropriate to mention, briefly something of the conclusions that were presented to him .

As to Southern industry and all industry after the war, one person's guess is as good as another's. Nevertheless, and regardless of what industry in the East may think of industry in the South there are many reasons to believe and even to predict that the South, with special reference to iron and steel, will be in a stronger position after this war than it has ever been.

Capital investments, even though made primarily to expedite the war effort, will be called upon to make the most substantial return possible long after the war shall have been forgotten. Manufacturing economies in the South, with particular reference to the Birmingham industrial district, are coming to be generally recognized largely because of the proximity of essential ingredents and the generally favorable climatic conditions.

It is inconceivable, then, that these major capital investments shall not be given the most carefull consideration in plans for the national industrial picture of the future.

As to the "Negro question", the problem is being handled, for the most part, intelligently and with the understanding that it is essentially a long range problem. The truth is that the Negro in the South has not, in many instances, been made to realize and to appreciate his responsibility, either as a citizen or as a worker. That is due in large measure, to the fact that he has been handicapped educationally and economically.

Even a tthe expense of condemnation and criticism, we say, as a native of the Black Belt of Alabama:

1. That the rank and file of the Negro population of Alabama does not seek and does not want what it should be as a consumer.

2. That the Negro is, with the proper training and education and realization of his responsibility as a citizen and as a producer, and that he should be encouraged in his purchasing power be increased.

3. That equal opportunity economically should be afforded him citizenship to the extent that he must be a producer, especially in times like these, rather than strictly a consumer.

4. That he should be given proper training to make a greater

5. That the "Negro question"

48b-1942
New York Age
New York, N. Y.

Across The Desk

By LUDLOW W. WERNER

PEGLER AGAIN!

A couple of cloumns back I gave Westbrook Pegler hell and said that he was to be more pitied than censored because he had shown "his abyssmal ignorance of things Negro." But just as quickly as I can condemn a man when he is wrong I can bestow praise on him when he is right.

In his Thursday, July 16, column, Westbrook Pegler acknowledged his ignorance and wrote a column about the Negro which showed that the recent storm of criticism which fell on his head from the Negro press did some good. For one thing, Pegler is now admitting that the lot of the Negro is not a happy one and concludes by saying "If I were a Negro I would live in constant fury and probably would batter myself to death against the bars inclosing my condition."



Ludlow W. Werner

"Some time ago," his column starts off, "a Negro boy whom I have known about three years came to New York with his regiment and telephoned his uncle, who is one of my close friends, to say that he had a few hours in town before embarking for an unknown destination, somewhere oversea. The boy is only 18 years old. He is an orphan and a volunteer soldier who might have waited for the draft and might have tried to make himself indispensable at a bench or lathe in some war factory. He enlisted last fall on his own decision from motives that make him a worthy comrade-in-arms of Buth O'Hara or Colin Kelly or Douglas MacArthur and to the approving and proud surprise of his uncle and aunt, who are his only living relatives. He had lived with his old grandmother in the outskirts of Jacksonville, Fla., until she died, in a region which must have been a ramshackle, smelly slum if I know my Jacksonville, as I certainly do.

"His uncle then brought the orphan to New York and put him into a suburban high school for a term or two, where he did all right. Then abruptly, he quit and got work at a succession of such jobs as are available to Negro boys. He was now on his own and free to go helling around the drinking joints of Harlem until all hours and to get into trouble and, in some reckless or accidental adventure, establish a permanent police record as a bad actor, if he felt so inclined.

"But last fall he enlisted and was sent to a number of army places before he found himself back in Florida driving a big truck. He didn't tell me, he didn't have to tell anyone because everybody knows that, although he was an American soldier in the uniform of his country, in Florida he still found himself in a class below that of the most treacherous undiscovered traitor of the German Bund and barred not only from the haunts of the white civilians whose very lives he had volunteered to defend with his life, but forbidden even to buy a sandwich or a glass of milk in a white restaurant.

"Nevertheless, at the very moment of embarkation for a voyage through dangerous waters to face other dangers overseas, he not only was uncomplaining but happy and anxious only lest his uncle worry about him.

"Now, assuming that this boy comes back from the war to a victorious country, what status will he come back to? Will he be niggerized again and restricted to menial jobs, Jim-Crowed and driven back to the dreadful ghettos of our cities or will he be treated as an American?

I doubt that consciously this boy has any idea that in fighting the foreign enemy of his country and of all freedom he is fighting a special fight of his own people for a decent measure of opportunity and consideration from the white Americans. But shame, if no other force, should compel the white American to face at last the fact that this boy and his people are the victims of a dirty deal that simply cannot go on. He cannot be asked to fight. His patriotic offer of his life cannot be accepted in human decency if, when it is all over, he is to be barred absolutely from all decent and pleasant surroundings for his home by reason of his race, barred from the trades and the factories and, in politics, only exploited as a club in the hands of one faction to beat another.

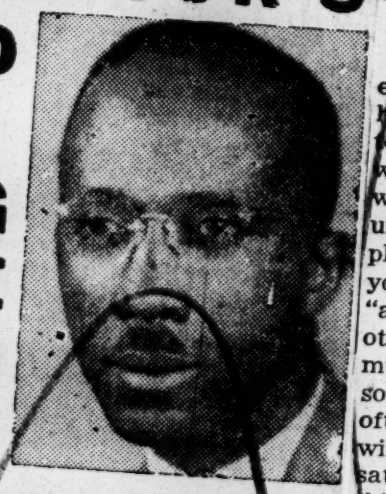
"The injustice to the Negro people of the United States is more a matter of superstition, tradition, ignorance and indifference than of conscious cruelty in the hearts of the white men. They live among us, but we do not know them. Except when they erupt and riots result, we ignore their existence. We accept foreigners from Europe and organize leagues to protect their rights, we welcome them into all our residential districts with no more restraint than that of snobbery and all our professions and trades are open to them. But the Negro who was born among us and fights for the United States when war is up is told to stand aside because he is a Negro.

"Although my recent adventure with the Negro press has subjected me to some spiritual violence, I am glad I provoked the subject because the experience has made me realize what awful conditions our indifference has put upon these fellow Americans. If I were a Negro I would live in constant fury and probably would batter myself to death against the bars inclosing my condition. I would not be a sub-American or a subhuman being, and, in docile patience, forever yield my rightful aspiration to be a man, to work, to progress and to move out of the slums; yield even to strangers come from other countries, including even strangers who had fought against me in the wars.'"

Yes, this is the same Westbrook Pegler on whom fell the massed hell and damnation of the Negro press generally for his columns on the Negro press. This is the same Pegler who in his April 28th column wrote: "These Negro papers agitate violently and, I think, to the same dangerous degree that was alleged against Charles R. Coughlin's weekly, particularly in their appeal to colored soldiers whose loyalty is constantly bedeviled with doubts and with the race-angling of news."

So, perhaps, Pegler's latest column on the Negro will tend to offset some of the harm that he did. At least it shows that he is broad enough to admit that he didn't know what he was writing about when he wrote his first few columns on the Negro.

EDITOR'S DIGEST



By ROBERT DURR

"White Men Think"

Birmingham, Ala.

We have a lot of white leaders, with some of them we often have a heart to heart talk—man to man. We really enjoy talking with a lot of them for in this way we have been able to better understand each other. Most people are really decent at heart and you find that out once you have "a prayer meeting" with each other on matters pertaining to our mutual welfare. If you have reason to disagree with people, very often you will find them quite willing to work with you most satisfactory in efforts to make things better for all.

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As to the "Negro question", the problem is being handled, for the most part, intelligently and with the understanding that it is essentially a long range problem. The truth is that the Negro in the South has not, in many instances, been made to realize and to appreciate his responsibility, either as a citizen or as a worker. That is due in large measure, to the fact that he has usually called social equality.

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2. That the proper training and education of his responsibility as a citizen and as a producer, and that he should be encouraged in

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can be more intelligently and satisfactorily handled by our own Negro leaders and liberal white men, working together, than by any interference from elsewhere, no matter how well-intentioned, and that there is a growing realization of the prejudice heretofore prevalent in this section, along wit han equally growing tendency to discard much of that prejudice. Criticism from outside the South is usually resented, but it would be foolish for us to deny that such criticism has often awakened us to the need of making changes.

6. That the Negro and the white man in the South are friends and that, all things considered, the Negro has made and will continue to make rapid strides educationally and economically which will, in turn, make for a better race of solid, substantial citizens.

As to the war consciousness of the people of the South, they are, like the people of all other sections of the United States, not fully alive to the imminent danger. They are beginning to feel the pinch in a mild way. Like the people of the North, the East and the West, they will make whatever sacrifice, in time money or blood it takes to write a successful conclusion to the struggle."

On point number one, I can say, that history proves that the Negro never has wanted what is called "social equality". A recent survey by a white man and woman in Harlem, where there are thousands of "street walkers" of both races, reveals that when the question was asked why there were no reports of rape by Negro men on the women of either race, the reply came back that the Negro was not interested in women of the other race, preferring the association of his own women. You hear a great deal about this that and the other in the south on the same score as a basis of creating bogeys about interracial association, but hundreds of Negro women can tell you that they are constantly molested in their homes, along the streets and elsewhere by trashy white men. So on the whole, it may safely be said that there are good and bad in both groups, but by and large, most of both groups, do not want what is called "social equality" as a matter of policy and never will, within or without either group, because there is nothing to be gained by such, but the Negro wants social justice—plain and simple and not a type of social justice especially designed by some one else for the Negro as if he were a lower order of human beings. That is why we hate Hitler, with all our souls. The Negro wants to share equally in the benefits of a democratic social order, and without this he can not be happy.

On point number two, the Negro feels that the whole of society would be, wholesomely invigorated by equality of opportunity along all lines.

On point number three the Negro holds that on such equality the south should dedicate itself religiously, if it is to rid itself of the backwardness which gives the ground upon which some call the south the economic problem number one of the nation.

And on point number four this department agrees wholeheartedly with Mr. Kincey.

On number five Mr. Kincey expresses my conviction and the end to which I have dedicated newspaper and myself.

On number five, I affirm that the Negro is the white man's best friend, he has proven it in spirit and in deed. And the white man of the south ought to see above everything else, that the Negro's friendship is not in vain and prove it by making up for all the Negro has deserved for so long. The white man has an inescapable responsibility in that connection. No one can make him do what he should do, nevertheless the responsibility is there and a destiny stronger than life and will hold him accountable for a honorable discharge of that responsibility.

Enlightened whites and blacks of the south must find a middle ground upon which to build as friends, a better way of life for both, as friends.

There is so much good to be done in the south. The rocks, red hills, weeds, and rivers, must be scientifically converted into the needs of people everywhere, to increase the income of the common people of both races as well as those on the other side of the railroad tracks. The road to God runs through men. The road to a better south must run through and out from the brains of both whites and blacks developed to the fullest possible extent, in order all may make the greatest possible contribution in the building of a more abundant life for all.

There is no reason for hatred, fear, prejudice, exploitation and oppression. We are our own best keepers in proportion as we realize that we are not only our brothers' keepers, be they white or black, but that we are our brothers' brothers.

It remains for us to lay aside every sentimental weight which so easily besets us, hatreds based upon the neglects and wrongs of the past and work together—one for all and all for one. Any other course is silly, and will do more harm than can be afforded or repaired.

Enlightened white people are not enemies of black people. I can recall, even back in my younger days when I use to teach school in the deep woods of Mississippi, southern white teachers, used to meet me on the road to and from school and labor with me about doing this or that as a means of achieving some of my ambitions.

Back there in the deep, deep woods of Mississippi, where I used to hear my father early in the morning humming, "By And By When The Morning Come We Will Understand" or "Lord I Didn't Know I Had To Bow So Low", I saw the answers to his early morning prayers in Mississippi, in white merchants, bankers, lawyers, who in a lot of cases did all they could—more than they sometimes would do for their own relatives, to help me achieve much of that which makes it possible for me to serve as your editor today. They gave me the respect I gave myself. A lot of them would have done much more had they not been afraid of the unenlightened of their own race. Our understanding was on the individual basis They were not untrue to their own, they did not expect me to untrue to my own. They belonged to me and I belonged to them. We did whatever good we could together, even if we did have to do a lot of it by way of the "underground railroad" method.

When I take an inventory of friends who have supported our efforts with this newspaper. I find that a lot of white people have done all they could to help just as a lot of Negroes have done. I would have it no other way, for while I plead a lot for my own people, I am no racists. I believe in the efficiacy of the higher and middle ground.

In all the above related experiences, we have tried to be understanding, patient, honest and fearless in our attitudes.

We have not tried to be selfish. We have not wanted to uplift any at the expense of others, although we have felt that the strong should bear the infirmities of the weak. We have not asvocated upholding any at the expense of others.

We know the south—its whites and Negroes. And we know that, "as close as sin and suffering joined, the oppressor and the oppressed march to fate abreast." We believe the south can be made to stand upon its own feet in proportion as social-minded whites and blacks dedicate themselves to the enormous task of developing blacks and whites to the fullest extent to the end that all may have a more abundant life.

Any advantage gained, manitained or sought by either group at the expense of the other may be likened unto the well known mill stone around the neck of all.

Let There Be No Strife Between Us

(A SOUTHERN CHARTER)

"The Weekly Review"

I make bold to hold that there is no need today for strife between the white and black people of the south and the nation. The natural resources of this nation are sufficient for all the peoples of this nation for many generations unborn. There is plenty here for an abundant life for everyone.

There are millions of acres of land which need to be scientifically tilled to the end that we may have all the bread, all the people need to make them healthy, strong and happy indeed. There are so many books to be written—so many songs to be sung—so much good work to be done in order that we may have here in the United States a plenty for all the people out of that which we may get from the weeds, air, farm products— so much to be done in the field of mastering the diseases which destroy so many of us each year. We have yet to find a charter of the peace which is unlike the peace which prevails in Sing Sing between the disarmed prisoners and the armed guards.

Much of the soil in which grows the agitation by some whites and some blacks today to the detrement of all, is the soil of misunderstanding. I don't think our white people have ever encouraged the the Negro to frankly and honestly tell them of their true feelings and aspirations. I think too many Negroes have lied to white people about themselves for a loaf of bread or because they thought that the best way to get along with them. A good way of life cannot be built on lies, pretensions bathed in fear.

The truth hurts, but I believe, truth and only truth can set us free in the south from the things which make for strfe between the whites and blacks. Whites can not lay any good program which will yield peace and a harmonious relation between the races in studies and plannings in which honest God fearing Negroes have no voice of their own. How on earth can any doctor help any patient without first getting an honest answer from the patient himself. No lawyer can adequately defend a client unless the client is honest with his lawyer. We must know the truth and in order to know the truth we must be willing to face facts unvarnished.

Talk about the Pearl Harbor infamy, is but a shadow of the infamy which would result from the southern white man resorting to organized and streamlined violence and oppression against the Negro in the south.

This Negro in the south today is the son and daughter of the Negro, who in days of the civil war stayed at home and protected with his life, the wives, daughters and young sons of his slave masters who were away fighting for what they thought to be right. Are the sons and daughters of the "Black Mammies' 'of the south to be repaid for their sweat, blood and toil which has enabled the white people of the south to have so much of the cream of life, with discrimination ,injustice and a restrictive life in this land of a plenty for everyone?

Again, I say based upon the Negroes' loyalty, his sweat, blood and toil, even his lieing about this, that and the other to get along, there is really no need for strife between the white people and the black people of the south based upon color.

There is so much work for all of us to do—constructive work, that none of us can spare the time and energy for one moment, to engage in hate and oppression efforts.

There is a great deal of talk about statewide and southwide organizations for this, that and the other. Organizations are quite alright as long as they are constructive and moved forward on the TRUTH. If we are to have organizations to deal with the race question, those organizations will do constructive work in proportion as they are able to face the facts. We have not been honest and honorable in dealing with I say there is no need for strife between the races here in the south. There is plenty here for all of us and there is too darn much constructive work to be done, which if we get down to it, we will not have time or reason for arguing and fighting.

Much of this mess is due to poverty we must away with, for again,

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Again, I say based upon the Negroes' loyalty, his sweat, blood and toil, even his lieing about this, that and the other to get along, there is really no need for strife between the white people and the black people of the south based upon color.

There is so much work for all of us to do—constructive work, that none of us can spare the time and energy for one moment, to engage in hate and oppression efforts.

There is a great deal of talk about statewide and southwide organizations for this, that and the other. Organizations are quite cold-blooded facts In the face est and h alright as long as they are con- of science and the religion of race probl structive and moved forward on Jesus and not the religion about tions bas the TRUTH. If we are to have Jesus or race religion. truths. organizations to deal with the We are always going to have race question, those organizations trouble as long as men are a- will do constructive work in pro- fraid to be honest with each other portion as they are able to face We have not as a rule been hon- Much of this mess is due to done, which if we get down to our po poverty we must doing it, we will not have time can do away with, for again, or reason for arguing and fight- I say there is no need for strife between the races here in the south. There is plenty here for all of us and there is too darn much constructive work to be

48c-1942
Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.

THIS MORNING



by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

"A maid of all work, whether coarse or fine,
A servant who made service seem divine!"

12/10/42

* * *

Something that is going to have to be developed into a much finer art after the war than it is today is domestic service. It could be improved in hundreds of ways, and it is so intimate and important a service that unless it is indeed improved a great many so-called domestic servants are going to be without any jobs after the war. In these war-times when it is so easy to get a job and so easy in many cases to get along without a job, something to think about is a day to come when there will be a shortage of jobs and of money, too, and when your present attitude, your efficiency, faithfulness and fair-dealing with your employer, or your lack of these things, will make a world of difference in how you fare. Many people who can get jobs now or do without are going to find themselves in a bad fix then if they acquire a bad name now. In domestic service and every other important work a time is coming when something is going to have to be done not only for protection and advancement but for quality in work and for character and responsibility in workers.

* * *

In the better world for which all of us are hoping, we are going to have to give at least as much attention to delivering the goods as to getting our chance. The right to work is going to have to be thought of as accompanied by the duty to work faithfully and well.

* * * 12/10/42

A peace all love and white wonder is much to be desired, of course, but the trouble is that if we presume such things have come to pass or are coming we are likely to get a peace all confusion and instability. Certainly the honest but impractical idealists are right when they beg for more of the spirit of brotherhood and unselfishness and say that unless something of that climate is brought about no peace will endure. Certainly they are right when they suspect that force alone will never keep the peace. There must be something else, as every municipal police commissioner knows. The handful of policemen retained for keeping the peace could never do it if everybody were against keeping the peace or if a large minority thought the peace needed to be broken. The extra something that enables a city police force to keep the peace is not love and white wonder, though. It is public common sense and an ideal of justice.

* * *

That "common sense of most" is the thing to be relied upon hereafter for keeping the "fretful realms in awe," it seems to this column. Let's develop with it all the spirit of brotherhood and sacrifice we can, for we are going to need it in all our businesses. But let's not make the mistake we made before of presuming that enough of these noble things exist, or can be induced, to make a peace all by themselves.

* * *

In common sense we know now, after two ghastly lessons in one quarter century, that America must take its international part in peace-times not only against the aggressors but also against the things that make aggressors aggress. We know that in one way or another there must come a world order which will establish a live and let-live regime in international relations and remove those factors in international competition which cause the eventual resorts to arms. But in the name of all we should have learned from the last peace and of all that is precious and possible in the hope these days engender, let us not be lost again in killing sentimentalities.

* * * 12/10/42

We lost the last peace largely because of American isolationism and cynicism but partly because of American sentimentality. The threat to the peace this time will be proportioned the other way. There will be less danger of losing it through isolationism and cynicism than through want of a common-sence realization that the millennium is still afar off and that men are still going to have their human frailties.

* * *

Down from Moscow, down from Rzhev, down from the northern and southern vicinities of Stalingrad, down along the whole thousand miles of smoking front, the great arm of a victory V is closing upon the German armies. The ice-covered counter-attack sweeps on and on. The fearful symmetry is plain as nightmare on Hitler's maps. The longest left flank ever exposed is being destroyed. The greatest battle in the history of the world is being lost by the most monstrous aggressor in history. What times are these to live in!

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.



THIS MORNING

by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

"Rise like lions after slumber
In unvanquishable number
Shake your chains to earth like dew
Which in sleep had fallen on you . . ."

* * *

All that Germany and Japan did so well in their beginning, America is beginning to do well now—and that means their ending. The perfect timing and organization of the descent on North Africa recalled the German march into the Lowlands and France. The brilliant flanking and infiltrating with which MacArthur's Americans and Australians have pushed the Japs back in New Guinea and now threaten their whole position in those southernmost islands recalls what the Japs themselves accomplished in Malaya. The American, British and French moves into Tunisia, with massed power and numbers, suggest the earlier German moves into Poland, the Balkans and Greece. Most of all, the gradual but sure assumption by our planes of air commands all over the planet, numbers of planes matched by power and modernity of planes, recalls when Germany owned the air and it became obvious that the ownership was victory's great prerequisite.

* * *

Like lions after slumber, in unvanquishable number, America is rising at last. Democracy, aroused and armed, is going into action—and no power on earth can match it.

Nov. 21, 1942

That good philosopher T. V. Smith wasted no time trying to prove it was all a meaningless accident when he appeared on the America's Town Meeting of the Air program Thursday evening on the subject of what the recent Democratic defeat meant. He thought there were many meanings. The one he named first was the one this column named in that rank the very day after election—fatigue. After 10 years of anything people grow tired. Tired of the faces, voices, philosophies, without necessarily a reflection on any. But Mr. Smith found other causes, too, and one was social reform carried on too long.

* * *

Whether or no this country once again wins a war and then loses a peace by going isolationist and materialistic depends as much on what we Democrats do now as on what the Republicans do. The danger from the Republicans is that the isolationists and anti-idealists among them may inherit the party now and after that the country. The danger from us Democrats is that we may so associate the cause of international participation with the totally different cause of continued social reform and planned economy that an American public now definitely turning against more of these things will be turned at the same time against participation in the world climate and concert that must come if the war is to be worth winning.

* * *

No greater tragedy could happen than to have America turn isolationist and cynical again as in 1919. To avoid it we Democrats have as much to do as those wicked Republicans.

* * *

The whole trouble in this and other matters involving the race question in America is that so many reformers insist on thinking of our Southern situation as if it were India's or New York's. Until it is realized how totally it differs from India's and how equally from New York's there is no hope of outside wisdom in our behalf. The difference from New York is made by the fact that there are comparatively so few Negroes in New York—and Ohio, Illinois, California, etc. What can be done where only 2 to 5 per cent of the population is Negro and these are comparatively advanced in education and responsibility differs totally from what can be done where one-fourth to one-half the population is Negro and in a lesser condition of education and responsibility.

* * *

Not like New York, and a hundred times more, not like India. In India the colored people not only outnumber the whites by several thousand per cent but they have the whites among them only as administrators from outside. The difference is infinite between this and the Southern situation where the colored people, although a big percentage, are a minority group, where the white people are not outsiders but living in their own land, and where in a million ways it is absolutely necessary to both races that they get along together.

* * *

A friend for whom we have much respect chides us for calling New Dealers socialists. If we have done that it was in utter carelessness of statement. We could not think New Dealers socialists because we were a New Dealer ourself up to the very last dealing and always thought it something to save the capitalist system from socialism. If we are afraid now of more New Dealing, feeling that the time has come for stopping and letting it work, and honestly believing that if it goes on it will indeed turn to socialism, that is something very different. The hope of America against the collectivism which can destroy our American free enterprise system from one side and the laissez faire philosophy which can destroy it as surely from the other—is the New Dealer who knows the deal is dealt.

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.

What Is "Practical?"

Columnist Paul Mallon has obviously for some time been speaking the mind of certain persons in this country who seek to place walls around the visions of our leaders and our people.

Mr. Mallon has castigated Vice President Wallace for his ideas on the world to come. He insistently indicates that Russia and Britain are not going to be in the least concerned with high ideals about the world order to come. "No matter what our diplomats say, for world effect," the columnist writes, ". . . we all know we are fighting first for our own peace and security . . .

Nov. 25, 1942

"Therefore," he continues, "our first consideration at the peace table must be that we get that peace and security. . . . This we cannot do without."

The limitations obvious with respect to the columnist's insight—and the insight of others who are adopting a similar approach to peace plans—is tragic. For instance, it is lamentable that Mr. Mallon believes Mr. Hull, Mr. Wallace, Mr. Welles and others are speaking of a new order "for world effect." The implication is that this is the primary motive. Naturally, we want the world to receive an intended impression. But this is not the basic reason.

Mr. Mallon outlines a basic means of achieving "peace and security." We need military bases, he says. We need extension of mutual relations with other countries in North and South America—"at least down to and including the Panama Canal . . ." We need a preponderance of guns, tanks, planes. We need economic provisions so that this country never again will be caught without certain raw materials, in war or peace.

What Mr. Mallon does not understand is that, though these things may be advisable, *they are not the fundamental means of insuring peace and security.* As Edward Hallet Carr—an Englishman, incidentally—has said the crisis in the world today is moral. Men must have faith, each in the other; nations must have mutual faith—with no such limitation as "down to the Panama Canal." What Mr. Mallon dismisses as idealistic "sop" is actually exploration into the true, the lasting means of developing understanding among peoples, establishing economic equality of opportunity among *all* nations and creating a new view of international interdependence.

All men and women, everywhere should realize the fundamental need and not be deluded with the false "practicability" which some now are advocating under different names.

Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

FAIR ENOUGH

By WESTBROOK PEGLER.

Letter From Pittsburgh

NEW YORK, Nov. 26.—This letter comes from Pittsburgh and gives one of the reasons why a draft of civilian labor at this time would be premature:

"What I want to say is this, and every word is the actual truth and can be verified.

"I am a local agent for a truck line, busy right now hauling precious war materials. Among my employes, all members of the teamsters' union, there is a steward who thinks that buying a war bond (I admire him for this) will offset his refusing to permit a trailer load of war material to move because the driver was in arrears in his union dues. I have on record at my office the facts and dates of one occasion when a trailer was loaded with steel for an airplane plant at ——, along with steel plates for the Army at ——. The driver who was scheduled to take the load had let his dues lapse for a month because his draft number was up and was leaving for duty on his return.

"Do you think my steward would let this load move? Do you think the local War Department would do anything? Do you think the police would get the load going? Do you think the steward would drive the truck himself? Do you think the union would furnish a driver?

"No to all these questions. I was up all that night trying to find a driver and some means of getting the load going. We finally got it going the next day by sneaking it out of Pittsburgh, and only with thanks to the police of Wilkinsburg (suburb of Pittsburgh) was the load safely convoyed to the superhighway and on its way. The above police made the steward and his cohorts head back to Pittsburgh. (Union officials have priority on tires and rate deferment in the draft so that they may carry on such traditional activities in the name of labor with a capital L.—Pegler).

"They had stayed up all night and followed the truck as far as Wilkinsburg.

"This is only one example. I have had any number of cases, but here is the climax.

Nov. 27, 1942

And Here Is Climax

"Monday, Nov. 2—I sent our steward with a colored driver, a union man for eight years, to load some government material from the printing office in Washington. The steward came back and said he refused to work with a Negro. He promptly walked off the job. Later the local sent the only man available on their extra list, who also was a colored man, and another of our drivers refused to let him help. I myself took the second colored man to where he was to help the driver and, sure enough, there was the steward telling the driver not to let him help.

"Both colored men can vouch for me on this as it caused a terrible row.

"The colored man and myself went to see one of the union business agents to get at the bottom of this, as I have often used colored men and no one had ever refused to work with them. Then business agent phoned the driver who had refused to help and lightly slapped the back of his hand. He did mention, however, that if the government labor department heard of this the local would be on a spot.

Nov. 27, 1942

Willing To Forget

On hearing this in terview I was told that there would be no trouble in the future and to be a good boy. I left a note on my desk that once was willing to forget, as I have often been forced to do, but the next morning the steward walked in and called me some names and my doors, before I will ever put

Birmingham, Ala. Age-Herald
November 18, 1942

THIS MORNING



by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

"O Columbia, the gem of the ocean . . ."

* * *

It wasn't a preponderance of ships. It wasn't a preponderance of planes. It wasn't a preponderance of men. What has won our greatest battle of the war for us out there in the Solomons is a preponderance of fight. Of courage, intelligence and spirit in battle. We have won the fight by being first class fighting men. Let's remember it when our sicknesses come over us again as they will, when we think of our country and our government again as made up of quarrelsome incompetents, when we let whispers of disaster and gossip of ruin impress us, and when the pessimism which came of our sick 1920's and 1930's gets us down. Ours is a great country. Ours is a victory country. We need to know it and make noises about it. And prove it by passing the ammunition to our men across the seas.

* * *

"Thank you for saying the president is entitled to be feeling every inch a commander-in-chief these days," writes L. C. Peace, totally disabled World War I veteran from the veterans' hospital at Oteen, N. C. "Our troops are in Africa, in the key spot of the war, by our president's own strategy."

* * *

Listen to Editor Santford Martin, of The Winston-Salem Journal, hitting a mighty nail on the head: "There are those who believe that the day of free enterprise is over—that the modern man can live and prosper only under a collective economy—that problems of transportation, housing, mass production and world distribution of agricultural and processed commodities are such that the old independent enterprise economy is vastly inadequate to do the job properly. Our reply to those who hold this view is that if the day of free enterprise is over, then the day of democracy is over, and we should stop talking about the fight for democracy and begin talking about the fight for state socialism. The vast majority of the American people, we are sure, would never agree to that." Amen and amen!

* * *

When talk like this comes from moss-backs who hope to go back to 1929, from sophomores whose speeches belong to the strict convention of days before machinery gave us problems in abundance, scarcity and getting along together in a crowded world, from people whose cries of "states' rights" and "individual liberty" mean nothing but the right of the strong to be left alone as they prey on the weak and who think every centralization at Washington in wartime is just a plot for political power—it hurts the cause for which it speaks. But when the talk comes from liberals (small "l") like Col. Martin, who know that the world moves and must keep on moving and that men are not going to accept even the best economic system unless it gives them a chance—it speaks for a very real issue and helps a very great cause.

* * *

The regiment or the social-minded individual—that is going to be the issue after the war. The individual who, in spite of all that has happened, isn't even yet social-minded in his thinking, is not going to be listened to even by the moss-backs who call him wonderful, for they will have discovered he doesn't count. But the individual who, in full recognition of all that individuals must surrender now to go on being individuals and in honest will to guarantee all individuals against being left out when they try, speaks up against the very real threat of a state so controlling that individualism will be destroyed and democracy with it, will have the very spirit and destiny of America for audience.

* * *

Able, personable, respected, long-experienced and widely acquainted, Jim Simpson is a natural for the presidency pro tem of the Alabama Senate. We salute him and congratulate the Senate. Only one thing troubles us? Has he, perchance, radically changed his points of view on certain vital matters? We don't believe it, but the fear came to us when, mentioning this writer to the Birmingham Exchange Club last month, he said we were a good fellow but that he didn't agree with us on anything. Does this mean that the senator has turned against free enterprise? Does it mean he is against the real principle of states' rights and local self-government? Does it mean he supports the federal anti-poll tax bill? Does it mean he is for a federal anti-lynching law and for abolition of Southern wage differentials? Of course, it doesn't. But we have held his own opinions on these matters at least as long as he has. Since we haven't changed, there would be a burden of proof on him that he himself hasn't changed—if it were not that his opinions are so well-known.

* * *

Not that we are trying to claim complete agreement with Senator Simpson. That is something to which a man might aspire but which we, for one, know we have no hope of reaching. All we claim is a lack of complete disagreement—and a hearty good will for the president pro tem as he takes the chair.

Birmingham Post
Birmingham, Alabama

Pegler



A Letter Indicates How Labor Draft Might Work

By Westbrook Pegler

NEW YORK, Nov. 27.—This letter comes from Pittsburgh and gives one of the reasons why a draft of civilian labor at this time would be premature:

"What I want to say is this, and every word is the actual truth and can be verified.

"I am a local agent for a truck line, busy right now hauling precious war materials. Among my employes, all members of the teamsters' union, there is a steward who thinks that buying a war bond (I admire him for this) will offset his refusing to permit a trailer load of war materials to move because the driver was in arrears in his union dues. I have on record at my office the facts and dates of one occasion when a trailer was loaded with steel for an airplane plant at ———, along with steel plates for the Army at ———. The driver who was scheduled to take the load had let his dues lapse for a month because his draft number was up and he was leaving for duty on his return.

"Do you think my steward would let this load move? Do you think the local War Department would do anything? Do you think the police would get the load going? Do you think the steward would drive the truck himself? Do you think the union would furnish a driver?

Nov. 27, 1942

'No' To All Questions

"No to all these questions. I was up all that night trying to find a driver and some means of getting the load going. We finally got it going the next day by sneaking it out of Pittsburgh and only with thanks to the police of Wilkinsburg (suburb of Pittsburgh) was the load safely convoyed to the superhighway and on its way. The above police made the steward and his cohorts head back to Pittsburgh. (Union officials have priority on tires and rate deferment in the draft so that they may carry on such traditional activities in the name of Labor with a capital L.—Ed.)

"They had stayed up all night and followed the truck as far as Wilkinsburg.

"This is only one example. I have had any number of cases, but here is the climax.

* * *

Wouldn't Work With Negro

"Monday, Nov. 2—I sent our steward with a colored driver, a union man for eight years, to load some Government material from the printing office in Washington. The steward came back and said he refused to work with a Negro. He promptly walked off the job. Later the local sent the only man available on their extra list, who also was a colored man, and another of our drivers refused to let him help. I, myself, took the second colored man to where he was to help the driver and, sure enough, there was the steward telling the driver not to let him help.

"I will let them pull down my doors before I will ever put this steward back to work. They will pull down my doors. I know them.

"The same steward raises hell with our drivers for speeding up and calling in too soon for more deliveries or pickups. Many other trucking firms have this same condition.

"We can't buckle down and win this war with stewards demanding slow deliveries and the like with assurance of backing of the union. And they have the effrontery to joke and laugh about it."

— Worth Repeating —

Students Expose This Paper Has a Burden

The student staff of The Daily Tar Heel, campus paper of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, came out Nov. 18 with a full page expose of police brutality in which the victims were young Negroes. Affidavits presented tell of the senseless, cruel beating of three boys, one of whom was an employe of a student fraternity house. We quote a few passages from the student editorial:

Whenever such abuses are put clearly to a responsible public an effort is made to erase them. We know that an officer of the law is doubly responsible for conducting himself with fairness.

And we know that the Board of Aldermen has the power and duty to take such steps as will prevent future offenses of assault and battery by the police force and double dealing in the courts.

We know too, and most of all, that **we cannot postpone attention to these abuses because of the war.** Simply because these abuses are repugnant to the very fundamental idea of the South and of America, and are repugnant to Southern people.

And we know in conclusion, that when these abuses take place, in Chapel Hill, and the thousand other Chapel Hill's throughout the nation, we are repudiating the same democratic justice for which we are ostensibly fighting and dying all over the world.

Daily Worker

Yesterday, Westbrook Pegler had one of his bad days. Annoyed by Senator Pepper's fulsome praise of Soviet Russia, Pegler gave out with a sophomoric imitation of Lady Astor. Russia is fighting for herself, not for us, Pegler said, as Lady Astor had said before him. The fact that the statement is true does not make it any less boorish.

The Beacon Journal of Akron, Ohio, is one of those unfortunate newspapers which carry the canned columns of Westbrook Pegler and are ashamed of them. The Nov. 13 issue says so in an editorial entitled "Divergence," of which we quote two paragraphs:

Beacon Journal readers should know by this time that the opinions of the syndicated columnists who write for us are not necessarily the sentiments of the newspaper. This fact has been pointed out before, but not lately, so here goes again:

48c-1942
Tuskegee News
Tuskegee, Alabama

Views and Interviews

• • •

By HAL FISHER

The story of how cadets at the Tuskegee Army Flying School are getting 200 pairs of dumbbells for use in their physical training program provides one of the finest examples we have heard of how civilian agencies can cooperate with military organizations. It also offers striking proof of the type of service the Macon County Camp and Hospital Council, under the leadership of Henry Neill Segrest and Floyd Powell, is giving the men of our armed forces. Several weeks ago the physical training director at the field asked Col. Kimble, commanding officer, to provide the necessary dumb-bells but Col. Kimble did not have funds available. He did, however, have a quantity of gum timber which had been cut from the field. Enlisting the aid of the council, Col. Kimble found it willing to aid. Through the council, the Segrest Lumber Company agreed to cut the timber to proper length and an NYA group in Montgomery is making these into dumb-bells in their trade shop. Thus, an important phase in the conditioning of American flying officers for the stern tasks ahead is taken care of in typical American fashion.

• • •

"I think John T. Harrison and his assistants did a wonderful job in the War Bond Pledge," said Milton Samuel, manager of the Macon Theatre. "Now that the committee is calling on all places of business to sell War Savings Stamps I believe the least we can do is to cooperate wholeheartedly with them. Our money has a job to do, and that is to give our soldiers and sailors the tools with which to win the war."

• • •

Last week we reported on the unsuspected skill of Bill Ross as a carpenter, a paragraph, incidentally, which gave him some idea of the pulling power of The Tuskegee News, since he said scores of persons had tried to hire him. This week we have a report to make on the skill of the other side of the family for Mrs. Bill Ross, since that time, has made us a huckleberry pie. It all came about last Saturday while we were moving to our new house and our Kitchen Department had no time to bake a pie. Mrs. Ross volunteered to do the job and the result was just about the best huckleberry pie we have ever tasted. We're an expert or huckleberry pie, too, for it ranks very first on our list of pastries.

• • •

Sheriff Pat Evans came by The News office one day this week looking his old self and reporting that he is feeling much better after his protracted seige of illness. It is good to see Sheriff Pat around again and we imagine about the only persons who do not appreciate his geniality are those who have engaged or are about to engage in some felonious activity.

• • •

"We want to urge all youths required to register next Tuesday to register in their own district instead of coming to Tuskegee," said Mrs. Frank Screws, secretary of Local Board No. 2. "When they register outside their own district it causes considerable extra work in making the transfer. Besides, they can save a trip to Tuskegee by registering at home."

• • •

James Braswell has returned from a brief trip to Florida and although he admits having been in "pretty much of a fog" for the last week, was able to tell his friends a relatively connected story of some of his experiences and observations down there. For instance, he reported on some of the restrictions on off-shore fishing during war-time, the absence of gas rationing in West Florida and the fact that no compulsory speed limit has been imposed on motorists down there. (P.S.—He was on his honeymoon.)

• • •

"We have had so much rain lately and the creeks and lakes have been so muddy I didn't see much use of trying to catch any fish," said Attorney Billy Hare. "So I did not plan our trip, as I promised to do last week. But I expect conditions to improve in a few days and next week I'll take you fishing without fail."

• • •

Happy birthday to Mayor Frank H. Carr, who this week celebrated his (censored) anniversary. Many happy returns, Mayor. We hope you will be around a long time to take care of important jobs like the Salvage Campaign.

Peoples Voice
New York, N. Y

Pegler Lying, Says Reporter; Hit by Union

Special

CHICAGO — (FP) — Westbrook Pegler lies like a rug.

This is the answer Edwin A. Lahey, famous *Chicago Daily News* reporter, gave to the charge by the Scripps-Howard columnist that labor reporters on daily newspapers permit themselves to be corrupted by union offcials.

As one of these labor reporters, Lahey said: "Pegler lied in his piece about labor reporters, he lied about newspapermen who are trusted by their employers and their friends he lied about people who have not the vehicle of a syndicated column with which to answer him."

"It is a lie," Lahey wrote, "to say that any of the labor reporters were 'taken for free rides' to labor conventions or were 'lickered up as trusted agents of the mob,' and Pegler ought to have moral courage to apologize to them.

"Far from pampered pets, each of these men, I believe, has had the experience of some labor officer trying to get his job.

"Many of these reporters and others . . . have made important contributions to their communities by exposing fakers and hoodlums in labor, but have had neither the inclination nor the facilities with which to bore their readers for years thereafter with the details of their exploits.

"In accusing labor reporters of failure to do their job Pegler has gone up to the temple and said to God: 'I thank thee that I am not like other men.' It would be no more ridiculous if I were to ask why he didn't put the finger on Jake Lingle when he worked on the *Chicago Tribune*. It might have saved Lingle from getting killed by the North side mob.

"It would be equally pigheaded for a newspaperman to ask why has not the real story of Willie Bioff ever been established, the story of why the great minds of the movie industry paid tribute to Willie so readily when the CIO was rapping on the studio gates."

Meanwhile, a resolution condemning Westbrook Pegler and Scripps-Howard papers which print his diatribes was passed by the executive board of the Book and Magazine Union, local 18, United Office and Professional Workers of America, CIO. The UOPWA is one of the two "dangerous organizations in the country" mentioned by Pegler in his June 15 article, which called for labor espionage as a "patriotic service."

In a letter to the *World-T*
and to Scripps-Howard
Inc., Jane Benedic*
and Magazine Union, warned those papers that they will have to account to the American people for such Goebbels-like writing.

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala



by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES II

"Your attitude on the complicated race question seems to me to be exactly right and your treatment of it most effective," writes famed Dr. L. L. Gwaltney, editor of The Alabama Baptist.

Set 'Em Apart

If you were to go down the line through all phases of employment, you would have to classify and segregate our groups more rigidly than ever in order to make sure that each group got its fair share of work. When you do that, you set them firmly and distinctly apart and stop all progress toward natural understanding and nondiscrimination. You start by saying that a man must not be rejected on racial or religious or political grounds and very soon you find he must be accepted because of his racial or religious or political distinction regardless of his general qualifications and inevitably to the injury of some other individual who has more ability but doesn't happen to be the type next in line.

It should be remembered that when Hitler was just coming along and pretending to be just a little bit anti-Jewish he restricted the Jews to a proportionate rate of opportunity in the professions and in the schools and that this rule was condemned instantly and vociferously by those very liberals who are now beginning to experiment with proportionate employment in this country. Later on, of course, Hitler went in for his cold pogrom, but the discrimination was first established in the proportionate system.

To any group which suffers from discrimination this system will have initial attractions, but a look a little way ahead will show that it leads straight to complications of a kind which are included among the evils that this war is being fought against.

Atlanta, Ga. Journal
June 22, 1942

Blake

Says Atlanta Has No Greater Booster Than Its Mayor

By MORGAN BLAKE

LAST WEEK in an address of welcome to the State Cotton Ginners' convention, Mayor Hartsfield informed the delegates that Atlanta would very likely be the headquarters for the peace conference and the league of nations after the war. He also assured his hearers that Atlanta was bound to ultimately succeed Washington as the capital of the United States.

While the Mayor may have had a twinkle in his eye and his tongue somewhat in his cheek as he made these claims, I wouldn't be surprised if deep in his heart he doesn't really anticipate this distinction for our city. For if there ever was an enthusiastic, sincere Atlanta booster it is Brother Hartsfield. The loyalty and devotion of an undergraduate for his college was never more intense than that of the Mayor for his city.

It reminds me of that horse lover, young David Copperfield ran into on one of his trips.

"Hosses," said this man, "are meat and drink, bed and board, snuff, tobacco and sleep, and man and wife to me."

And Hartsfield-orter feels that away about his city. Atlanta is his pride and joy. He is a combination Mayor and Chamber of Commerce secretary. He has many movie reels of various events here and he'll put on a program for you at the slightest provocation.

Our Loyal Negro Citizens

I am confident that no city in the country can boast of a more patriotic or finer group of Negro citizens than Atlanta. I have spoken in their churches and schools and I am personally acquainted with many of them. I rank the congregation of Dr. John Wright at the First Congregational Church, and Dr. Edward Randolph Carter at the Friendship Baptist Church very high indeed in Christian consecration, intelligence, education and patriotism. I am sure there are other congregations of this race that would rate just as high but I speak from firsthand knowledge of the two mentioned.

Sunday our Negro citizens had a big rally at the Auditorium at which they launched a War Bond sale drive. As the main drawing card they had "Sugar" Robinson, colored welterweight boxer, who has never met defeat in the ring and who ranks in sportsmanship and clean living right up with Champion Joe Louis.

The chairman was W. H. "Chief" Aiken, well-known as a football coach to the sports writers of this city. The Chief was a valiant soldier in France with the A. E. F. in the last war. He is a sportsman, a real Christian and a real man.

The audience got a big kick out of the interview over the loud speaker in which Ed Danforth and Melancholy Jones, two local spo editors, questioned "Sugar" Robinson.

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.

THIS MORNING



by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

"The Tabernacle of Unity has been raised; regard ye not one another as strangers . . . Of one tree are ye all the fruit and of one bough the leaves . . . The world is but one country and mankind its citizens . . ."

SEP 2 - 1942

Thus spoke Baha'u'llah, and upon that foundation has grown a century-old religion represented by nearly 800 local communities of believers spread over five continents. Lecturing in Birmingham now is one of the leaders of this faith, Mrs. Dorothy Beecher Bakerwith. The "Baha'i Faith," it is called. These are times when talk of unity, whether it comes from on high or here below, is sure of response among troubled and hatefully divided human beings. Mrs. Bakerwith will have good audiences and she deserves them.

* * *

Something that interests us about her message is the fine way she speaks of Woodrow Wilson and the evil she attributes to the world's failure to answer his particular call to unity after the last war.

SEP 2 - 1942

Those of us who remember Wilson and love what we remember, and who think his word and work are coming back, know that he did indeed stand for unity. Does it detract from that stand in Mrs. Bakerwith's sight, we wonder, that he stood for the unity of competitors under an umpire, a law, an arena? He did not wish to destroy the separate identities of nations, for he believed their competitive existence a productive thing if umpired and confined. He believed in the living sort of unity that admits of infinite variety. He knew the great things men have in common, and he counted on them, but he knew, too, the dear things men held apart, and he counted on them, too. He understood that we are all "of one bough the leaves" but he understood equally that no two leaves in all the world are the same.

* * *

After this war, there are going to be two jobs for mankind, both spiritually and economically. One will be the job of avoiding the old anarchy that fails to take account of all we have in common. The other will be the job of escaping the socialism that forgets how different we are and need to be.

SEP 2 - 1942

The only Don't in his Gospel of Do," is the caption over an old placard that comes to us. On it is Old Sawney's advice to his boys. Old Sawney was W. R. Webb, the famous founder and head of the Webb School at Bellbuckle, Tenn., from which so many of the South's present men of light learned to be disciplined and to take in a tout heart whatever fate might come. "Boys, don't do things on the sly," Old Sawney said. "A brave man never does things on the sly. Whenever you get the consent of your mind to do in the darkness a thing that you wouldn't do in the broad daylight, you're a coward, and you'll stay a coward until you cultivate a spirit of openness. I despise a coward. Everybody does . . ."

* * *

"I despise the Boston Tea Party with its disguise. I refused to join the Ku Klux unless they would go in the daylight. I wouldn't. I wouldn't, I wouldn't—for all the world—I wouldn't do anything on the sly. Let your actions always be such that if the keen sunlight of publicity were turned in, it wouldn't make you ashamed. Boys, don't do anything on the sly."

SEP 2 - 1942

Maybe if some of the boys around Birmingham who have been guilty of vandalism against private property lately had heard Old Sawney, they would see their deeds in a different light.

* * *

"It seems to me you talk two ways on the Negro question," a reader complains. Well, we certainly try to, since the agitators are shooting from two directions. Modern warfare is like that. The new American tanks and planes have turrets which permit of their being fired in any direction around the 180 degree angle because the nature of desert and air warfare is that in given direction you may need to shoot north, south, east, west, or in between.

SEP 2 - 1942

Luther Patrick didn't get Frank Dixon's point about the poll tax. The difference, as Gov. Dixon was quick to suggest, is that the exemption enjoyed by us old World War One veterans was granted by the State of Alabama, while the one proposed for World War Two soldiers is by the Federal Government. It isn't a matter of doing something for the soldiers. It's a matter of opening the way for federal interference in the whole delicate Southern electoral system. If Luther had jumped on the governor for not being alert for electoral reforms the states themselves ought to enact, he would have been sounder even if not so snappy-sounding.

Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

FAIR ENOUGH

By WESTBROOK PEGLER

AUG 29 1942

The Right To Hate

NEW YORK, Aug. 28.—Some of our people seem to need reminding that human nature has not been repealed and that it is still legal in the United States to hold and express racial and religious prejudices and that if you try to suppress such feelings by force, whether through government action or boycott, you will almost certainly run into difficulties. I am not arguing in favor of such prejudice, or in favor of discrimination, for I believe I am almost innocent of such meanness and envy the man, if such there breathes, who is absolutely so. But you can't stamp it out by compulsion and any attempt to do so is itself a resort to coercion of the mind and bad business any way you look at it. It is a police invasion of the realm of conscience.

AUG 29 1942

Why in the world does anyone want to dust off such a topic at this time, says you?

Well, I tell you. Although intolerance is a bitter thing and often has been played as a racket, those who try to suppress it are usually very intolerant themselves and many of them also make a racket of their opposition. The greater the pressure you bring to bear on the man full of hate to make him stop hating, the madder you make him and the louder he yells the bill of particulars which he holds against the object of his hatred. You slap him into jail for hating, or on some charge which is a mere pretext, such as loitering or parking by a hydrant, and you martyrize him and he becomes a career man. Moreover, peop! just naturally hate and have a right to and, unfortunate though the fact is, it still goes as it lies.

AUG 29 1942

Discriminators Discriminate

Discrimination is very bad against some elements of our people, but it exists everywhere in some degree and is practiced and upheld by some of the very people who yell loudest against it. For instance, the Communist papers and the Newspaper Guild, which is always partial to the Communist line, can howl bloody murder against a publisher of a standard American newspaper who refuses to hire a reporter because he objects to the reporter's politics, especially if the reporter is a Communist. They can even set the law and the Labor Relations Board on him for that if he admits the discrimination. But the Communist paper wouldn't think of hiring a reporter who wasn't a cardholder in the party and would can him on the spot for writing anything off the line. There you have discriminators ready to raise the devil with others who practice discrimination.

It is discrimination when a Methodist refuses to patronize a rabbi or when a Catholic walks past half a dozen Protestant churches to take his new-born child to his own church, usually built on a hill, to be baptized.

If you go in for proportional employment as a means of defeating discrimination you invite several kinds of trouble. In view of the fact that there are so few Communists among us, under the proportional system, the Communist paper would have to employ non-Communists at the rate of say, maybe, 20 to 1.

AUG 29 1942

48c-1942
Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.



"There is no power in the world—not even in all the mechanized armies of the earth, Axis and Allied—which could now force the Southern white people to the abandonment of the principle of social segregation . . ."

* * *

It is Mark Ethridge speaking, the New Dealer, one of the president's two favorite Southerners, member of the president's Committee on Fair Employment Practices. It is Mark Ethridge, famous friend of the Negro, manager of the New Dealing, Negro-befriending Louisville Courier-Journal. It is the best type of friendship the Negro can hope for from white men in the South reporting a fact.

* * *

What this column has been saying over and over for more than a year was said by Mr. Ethridge with so much more of eloquence and authority at the Fair Employment Practices Committee hearings last Thursday morning that we want to make his words on the subject our own last ones for some time to come. His statement belongs with the historic documents of the South. It calms and clarifies a situation whose growing intensities have already been seized on greedily by politicians and industrial disputants for ulterior purposes.

* * *

"There are hyper-tensioned men and demagogues in both races, political and otherwise," Mark Ethridge declared, "who have undertaken to write a meaning into the effort to obtain employment for, and use of, skilled Negroes which is not there. It is a trait of human nature, and inherent in all pressure groups, whether white or black, employer or laborer, to capitalize upon the moment and the situation to make gains."

* * *

"It is perfectly true that some Negro leaders have adopted the 'all or nothing' attitude. Too many of the leaders have professed to see in Executive Order 8802 (against war job discrimination) a new 'Emancipation Proclamation' and have magnified its import and its possibilities. Too many of them ignore the history and tradition of this section and take refuge in the wholly unrealistic idea that the federal power can be invoked to perform some magic to convert human nature from what it is. We ought to have sense enough by now to know that the federal government has only such power as we freely accord it."

* * *

"So, I repeat, those Negro leaders and those Negro editors who demand 'all or nothing' are giving cruel and disillusioning leadership to their people; worse than that, they are playing into the hands of the white demagogues who two or three times have piled up tragic consequences by playing upon the emotions of a people. Their breed is not dead; it still flourishes in the South; it can bring a reaction that will destroy many of the gains that have been made by Negroes . . ."

* * *

"The Negro must realize that although it is slower and more painful to him, the educational process, coupled with economic security and the implementation of his civil rights, is the only sure cure in the long run for our national ills. Democracy is not a perfected state of Utopian government; its strength lies in the fact that it has at least the disposition to continue to cure its ills. The educational process and its accoutrements bring a more intelligent approach and an awakened sense of justice on the part of the white man, without which the Southern Negro cannot ever advance much . . ."

* * *

"The Southern Negro cannot afford to drive from his side, in his march to a greater fulfillment of his rights, the Southern white men of good will who have been his chief asset and his chief aid. He must recognize that there is no power in the world—not even in all the mechanized armies of the earth, Allied and Axis—which could now force the Southern white people to the abandonment of the principle of social segregation."

* * *

"It is a cruel illusionment, bearing the germs of strife and perhaps tragedy, for their leaders in the North to tell them that they can expect it, or that they can exact it as the price of their participation in the war. They would do better to learn and to tell plain truths to their people and to stimulate them into giving the evidence of self-discipline and the example of willingness to sacrifice which will shame the demagogue and challenge the admiration of decent white people . . ."

* * *

Mark Ethridge does not hesitate to disassociate himself from the views of his Louisville editor, Herbert Agar. He does not hesitate to take the only possible Southern viewpoint against the uncomprehending activities of Mrs. Roosevelt and those whom she has so harmfully encouraged. His statement can mean salvation from a threat of Communism and Ku Kluxery that would destroy the peace and well-being of us all. There is no reason for the South to go through another Gethsemane of race agony. There is no reason for the hope of this region, white and black, to be crucified now by demagogues, professional agitators, timidly muddling sentimentalists, uncomprehending theorists and ruthless manipulators.

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.



"Through blinding flame and strangling smoke
The remnant through the batteries broke
And crossed the works with Armistead . . ."

* * *

When our Confederates reached their farthest north on a hilltop at Gettysburg, it was a true high tide. But when the Japs reach their Far East at Attu, it is only a little washback from a tide whose full has passed. Attu is no high tide. It is a ripple, overrunning a tide line already drying.

JUN 17 1942

* * *

The Lord sent the Japs into this war to make Americans really mad. Whatever the cause, we never could have felt as fighting mad about the Germans as we do about the Japanese, and many of the very people who found it hard to feel belligerent at all about the former are most that way now about the latter. Without the Japs at Pearl Harbor, history may say, America could never have assembled the passionate driving power which is winning this war.

* * *

Sooner than we think—by trying harder than we know how—this war is going to be won. The promise and the challenge grow with each man-hour of work, each man-day-at-arms, each civilian-second of sacrifice. Take it from the commander of America's army of the air. "The day of reckoning," said Gen. Arnold when he returned from London last fortnight, "is not as far off as some people think." From him and many others in authority as well as from the basic news itself come assurances now that this war can be won—and soon—if we go on putting into it every atom of energy and will we own.

JUN 17 1942

Dabney S. Lancaster, former dean of men at the University of Alabama and much loved and honored in that post, is now superintendent of public instruction of the state of Virginia. Dr. Lancaster belongs naturally on all lists of eligibles for the presidency of the University of Alabama, it seems to us.

* * *

Wendell Willkie is actively exercising himself as a leader of his party in New York. He has been the Republican party's nominee, and for a little while its idol, but he has never yet been its full leader. If the big business men of America had as much political and publicity sense as they have business sense they would get back behind Willkie as enthusiastically now as they were during the presidential campaign. This column is one of many observers who believe the issue between Socialism and free enterprise in America after the war is going to be settled by business men, that they will have the balance of power. But they will settle it for the free enterprise they say they want only by supporting genuine liberals like Willkie, not by following reactionary leads.

* * *

A test of the ability of business men to save the free enterprise system for us after this war, it would seem, is their ability to resist the Fascist passions of people like Westbrook Pegler in favor of the liberal clarities of men like Walter Lippmann.

* * *

Friday evening in the Municipal Auditorium the Negroes of this area launch a campaign to raise $300,000 for a 100-bed Negro hospital and nurses' home. The great need of such a hospital and the fine determination of our colored people to help themselves to one—should bring some very practical sympathy from white people here. Once it is certain that the money raised will be properly conserved until there is enough for the building and that no unreasonable amount is taken in campaign fees, the campaign is entitled to intensive responses here for it represents a crying need.

* * *

However some of us may feel about the tragically misguided and destructive agitation of some Negro leaders to seek advancement in the very middle of a war which concerns the Negro most, we should not let ourselves be put into a position of opposing the very necessary and just demands of the Negro for his relative share of war production jobs. There is no issue of segregation or anything else involved here, only the need of protection against a discrimination which hurts the war effort as much as it hurts the Negro and has no justification in any point of view permissible to Americans.

JUN 17 1942

"I hope you get more information about the name 'Thurman'," writes Winfield Turman, of Sulligent. "My parents were informed about 75 years ago by a reliable source that our name was originally Thurman but some branch of the Thurmans dropped the 'h' from their name and made it Turman. This probably was 150 years ago or longer. Our branch of the Turman family have been in this part of the country about 100 years. The first Turmans that settled in this country came from Georgia or South Carolina."

Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

FAIR ENOUGH

By WESTBROOK PEGLER.

Howard Facts

NEW YORK, June 16. James M. Nabrit Jr., the secretary of Howard University in Washington, D. C., a Negro institution, writes on behalf of the university to disown a recent communication which I quoted and discussed in an essay on the low quality of two of the leading Negro newspapers, the Chicago Defender and the Pittsburgh Courier.

"The facts," he says, in part, "are, in substance, these: Otto McClarrin, an employe of Howard University, wrote an open letter to you in his capacity as national president of a student association of journalism in which he made no reference to Howard University, but did send the article to you in an envelope stamped with a return address from: Otto McClarrin, The Press Service, Howard University, Washington, D. C."

"Howard University," writes Nabrit, "is deeply concerned by reason of the damaging effects caused by your article to the public relations of the university. However, I am certain that you did not intend it to be so and that you will be more than glad to inform your readers that Howard University did not attempt to answer you and did not authorize anyone else to answer you." Indeed, I am glad to publish this disavowal, but the record should show that the document in question is not in the form of a letter of any kind, either open or private. It is a mimeographed document of the kind commonly used by schools and many other institutions in their publicity work. It contained neither salutation nor signature, it did not address me in its text, but referred to me in the third person, and it bore no closing such as any letter would bear.

Copy Stamped

Moreover, it was rubber-stamped on the first page "From Otto McClarrin, The Press Service, Howard University, Washington, D. C.," and the only personal note was scribbled across the top of Page One, in pencil: "Mr. Pegler: I thought might be interested in this open letter to you. Otto McClarrin."

Someone has neglected to tell the secretary of the university the whole truth, for Nabrit says the only reference to the university was on the envelope when the fact is that the copy, itself, is stamped, also, as an outgiving of the university's press service.

That, I believe, clears that up, and I hope Nabrit will agree that the university's young employe, who writes that he is only 24 years old, took a misleading liberty in stamping his communication as being from the university's press service.

As to the original subject of the controversy, I should like to report also that the recent convention in Chicago of the National Negro Publishers' Association recognized one of the matters mentioned in my criticism of the Negro press, namely the publication of advertisements which might be described as voodoo matter. In this program, for the afternoon session of June 6, in the following item: "Is quack medicine, numbers, good luck charms, etc., type of ads hurting us?"

Paper's Attitude

I do not know the result of the publishers' deliberations but offer this item as proof that the question was not invented or provoked by me, but had become a problem for serious consideration among the publishers themselves. Further on this subject I should like to quote from an editorial in another Negro paper, the Los Angeles Tribune, which says:

"Negro newspapers have had their chins stuck out long past the point where they should have known better, but nothing happened until Pegler beheld this vulnerable position and took a swing at it. That swing, which came from the floor, delighted a lot of Negroes who have suffered past the point of endurance from the misrepresentation of such journalism as the Chicago Defender and the Pittsburgh Courier.

"In brief, he decried the sensationalism of the Negro press, its 'obvious inflammatory bias,' its 'gents' room journalism' (vulgar gossip columns), its lack of distinctive writing and the spurious contention of many of its advertisers, i. e., various claims to voodoo, hypnotic and supernatural powers.

"Although misunderstanding the reason behind all this, Pegler wrote, in these regards, the welcome truth. Negroes have themselves complained of their newspapers; it will take, perhaps, the white light of national publicity to make the most flagrantly offensive of them mend their ways."

Knowing what rich dividends such advertisements pay to those few publishers low enough to print them, I well knew in advance that I was inviting a storm of abusive lies from men whose racket was thus exposed. The Communists even perceived in this expose of an imposition by Negro publishers on Negro readers an attack on Negro womanhood, although there was no mention of Negro womanhood.

An Indianapolis Negro journalist writes: "What you did was a blessing in disguise; you did for Negro newspapers what the editors were afraid to do for themselves."

One point I made was that such editors in their editorials tell the Negro he is a very high grade human being but, in ads, alongside, play him for an ignorant, superstitious fool, for money. My Indianapolis Negro journalist friend says: "We know it is a detriment to racial improvement if we write about the glorious gesture of democracy made by Crispus Attucks at Bunker Hill and then advertise the chance of good luck forever on the same page."

Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

FAIR ENOUGH

By WESTBROOK PEGLER.

Good Cause

NEW YORK, June 17. I should like to challenge one of the premises in which the Negro press of our country operates and from which it addresses its appeal to the Negro people. That is the premise that the white newspapers of our daily press are unfair to the Negro in their treatment of news stories, if not actually hostile to the colored man.

I say the white papers are not anti-Negro but, on the contrary, are scrupulously fair and sympathetic and even sometimes play down news for fear that by the slightest overemphasis they may provide some Communist group or some reckless hotheads of either race with an opportunity to touch off a tragedy. Our white editors feel a grave responsibility and, while it may be, strictly speaking, a mistake to play down news beneath its due degree of emphasis, it is, if so, a mistake made in a good cause and out of good motives. In the last few months there have been two disturbances in the eastern area in which crowds of Negro civilians broke into public disorder. In both cases I watched carefully the handling of the news in the white papers and decided that they had been guided by a strong desire not to be responsible for any aggravation of situations which were potentially troublesome. In another case there was a row and some shooting at a military camp involving American soldiers, both white and colored, and here, again, the white press trod with the most patriotic and conscientious care, passing no judgment as to guilt or responsibility but leaving that to the Army.

Pointed Mention

It is true that it is our custom to identify a Negro in the news as a Negro, or a Chinese or an Indian as such, and that as a point of much complaint by Negro political leaders and publicists who insist that it is enough to say that the man or woman concerned is a man or woman. But they are inconsistent when they then appeal to the supreme court to set aside verdicts in criminal cases on the ground that there were no Negroes on the jury lists. Moreover there is never any objection to pointed mention of the fact that Marian Anderson or Joe Louis is a Negro. I think the colored leaders are as badly puzzled and as inconsistent as the white journalist for certainly they do plead on racial grounds in the case of the all-white jury trying a Negro defendant just as vehemently as they object to the distinction between White and colored in the news of some small crime.

But, allowing for the fact that the Negro press exists in the interest of the Negro people and waiving for the moment the fact that they constantly tend to maintain his segregation, these papers bear their responsibility with much less skill and care than the average white paper. Our white papers do not carry on agitation against Negroes. On the contrary, our handling of the news in which the color question arises is done with the greatest delicacy, whereas the Negro editors constantly make sharp distinctions between white and colored men in cases of friction and take the side of the colored persons involved, often with injustice to the white man and the truth, and to the damage of inter-racial understanding. It is not right, it is not good journalism and it is not good Americanism to print a deliberate deception, thus arousing in the colored reader a feeling that a racial brother has been wronged, if the racial brother, in fact, was in the wrong.

Hostile Tone

It is not supercilious to say that the Negro press is inferior to the white press. Its inferiority is recognized by many Negro leaders who cite the obvious reason that colored men have come to journalism only recently and have lacked opportunity, experience and encouragement. But lack of cultivated skill and grace does ont entirely justify the hostile tone toward the white people of some negro publications which say they are striving for friendly, prosperous relations between the races but incessantly are guilty of a hostility to white men which is never expressed toward Negroes in our white press.

Our white press is friendly to the Negro. It is a large order but I defy any colored editor to site a single paragraph of anti-Negro copy in a New York paper in the last 10 years. But we are busily occupied with many concerns and do not concentrate constantly on the aspirations of the colored man, which is the special mission of the Negro press. And inspection of parallel stories on a given event, such as the housing trouble in Detroit, will show that the white press spoke with restraint and a sense of responsibility not to upset the peace while some Negro papers expressed themselves in tones of anger and racial hostility.

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.

THIS MORNING



by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

Some people are so determined to have more and more things done by the federal government that they don't even mind duplicating (and complicating) something that is already being done already. The soldier vote bill is an example. As Mark Sullivan points out, the thing is only a gesture for the most part, since 44 of the 48 states already have absentee voting arrangements under which soldiers can vote without benefit of any interference from Washington. As for the poll tax angle, Mr. Sullivan wisely points out, that is not the real question. The real question "is the attempt of Washington to tell the states what shall be their qualifications for voting. Such an attempt, acutely disturbing at any time, is, under present conditions, a challenge to alarm."

48c-1942
Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.

THIS MORNING

by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

The articles pasted here are from the Syndicated Column by John Temple Graves II

"Truly the light is sweet, and a pleasant thing it is for the eyes to behold the sun."

SEP 1 1 1942

Little lights came on all over the South Wednesday night, and big ones, too. Eugene Talmadge was beaten, soundly and perhaps for good. Guilty of the two greatest sins that can be done against the South—laying unholy hands on the educational system which is our eternal hope, and agitating falsely the race situation which is our heaviest burden—Gov. Talmadge was made to pay in stinging defeat by an electorate turning to its own best lights. Hitler should be told of this, and the ghost of Karl Marx, as well as the uncomprehending and rough-handed ones from other sections who try to settle the South's affairs from afar off. The white people of Georgia, especially the farm people whose vote counts most in Georgia, have made their own settlement with bigotry, demagogy and hateful exploitation of hateful passions. The people of the South have turned on their own lights.

* * *

That is the point and boon of Talmadge's defeat. Only the people of the South are competent to settle the fundamental purely regional problems of the South, but that imposes on those people a duty of enlightened settlements. The defeat of Talmadge is a great step in directions of that duty. It does not settle fundamental problems, true, but it announces for the light rather than for the darkness in ways of settlement. It tells the world that, whatever the answers to our problems here, they are not going to be given by the Talmadges among us.

SEP 1 1 1942

* * *

How big an army are we going to have? Commendably our military men push for the biggest they can get in a time of biggest war. But the very bigness of the war, the totality, makes it necessary that sooner or later our country must say—"this is the biggest army we can have," or "this is the biggest we need." Total warfare calls for so much more than an army and a navy, and involves so many considerations of economy and balance that the fine spirit of infinite go-getting among military men comes at last to a curbing point. Manpower Commissioner McNutt said recently that "all able-bodied men of military age in this country, regardless of dependency, will ultimately be in the armed forces." This, as The Asheville Citizen points out, would mean an army of nearly 20,000,000 men. That would be an army four times as big as the one we have created thus far and as the one we had at our peak in the first World War. It would be an army twice as big as Germany's biggest, three times as big as Russia's, four times England's.

* * *

Since the labor of at least eight persons is supposed to be needed to arm and maintain each man at the front, an army of 20,000,000 would have to be supported by war work of 160,000,000 people. That is considerably more than our total population. Obviously Mr. McNutt can't have in mind an army of this size when he says all able-bodied men between 18 and 45 will eventually be in it. But does he have in mind an army of, say, half this size—10,000,000 men? Or do he and the supreme councillors have any definite figure at all in mind? And, if not, isn't it going to be necessary soon to have such a figure and to arrive at it on a basis of both the international military situation and the necessary balances in America?

SEP 1 1 1942

In total war there can be no limit to what a nation seeks to give, certainly. But there is a very necessary limit to what any element of the nation's war effort can be given at the expense of other elements. And where there are great allies involved, as in our country's case, there are divisions to be made also between what we keep for ourselves and what we give our more immediately pressed associates. All of which is so obvious that we may be sure our government at Washington has it in constant mind.

* * *

Add one more to the list of Southern Negro leaders with common sense against fomenting race trouble in the midst of war. Addressing the American Teachers Association in Louisville recently former President F. M. Wood, of Kentucky State College for Negroes, now a supervisor in the Baltimore school system, declared: "This is no time for the Negro unduly to press for advantages . . . Regardless of the shortcomings in the United States system of government, wartime is no time to raise such issues . . . Japanese and German appeals to racial prejudices are not getting them anywhere, and I hope that continues the case . . ."

SEP 1 1 1942

With indications that agitators of the Negro in the South have piped down, here's believing the Talmadge defeat means agitators of the white man will do the same.

"And Hell itself breathes out Contagion . . .

SEP 1 5 1942

* * *

Saturation points are merciful things sometimes but they make us miss a lot. Because a saturation point has been reached in the horrors of spilled blood, we cannot compass in our mind's eyes the carnage at Stalingrad. Because a saturation point has been reached in our sense of great history going on at a mile-a-minute, we are insensitive to the supreme history being made on the west bank of a Volga whose bridges are burned against retreat. Because a saturation point has been reached in the capacity of many of us to take hope in any event when there are so many, we do not know how our lives and fortunes are saved in the resistance that refuses to die between the Volga and the Don.

SEP 1 5 1942

Those field glasses with which a German officer was able to see the buildings of Moscow from his own ranks during the attack last year may be matched in souvenir value now by ones trained on Stalingrad. The value of the glasses at Moscow lies in the fact that their owner never got there. Ones that look at Stalingrad will have 10 times the value if their owners fail there. For Stalingrad is what Germany must have to be able to go on with this war, but what the Allies don't have to have.

* * *

"A check is being mailed to Mr. Berg and I trust many others will assist in raising the amount required," writes J. N. Cochran, from Montgomery, state manager of the Woodmen of the World Life Insurance Society. "This fight on pellagra is a home front in which we all might enlist." The reference, of course, is to the fund of $20,000 which is being raised here to carry on the work of the Spies Clinis against pellagra and other nutritional deficiency diseases which limit Alabama's manpower for its great jobs of war and peace. Money and checks (to Hillman Hospital Spies Clinic) should be sent to H E. Berg, Woodward Iron Co.

SEP 1 5 1942

Here's hoping they save plenty of tickets for the farmers when the Town Meeting of the Air is held in the Municipal Auditorium here on the evening of Sept. 24. With farm prices the issue, with agriculture's first statesman speaking, and with this the essentially agricultural part of the country, there ought to be at least as many farmers as city folks in the audience to make something representative.

* * *

"The Fair Employment Practices Committee is Captured by the South," reads a headline in the current issue of The Crisis, official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The magazine complains of the transfer of the President's Fair Employment Committee to the War Manpower Commission, which makes it have to look to Congress for funds. Someday when the facts are all made known it may be discovered that the administration decided at last to withdraw its support from those who were proposing to make the war an occasion for settling the whole Negro problem overnight. Whatever the facts, enough props are being taken from the agitators of the black man to warrant taking some from agitators of the white man now.

SEP 1 5 1942

As medical men are gathered here for the fourth annual seminar of the Jefferson County Medical Society, with the Alabama Pediatric Society especially on hand, here's hoping and believing that the extraordinary work and des erts of the Children's Hospital will be obvious to all of them. So much in our midst is this institution that we don't always see as clearly as we might what it means to us and to the state.

* * *

Congratulations to Director Marie Bankhead Owen, of the State Department of Archives and History, and David L. Darden, of the department's staff, and Editor Emmett Kilpatrick, for a just-issued number of the Alabama Historical Quarterly, which is sure to be saved and handed down to generations unborn. The issue is devoted entirely to data concerning Alabama's secession from the Union in 1861, with the background story, the original text of the Ordinance of Secession, all the important speeches and debates, together with pictures of some of the great men. Here is material for the books still to be written and grandchildren still to be born.

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.



THIS MORNING

by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

"O Columbia, the gem of the ocean."

Nov. 18, 1942

It wasn't a preponderance of ships. It wasn't a preponderance of planes. It wasn't a preponderance of men. What has won our greatest battle of the war for us out there in the Solomons is a preponderance of fight. Of course, intelligence and spirit in battle. We have won the fight by being first class fighting men. Let's remember it when our sicknesses come over us again as they will, when we think of our country and our government again as made up of quarrelsome incompetents, when we let whispers of disaster and gossip of ruin impress us, and when the pessimism which came of our sick 1920's and 1930's gets us down. Ours is a great country. Ours is a victory country. We need to know it and make noises about it. And prove it by passing the ammunition to our men across the seas.

* * *

"Thank you for saying the president is entitled to be feeling every inch a commander-in-chief these days," writes L. C. Peace, totally disabled World War I veteran from the veterans' hospital at Oteen, N. C. "Our troops are in Africa, in the key spot of the war, by our president's own strategy."

* * *

Listen to Editor Santford Martin, of The Winston-Salem Journal, hitting a mighty nail on the head: "There are those who believe that the day of free enterprise is over—that the modern man can live and prosper only under a collective economy—that problems of transportation, housing, mass production and world distribution of agricultural and processed commodities are such that the old independent enterprise economy is vastly inadequate to do the job properly. Our reply to those who hold this view is that if the day of free enterprise is over, then the day of democracy is over, and we should stop talking about the fight for democracy and begin talking about the fight for state socialism. The vast majority of the American people, we are sure, would never agree to that." Amen and amen!

* * *

When talk like this comes from moss-backs who hope to go back to 1929, from sophomores whose speeches belong to the strict convention of days before machinery gave us problems in abundance, scarcity and getting along together in a crowded world, from people whose cries of "states' rights" and "individual liberty" mean nothing but the right of the strong to be left alone as they prey on the weak and who think every centralization at Washington in wartime is just a plot for political power—it hurts the cause for which it speaks. But when the talk comes from liberals (small "l") like Col. Martin, who know that the world moves and must keep on moving and that men are not going to accept even the best economic system unless it gives them a chance—it speaks for a very real issue and helps a very great cause.

* * *

The regiment or the social-minded individual—that is going to be the issue after the war. The individual who, in spite of all that has happened, isn't even yet social-minded in his thinking, is not going to be listened to even by the moss-backs who call him wonderful, for they will have discovered he doesn't count. But the individual who, in full recognition of all that individuals must surrender now to go on being individuals and in honest will to guarantee all individuals against being left out when they try, speaks up against the very real threat of a state so controlling that individualism will be destroyed and democracy with it, will have the very spirit and destiny of America for audience.

* * *

Able, personable, respected, long-experienced and widely acquainted, Jim Simpson is a natural for the presidency pro tem of the Alabama Senate. We salute him and congratulate the Senate. Only one thing troubles us? Has he, perchance, radically changed his points of view on certain vital matters? We don't believe it, but the fear came to us when, mentioning this writer to the Birmingham Exchange Club last month, he said we were a good fellow but that he didn't agree with us on anything. Does this mean that the senator has turned against free enterprise? Does it mean he is against the real principle of states' rights and local self-government? Does it mean he supports the federal anti-poll tax bill? Does it mean he is for a federal anti-lynching law and for abolition of Southern wage differentials? Of course, it doesn't. But we have held his own opinions on these matters at least as long as he has. Since we haven't changed, there would be a burden of proof on him that he himself hasn't changed—if it were not that his opinions are so well-known.

* * *

Not that we are trying to claim complete agreement with Senator Simpson. That is something to which a man might aspire but which we, for one, know we have no hope of reaching. All we claim is a lack of complete disagreement—and a hearty good will for the president pro tem as he takes the chair.

Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

FAIR ENOUGH

By WESTBROOK PEGLER.

Women At Work

NEW YORK, Nov. 17. Let us waive for the moment the fact that the word democracy is mentioned nowhere in either the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution and consider the meaning of that phase of democracy which Vice President Henry Wallace advocated recently as democracy between the sexes. He pointed out that Russia makes great use of the physical, industrial power of women as workers and yearned for a similar condition here, not only in time of war, when it is necessary to get things done by any hands that are able to do them, but permanently.

Nov. 18, 1942

Mr. Wallace did not elaborate, but it seems plain that if, as a permanent condition, women are to be used equally with men in the tasks, light and hard, of a great industrial nation such as ours is, then some substitute must be found for the home. A woman cannot keep the home together, minding and teaching the children, if she and her husband both go swinging off to work together in the morning, and she puts in a full day in the factory. By night she is as tired as he is and not able to catch up on the responsibilities of motherhood and, moreover, by that time, it is too late. The children have been into all kinds of mischief and are running wild. As long as the husband and wife continue to live together in the married state, this would not be called a broken home, but practically it would be a broken home and criminologists are always telling us that a high percentage of those who get into trouble with the law are the victims of the disruption of the home.

Assuming that men and women are equal in numbers and equally employed, there would be no American home. It would disappear from our scheme of life and a substitute would have to be found.

Russian Substitute

The substitute in Russia has been state institutions, parking lots or checkrooms, in which the young ones are left by the day. Lacking reliable, detailed information, we may assume that the Russian government does undertake to keep them out of mischief and probably with fair success, and that they are put through courses of education. However, in Russia, religion would not be one of the subjects taught and, on the contrary, atheism and contempt for religion would be. In our country there would be great trouble over this subject of religious teaching in these public institutions. Having no established state religion, and the establishment of such being forbidden, we would have no agreement on the religion to be taught if we were to permit such teaching at all. And there would be some who would insist that no public institution of ours had any right to concern itself at all with religious instruction.

It is not merely sentimental to insist that there is no state substitute for the influence of the mother on her children. The state institutions would be not necessarily harsh or cold and they might, indeed, be warmer, brighter and more interesting than the homes of many of their individual little clients, but they would be impersonal in their atmosphere. These would be institution children, ignorant of the influence of motherhood, knowing nothing about home.

Making It Fearsome

Why is it necessary, anyway, that this nation, with its machinery and marvelous productive ability, produce twice as much of everything by doubling the man power by using all or all but a few women for such work in the great world of the future? Aren't there men enough to do it or aren't there men enough, the whole lot of American men, to produce what it takes to run the industries and homes of the country, without closing the homes and calling on the women. And what are we going to do with the surplus, remembering, incidentally, that Mr. Wallace himself found that our trouble once was not too little but too much?

There are those in Washington and in positions of influence, too, who appear to think of the whole state, the nation, the American people, as one great ever-loving family together. But there are others who believe this is too large a group for good family purposes and hold out for the home and the family as they have always been before.

Democracy has come to have unfamiliar and alarming meanings. Americans came to love the word as meaning personal freedom and justice in the other war, but some of the advocates of the newer and, by most of the people, unsuspected meanings, are making it a word to be feared.

43c-1942
Atlanta Ga Constitution
October 24, 1942

ONE WORD MORE

By RALPH McGILL.

STEP ON THIS RUMOR, TOO For 10 days a Fair Employment Practice Committee, of the federal man power division, will look into the employment practices in the Atlanta area.

The committee of three has been in Atlanta for two days, occupying offices in the Candler building which is occupied largely by government agencies.



The committee occupies separate quarters.

One of the three men is a Negro. He assists in investigating Negro employment conditions. The secretary of the committee is a man.

The committee is one of several visiting large centers of employment. When it has finished here it will move on. If it finds any conditions requiring further investigation it will order them held at a later date.

That is absolutely all there is to the committee.

But its presence here has produced a rumor that needs stepping on.

It is typical of what I have tried to say here many times before . . . that wild and greatly distorted stories get started. By the time they have been repeated they grow into monstrous things.

By yesterday, within the space of 48 hours, the story was being told there was a Negro "government official" who had been assigned to Atlanta; that he was in charge of a department; that he had 30 or 40 white people, mostly girls, under his direction; that he had been sent here by radical persons in the government in a direct attempt to cause trouble in the south; that he was the first of many who were going to be sent in whether the south liked it or not—and so on.

A number of persons apparently were convinced this was true.

The facts are as related . . . a committee of three, one quite properly a Negro, is investigating employment conditions of white men and of colored men. The stenographer who prepares the reports and summons is a white man. The committee hires no one else. It occupies quarters in a building occupied by government offices.

So, when you hear the distorted and untruthful rumor, step on it.

A JOB TO DO This committee could be of positive help in the south.

It has something to undo.

Previous investigators in the south, two of them, were sincere men of unquestioned integrity. They did not come as investigators, but as crusaders; not as examiners but as partisans. They were earnest and possessed a conviction that all with whom they dealt were guilty, or would be guilty if given a chance.

The result was a large amount of wholly unnecessary inflammatory sentiment. They cited firms against which there had been no complaints. They played into the hands of the demagogues.

There has not been, in the larger industrial sections of the south, as much discrimination in the hiring of workers in war plants as in the larger centers of the east. This much the committee already knows.

That there is discrimination in the south one may be fairly sure. I hope there will not be found an undue amount of it.

The committee, if it is sensible, as I am sure it is, will take into account the fact that men charged with the operation of plants first are charged to produce. Some of them, in or near small towns in rural communities, have not the housing, the legal means, or the production possibility of hiring Negroes in the amount of 10 per cent. They are caught between two fires.

The committee has already found, and said, that the unions themselves are as much, if not more, to blame, than the employers. They often have found a close working agreement between the two.

There are these factors to consider.

The committee can, if it goes about its job courageously, yet with common sense, obtain splendid results. I do not pretend to have any information that it will not do just that. The committee has a good record and has done, by and large, a good job.

A PROBLEM There is, of course, a Negro problem. It is economic, almost entirely, and not at all a "social equality" problem.

We, in this country and particularly in the south, have not made use of the Negro's intelligence and ability to raise the economic level of the south.

How to do that is the chief problem.

So far, radical Negroes in the north, with no concept of the problem of 70 per cent of their race, which resides in the south, and with little association with Negroes, have had a larger voice than the southern Negro educators and leaders.

Anyone with an ounce of common sense must see, for instance, that separation of the two races must be maintained in the south. But all white southerners must admit with shame that segregation has come to mean not separation of the races, but exploitation and bad living conditions. It means few sewers, few parks, few playgrounds, unpaved streets and high rents for poor houses. The warrens of Harlem, the Negro districts of Chicago, Cleveland and Washington are no better. Also 70 per cent of the south's Negroes live on farms and no one seems to think of that at all.

The problem is no longer a southern problem.

The trouble is that the most vocal voices in the east are from Negroes who have little association with members of their own race; and in the south the most vocal voices are those of fanatics, Kluxers and demagogues who spread false reports with great enthusiasm.

The patriotic American must keep his balance and think things out. He must depend on information. Not street rumors.

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.

THIS MORNING



by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

NOV 6 - 1942

From the moon you probably couldn't tell there was a war going on, even with the most powerful telescope. After all, the actual fighting covers only an infinitesimal part of the earth. But you could probably tell that Autumn was going on, the most colorful one in years. The wine and gold of trillions of Autumn leaves must make some sort of vague aurora for the moon. The man there may never know there was a war, but he may know about these Autumn leaves, yesterday, today and forever.

NOV 6 - 1942

The game of "taking Tobruk" is on again. But this time it is for keeps. This time the British have got themselves all dressed up like Rommel himself, and have brought their big American brother along.

* * *

Another and major reason for the Democratic defeat, it seems to us, was the persisting point of view among so many administrationists that the world must go on being made over right in the midst of being saved from destruction of what had already been made. The sophistry, and the folly, have held the party liners all down the line. They have honestly believed that the public needed to be promised a new earth each morning and that each division of the public had to be made to feel that its particular aspirations were as important as putting Hitler down.

* * *

The people of the United States want no Double V in victory. There is only one V—in spelling or good sense.

* * *

They want a better world, yes. They always want a better world. And they need one, and are entitled to one, and are probably going to see to it that they get one. But they are not impressed, we believe, with the competence of those who let long habit and sentimentality so cloud common sense that they can't stop better-worlding even when there is a war. To plan now for something nearer the heart's desire, yes. To associate the war with hope of human betterment all along the line, yes. To resolve and prepare for international concerts that will keep a future world from war and let peoples be their own masters, yes. But to use the war as something to force issues which divide a nation or divide allies—that is something else. That is the something against which, correctly or not, many people thought they were voting last Tuesday.

NOV 6 - 1942

The British are breaking down—but not for Hitler or before him. They broke down and played music over their national radio just before announcing the swift and disturbed backward march of Field Marshal Rommel and company. Never before in this war have the British gone in for flourish and fanfare like this. They are getting emotional. That must mean the world is coming to an end—or the war.

* * *

The expert, said someone, is the man who with scientific accuracy moves towards the grand fallacy. That isn't a fair way of putting it but it makes a point. From the nature of things, experts were made to work for other people, not direct the large affairs. We need experts to tell us how to do what we ourselves decide to do, or want to do, or need to have done. The two dangers in letting experts have the big say-sos are (1) that many of them have spent their expert lives working for some special group or interest and are honestly incapable of looking at a larger or total interest, and (2) that many others are so close to their intricate tasks that they have no way of appreciating what is before, behind and around it.

* * *

After reading a very fine and challenging letter written by this city's Erle Pettus on the subject of Mr. Jeffers' decision against cotton in automobile tire cords, we have wondered about the experts whose advice persuaded Mr. Jeffers so forthrightly to strike the cotton senators down. Mr. Pettus, not a man to speak without information, makes some interesting points. He says special staples of cotton have been grown in order that better and stronger cord might be made out of them by tire manufacturers. He points to the necessity of building new rayon factories and using critical materials if rayon is to be used. He says that originally an objection to rayon was that if a puncture or break in the rubber admitted water the rayon would be dissolved. He hopes this has been corrected. He says an objection to cotton cord has been that it wouldn't stand heat as well as rayon but that a Georgia manufacturer is processing a cotton cord equal if not superior to rayon in standing heat. And he suggests that if the material to be allotted to building rayon mills were put directly into making synthetic rubber we could supply our emergency needs much faster.

NOV 6 - 1942

Mr. Pettus writes us that, according to The Cotton Digest, seven of the nine members of the WPB advisory board on the production of synthetic rubber are representatives of companies equipped to manufacture tires from rayon. All of which we report without prejudice but in the possibility that our remarks about experts may possibly have an illustration in Mr. Pettus' points.

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.

THIS MORNING



by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

"And he rode—that grand Virginian—
Last of all the cavaliers!"

NOV 4 - 1942

When Henry Adams was at Harvard he thought the Southerners there were such fine looking men without really being the leaders they looked to be. Usually, he wrote in "The Education of Henry Adams," it would be some totally unimpressive looking person who would turn out to be the real leader of men. Henry Adams would have been interested in a letter our friend Mr. Clarence S. Bissell, of Birmingham, has let us see. It is one which a business friend of his in New York received recently from the latter's son, Brian McCree, from Camp Shelby, Mississippi. Born in England, this young man was a student at Yale when the war came. Only 18, he left college to enlist. He seems to have been impressed by Southerners with none of Henry Adams' reservations. "We are now in the division," he wrote, "with the finest lot of Southerners you can imagine. The non-coms are all soft-spoken swell fellows, really nice to work under. Our officers are grand chaps—what Kipling would call 'orfcer chops.' They are almost all OCS men and know what it is to be in the ranks. I'm glad I got in with a Southern division. These rebels are really grand. Big, lean, and invariably well-bred. We could use a few up North."

NOV * * 1942

Required reading for all the sentimentalists, agitators, demagogs, haters and lovers who persist in calling 13,000,000 Americans "The Negro" should be J. Saunders Redding's "No Day of Triumph." "It combines the subjective and the objective approaches to the lives and emotions of Negroes in a way which no other work of its kind in recent years has quite achieved," says William Shands Meacham in The New York Times Book Review Section. Written by an educated, sensitive, objective Negro after a tour which took him just about everywhere, vertically and horizontally, through the South, the book lets the thousands who will be reading it know that there are just about as many variations among Negroes as among white people, that they go in for color lines, class distinctions and segregations among themselves, that they include some of the most vicious people and some of the most clean-hearted and deserving, and that they are entitled to something more than the blanket of hate, the blanket of love or the blanket of indifference which other Americans put them into. There is no "The Negro." There are 13,000,000 Negroes.

* * *

Big business, little business and no-business-at-all ought to be joined in the effort to save thousands of small business establishments from what wartime economy threatens to do to them. As has been pointed out, the nation's salvation against socialism after the war may be these self-same small establishments. If you let everything go into big businesses it is only a little legal step to have those big businesses taken over by the government some day and the socialist state begins.

* * *

Our friend Editor Ed Field, of The Selma Times-Journal, thinks this is a golden opportunity for the country to "take in hand the serious problem of motorized traffic." What he has in mind is that the war has imposed a travel recess and a set of restrictions which put the public in a mood of willingness to begin again when the war is over in more scientific ways of highway traffic. Elimination of over-age vehicles, mitigating trucking evils, and many other reforms can be arranged for the happy days when there will be happy motoring again, Ed thinks, and we agree.

* * *

What worries us about Ed, though, is that we hope he isn't going controlled economy in his old age, just when we are beginning to turn against it. These things he is talking about call for bureaucratic powers, interferences with individual initiative, limitations on that free enterprise, which he and we love along the highways of life.

* * *

Anent comments here against those who smoke right under the no-smoking signs in war-crowded street cars and buses, Mrs. Alethea W. Porter says: "It seems to me that this would be a logical time for the companies to enforce the two signs—'No Smoking' and 'No Spitting'—since they have more passengers than they can well accommodate anyhow and wouldn't miss those who might decide not to ride if they were not allowed to smoke. Women are really more thoughtless and discourteous than men when they want to smoke. It is not only nauseating but conducive to bad headaches to have to breathe tobacco smoke in a bus or street car, and if you open a window it blows on someone and is likely to give them bronchitis or worse."

Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

FAIR ENOUGH

By WESTBROOK PEGLER

NOV 14 1942

Democracy Of Sexes

NEW YORK, Nov. 13.—Concerning democracy in the treatment of the sexes, as he put it, Henry Wallace, the vice president, said in his speech to the congress of American Soviet Friendship, whatever that was, last Sunday, that it had taken the war experience of Russia to demonstrate the completeness of our own failure.

"The average woman (of Russia) does about as much work as the average man and is paid as much," he said. "Thousands of Russian women are in uniform, either actively fighting or standing guard. We in the United States have not yet, in the same way as the Russians, called on the tremendous reserve power which is in our women, but before this war is over we may be forced to give the women the opportunity to demonstrate that with proper training they are equal to man in most kinds of work."

That is Mr. Wallace's idea of one of the meanings of democracy. It means that women become soldiers or factory hands and have the privilege of performing most of the kinds of work that men do. It is true that in the United States women are the victims of a wage differential in most lines of work. That, however, can be adjusted by raising their pay without any alteration of the American form of government or change in the relations of the government to the governed. It represents only faulty operation of the American system, not a fault of the system itself.

Do Enjoy Equality

Otherwise women in the United States do enjoy equality with men. They vote and, except in a few states which cling to old laws, without the conscious knowledge of their people, their property rights are fully respected and protected. Indeed, they enjoy special legal protection as the homemakers and the mothers of children and American thought has always imposed on the husbands and fathers a duty to provide homes and the necessities of life for their families. It would seem that in Mr. Wallace's concept of democracy woman is degraded by this legal recognition of her dependency, but the American people will be slow to emancipate her in this respect.

The enfranchisement of women in the United States, regrettably, has caused no perceptible improvement in the political hygiene of the country. It is only coincidence, to be sure, and the women are not to blame, but our political lfe never was more sordid than it has been under the administration of which Mr. Wallace has been one of the leading spirits since 1932. One woman senator was elected by the intercession of the most brutal and dangerous politician in all our history, Huey Long, who was a dictator of Hitlerian stripe. The lady's career has been otherwise undistinguished, one way or another. Another woman was sent to congress by the Frank Hague machine of Jersey City which has been denounced, in season, by Mr. Wallace's party as a horribly corrupt and utterly anti-democratic monstrosity, but out of season has enjoyed the most agreeable and profitable recognition from his party. A third lady has been serving as a cabinet officer of Mr. Wallace's administration since 1932 and has been a negative figure at best.

Our Women Would Do Same

There is disagreement as to the quality of Mrs. Roosevelt's contribution to American political and social life. But contrary to Mr. Wallace's theme, Mrs. Roosevelt has been amazingly active, whereas the wife of the dictator of Soviet Russia has no public existence at all. American women frequent our saloons, they go about unattended, they have educational opportunities equal to those of men and in the matter of employment are hampered only out of consideration for their physical delicacy. Some of the restrictions may be unreasonable, but it is hardly an argument for democracy or freedom to insist women be hired for hard physical work.

And it should be noted that Russia is an invaded country, right under the guns, in which every pair of hands and every muscle counts. If the enemy, striking the Atlantic coast, had swept our people to a stand west of the Mississippi, no doubt American women would be, as Mr. Wallace says of the Russian women, "in uniform, either actively fighting or standing guard" and we would have "called on the tremendous reserve power which is in our women," to an even greater extent than Russia has on hers.

A troubling thought occurs in connection with the purpose to extend the four freedoms everywhere in the world. American troops landing in Africa were solemnly warned that deadly consequences might ensue if they addressed so much as a word to a Moslem woman. The Moslems are numerous and hosts to some very cranky prejudices. They would be certain to regard this phase of Mr. Wallace's concept of democracy as an affront and this freedom would have to be imposed on all Islam by force of arms.

48c-1942
Birmingham Ala. Age-Herald
July 7, 1942



"May now in mutual well-beseeming ranks
Move all one way."

* * *

A fact to be cherished amid stupid agitations, gathering antagonisms, wild demands and wilder alarms, is that Southern white people honestly like Southern colored people and wish them well. Colored people may be better treated elsewhere, have more privileges and equalities, but they are not really liked. And they are in the South. That liking is no sufficient answer to the race problems, of course, for it must surely be a part of the answer that comes at last. The campaign for a much-needed Negro hospital in Birmingham, which will be launched with a mammoth song festival and speaking program at the Municipal Auditorium next Friday evening, gives fine occasion for expressions of this Southern amity between races. Commission President Cooper Green, County Health Officer George Dennison, Dr. Henry M. Edmonds, Acipco's Dr. C. B. Bray, and other white leaders are to join colored ones on the auditorium platform in pleas for the hospital—and conditioning the whole program with harmonies will be the music of a great Negro chorus of 3,000 voices and the Acipco band. In windows of Birmingham's principal stores placards are now announcing this event. Local radio stations are giving it special programs, newspapers are playing it up.

* * *

It is the white people of Birmingham helping the colored people of Birmingham to help themselves in an undisputably worthy cause. It is good will between the two races for advancement of the one which needs it most. May it carry its own message, be its own sign, to hateful divisionists. The white and the colored people of Southern communities are going to have to live here in great numbers a long time together. They can get nowhere without getting along together.

* * *

The campaign is for $300,000 with which to build and equip a hospital and a nurses' home. It is hoped to raise the major part of the money among the county's 180,000 Negroes. With known and trusted local Negro leaders cooperating, every financial safeguard is presumed to have been put around the gathering of the funds. Bishop B. G. Shaw, of the A. M. E. Zion Church, heads the organization. The Rev. Amos Carnegie, experienced organizer, is executive director. The title is the Birmingham and Jefferson County Negro Hospital Association, headquarters at 1530 Fifth Avenue, North, phone 3-9851. For decency's sake, for humanity's sake and for this whole community's sake, the health and adequate hospitalization of our immense Negro population concerns every one of us here. In this hour of more suffering at large and more income at home than perhaps ever before, the Negroes owe it to themselves to engage enthusiastically in the hospital effort. And the white people owe it to themselves and everybody else—here and elsewhere—to help.

* * *

"Sane and level-headed counsel to the Negro" is what Editor Virginius Dabney, of The Richmond Times-Dispatch, calls Mark Ethridge's statement at the fair employment practices hearings. Mr. Dabney's record as a friend of the Negro is as consistent and long as Mr. Ethridge's. If they see eye to eye now against what Mr. Dabney calls the "unreasonable demands of certain Negroes," that is impressive evidence that the demands have no hope in the South and that the pressing of them may cost the race the very friends who can help it most.

* * *

Mr. Ethridge's statement has done much to relieve a gathering racial tension. Since the tension has been caused by radicals on both sides, perhaps as much can be done by quoting what he said, also, against radicals on the other side. "War always brings tensions," he said. "History-minded, sane Southern white people will recognize that. It makes the obligation all the greater to act with sanity. It is to be hoped that all of us will conduct ourselves so that the tensions will not be increased. The decent Southern white person can make the greatest contribution to that. If he is not willing to break down segregation—and he is not—he can at least see that it is not achieved on the brutal standards of a Ku Klux Klansman. He can see that it is made as painless as possible . . ."

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"Moreover, he can interest himself in the legitimate aspirations and the legitimate demands of the Negro population. He can see to it that the distribution of public utilities and public benefits—such as sewer and water connections, street and sidewalk paving, parks and playgrounds, public health, public nursing and hospital facilities—come to the Negro upon the basis of population and need and fairness rather than upon his ability to muster votes. He can give him jobs, for the white man has almost all the jobs to give out. He can interest himself in full justice in the courts for the Negro . . ."

* * *

And a very immediate thing he can do is to help our Birmingham Negroes build their hospital.

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.



"Speak softly and carry a big stick." OCT 22 1942

The big stick Teddy Roosevelt had in mind was a navy second to none. With such a navy, he said, America could "speak softly with effect." In his statecraft a big and thoroughly efficient American Navy was always an ideal, and it is proper that his birthday, Oct. 27, should be celebrated each year now as "Navy Day." The celebration this year will be to the tune of as great a glory and as grim a lesson as our navy has ever known. The lesson is in what can happen or come near to happening when we fail to keep this first line of defense, both at sea and in the air, big enough to handle any situation the map or politics of the planet make possible. The glory is in the news—from the Coral Sea, Midway, the Solomon Islands, from the Atlantic convoy routes, from all the salt waters of this world.

* * *

There was never a time which invited Americans more than this one to thrill to their gallant line of ships upon the sea and the intrepid sister ships of the sky. Navy Day ought to mean goosebumps for 130,000,000 people. Tuesday is the day.

OCT 22 1942

"Each man goes to his death bearing in his clinched hands only the things he has given away." When Rousseau wrote that he may have just made his contribution to the Community Chest of his time. Certainly there is a feeling of eternal investment as you sign for your contribution to the chest. You feel right with God and your fellow man, a good citizen, a good neighbor, an excellent human being. Or rather you do if you really gave the money and didn't just have it taken away from you and if what you gave was your honest estimate of what you were able to give. How well they sleep of nights and eat of mealtimes, these cheerful and generous givers to the 1942 chest appeal. But not quite so well as these gallant salesmen of the Lord who are making the appeals without counting the cost to themselves in time and tiredness.

* * *

Paul Mallon hit a mighty nail on the head when he pointed the folly of basing efforts for advancement of the Negro on a presumption that he is already advanced. But he missed fire when he suggested that making himself more nearly equal to the white man was the Negro's own responsibility. The primary advance the Negro needs is indeed an advance in qualification for the things his leaders are demanding. But he will not be permitted to make that advance unless the dominant white majorities help him make him. And a basic help he needs from them is plain and simple economic justice.

OCT 22 1942

What a wonderful relief it must be in times like these to be John Charles Thomas! With a voice like his you could sing all your troubles away, sing yourself to whatever alerts the war demands, sing yourself to sleep at night and into a dynamo of work or battle by day. When the great Metropolitan Opera baritone appears at the auditorium tonight in the first program of the Birmingham Music Club's season, he will be a man to envy as well as enjoy. Nothing can ever trouble him, nor can he ever fail at anything. His vocal chord can carry him over and up to all.

* * *

Rarely has East Alabama known such a funeral as Dr. Isaac D. Nolen's last fortnight, we are told. Dr. Nolen, father of this city's Wilbur B. Nolen, was a "country doctor" in the whole sense of living a people's life with them. "I have just returned from the cemetery," a friend wrote us. "He would have been 73 on his next birthday. A long and useful life of service to humanity ends with hundreds of friends to mourn its passing. He was a practicing physician in Tallapoosa County for more than 50 years and he has ministered unreservedly to the sick and the afflicted, living a most unselfish life, and one of supreme sacrifice in many ways. He began practicing in the horse and buggy era, and never was night too cold, too dark or too stormy—if duty called this country doctor answered. . . . Between 1,500 and 2,000 people honored his memory by attending the last rites held in the little village church at New Site where he had been a member since boyhood. Many were there who dropped a sympathetic tear to realize that the kindly old doctor whom everybody loved would not smile again with that understanding way that was his."

OCT 22 1942

When Gov. Johnson, of Mississippi, spoke of "outside influences" as responsible for racial tensions in Mississippi which have resulted in a return to lynching there, it is a pity he didn't name the influences. They are perfectly well known. In The Richmond Times-Dispatch last Monday Editor Virginius Dabney named them all over again for benefit of a Negro editor who had claimed they were imaginary. Individuals, organizations and newspapers active in agitating the Negro during this war crisis have been so fanatically active that no one could overlook them if he tried. Gov. Johnson might also have said something against home parties on the other side, the wildly alarmed and wildly alarming agitators of the white man against the black.

Age-Herald

Birmingham, Ala.



THIS MORNING

by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

'The time has come for us to see that America must come first."

OCT 31 1942

* * *

Francis Sayre and Warren Whitney closed the program of the Associated Industries Thursday with the note that deserves and needs new emphasis. "We are up against the most stupendous and terrible war the world has ever seen," Mr. Sayre declared. "It is not like the one of 1917 when the odds were in our favor. Unless America strips herself to the bone, America cannot win . . . Capital, labor, agriculture, industry, rich and poor, white and black, all of us are in this together. If we lose, free men all over the world will be sold down the river into slavery. . . ." Looking more like his great father-in-law every time he turned his profile and showed his teeth, this sensitive and distinguished gentleman who was our high commissioner to the Philippines when the war came and who lived with our troops at Corregidor until a submarine brought him home, talked like Woodrow Wilson, too. Not with the poised eloquence, but with the passion of belief, the flame of sympathy for fellow men. What the trip home in that stifling submarine must have meant for him was indicated between his lines even though he spoke only of the discomfort of others.

OCT 31 1942

After his speech had lifted the Associated Industries day to an evening glory of patriotism and undivided resolve, nothing could have been more complete a cap than the little talk Warren Whitney made when he took the gavel as new president. "At the beginning of the association's year just ended," he said, "we were at peace, and our job was to fortify America. We are now at war and our task is clearly outlined. We must win the war. And no other real American has any other thought than that we shall accomplish what we have set out to do . . ."

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"Our immediate program, therefore, is a simple one. We have but one job! We have but one president! (And Warren Whitney emphasized that word.) We have but one country! God willing, we shall win this war!"

* * *

There is no Double-V. All who think so or try to work it that way are working a Double-X instead. Without meaning to do so, they are double-crossing their country. That has needed saying to many groups since the war began. It has needed saying to our Negro friends, whose mistaken leaders invented the Double-V. It has needed saying to organized labor, and to the too infinite go-getters for the farmer. It has needed saying even to champions of our storied, fighting South. And it needs saying now, in this writer's opinion, to some of our business leaders who are concerned for free enterprise.

OCT 31 1942

Second to nobody in love of that system, this column is turned against it—and so are the great intermediate masses who will make the final decision—when business men associate their championing of it with the carrying on of the war, speak of the two fights as if they were actually co-equal in importance, and damn governmental bureaucracy without the discrimination that must be made between centralizations for war and those for peace. To plan for an America after the war in which free enterprise will be saved (or restored) (or created) is as legitimate as Mr. Wallace's plan for a century of the common man. But not in terms of any Double-V for Victory. Not in outcry against our leaders in war.

* * *

We who want free enterprise to survive and believe there can be no success or progress for democracy under a controlled economy (Leon Henderson, it seems from comment he made here on a local scribbler's essay, is one of us) need to know that the enemies of free enterprise have been two, not one. An enemy has been the bureaucratic, collectivist tendency in government, yes. But another and older enemy has been monopolistic business controls and a woeful lack of social mind among some economic leaders. Agree as we may against the suicidal effort to go on with social reforms in the face of the enemy, we had rather be told by men who were alert to the need of these reforms in other days rather than by those who endangered the whole free enterprise system with an uncomprehension which made a New Deal necessary.

OCT 31 1942

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Not by the National Association of Manufacturers was free enterprise invented. In their mounting championing of the cause our business men need to remind themselves of that. And of the important other fact—that we can't have free enterprise just by eliminating "the mounting bureaucracy of the government." Free enterprise is not the narrow thing some of its exponents are thinking it. It is freedom from more than they mention. It is freedom from all the walls and restraints which the great units of our economic system—labor, capital and government—put upon the free flow of materials to manufacture, goods to market, production to demand, capital to investment and invention to use.

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And it is predicated on the truth that the Lord God Almighty has appointed no lieutenants on this earth capable of running it by fiat.

Age-Herald

Birmingham, Ala.



THIS MORNING

by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

"They reel, they rool, in clanging lists,
And when the tide of combat stands
Perfume and flowers fall in showers
That lightly rain from ladies' hands."

NOV 3 - 1942

* * *

Headlines Sunday morning made strange brackets for foreign reading. The big football game of the year was over. Georgia had beaten Alabama 21 to 0, with Frank Sinkwich starring:

"Georgia Sinkwich Sinks Tide.

Timoshenko's Men Seize Initiative Inside Stalingrad.

Mississippi State Scores Over Auburn in Mud and Rain.

Fifty Nazi Bombers Knife at Britain.

Volunteers Run Riot Against L. S. U.

British Whittling Down Nazi Strength In Egypt.

Georgia Tech Trounces Duke, 26 to 7.

U. S. Loses Fourth Plane Carrier in Pacific.

Green Wave Breaks Jinx to Lick Vanderbilt.

Allied Bombers Destroy Big Jap Cruiser.

Texas Aggies Punch Arkansas Porkers Around.

Nazis Advance on Nalchik Plains.

Virginia Tech 20, Virginia 14.

Reds Gain on Black Sea Front."

NOV 3 - 1942

All over the South, North, East and West people listened as the broadcasters reported that Sinkwich weighed 185 pounds and was five feet, ten. There was a moment of nationwide distress when the Georgia back was hurt and had to be taken out for a while. Between halves the 110-piece Alabama band paraded as a SINK SINKWICH formation, played "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition," Atlantans and their visitors lived an electric day, made a night of it. Was it incongruous? Did it insult the sinking and hurting and ammunition-passing and bloody mud across the sea? Or did it relate to what those other young men were able to put into what they did? Did it make examples of magnificence in the competitive spirit when it knows rules, limits and an arena, and is not of the jungle or battlefield? Whatever it did, it spoke of a South confined no longer to causes lost. For that, football has been worth all the commerce and overemphasis.

* * *

"Hitler," we heard a well-informed gentleman say last Sunday, "is now a chicken with his head cut off. He is on the way out but he may do some wild running around before he lies down."

NOV 3 - 1942

"Suppose we stop talking about our noble purpose . . . that men everywhere may have the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and recognize the bald fact that we are fighting to save ourselves from being overrun by barbarians." Our friend Wickes Wardbolt, of Asheville, needn't run down noble purpose like this, but he does hit a mighty nail on the head, it seems to us, when he points to the basic fact that this war is being fought because Hitler attacked civilization and we propose to keep civilization. It is a war not to improve civilization but to save it. That is something important to understand, it seems to us. For failure to understand it many groups in America have coupled their parts in the war with a deadly Double V. They have made it out that winning the war and winning for their group or cause were parts of the same present call.

* * *

There is an immense difference between planning for a better world after the war and acting as if that better one were the reason for the war. The menace in the better-world business is that people disagree on what will be better, even though there are some things, happily, on which all can agree. And where there is disagreement there is division in the face of the enemy.

NOV 3 - 1942

All the reports are alike that Mrs. Roosevelt is making a big hit in England. With such violent disagreement about her in this country the incident reminds us all that she is a woman of great charm and heart and that she has the education, poise and background to take with grace into the great places of the world and the little ones, too. If she had chosen to confine herself in this country to the sort of things Mrs. Calvin Coolidge did so well and to leave

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public questions alone, she might have outranked even Mrs. Coolidge in the affections of the American people. That she has preferred, or felt duty-bound, to use her position for side-taking on domestic questions which hotly divide people may be to her credit in heaven and in history but it has cost her something of the sort of thing here which she is winning so easily in England.

NOV 3 - 1942

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Welcome to Anne O'Hare McCormick, who speaks at Phillips auditorium tonight. In addition to being tops in the newspaper profession and a trooper all the way, she is a rare and delightful human being. "Ourselves and Europe" will be her subject tonight, and nobody knows more about both continents than does this brilliant reporter and commentator for The New York Times.

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48c-1942
Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

HIGHLIGHTS, FOOTNOTES ON NEW YORK'S PROTEST RALLY

NEW YORK CITY, June 25—Every single New York daily newspaper, except the New York Times, turned a cold shoulder on advance publicity for the tremendous "March-On-Washington" Rally at the Madison Square Garden here Tuesday night. The fact that 25,000 New Yorkers turned out, in spite of this, is an unusual tribute to the pulling power, co-operation of the Negro weeklies with the Committee and a credit to the press relations and publicity job done by the Amsterdam Star-News' J. Robert Smith.

JUN 27 1942

Councilman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., took the opportunity to announce to the vast audience formally his intention to seek Congressional election, confirming what has long been buzzed on Rumor Row.. The shrewd clergyman-publisher did not, however, allow his PEOPLE'S VOICE to be scooped on the story. Folks leaving the meeting, going uptown saw "PV" on the newsstands with the announcement streamered on the front page.

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Back to the subject of publicity and the meeting, the Communist Daily Worker took a strange stand, went overboard to let its readers know it did not approve A. Philip Randolph or "March-On-Washington's" efforts. Sunday's Worker carried a blast authored by Ben Davis Jr., in which the latter attacked Randolph as a friend of "defeatists," stated it could not "sanction the meeting without reservation." Alibi for the opposition was the contention that the Randolph committee's publicity, literature did not take a definite stand against the Axis and for participation in the war effort of the United Nations. This was, of course, untrue.

JUN 27 1942

In Tuesday's edition of the D. W., Davis accused Randolph of "playing ball" with Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party, specifically intimating Randolph was "working with the Socialist Party to exploit the just demands of the Negro people against the war and against the best interests of Negroes.

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"March On Washington's" Rally, though deadly in earnest, was not without its humorous notes, as witness. . . Rev. S. T. Eldridge (Prexy, Baptist Ministers' Alliance of Greater New York and Vicinity): "After this world conflict is over, we want to be a part of this democracy. We don't want to be like a label on a bottle—all around it, but not in it." . . Dr. Channing H. Tobias (Director Colored Division, YMCA): "After this Niagara of eloquence which has preceded me, the only degree of distinction left for me is to confine myself to the time limit." (P.S.—He did. Each speaker was to have a five-minute period. Dr. Tobias finished in four minutes, 30 seconds flat.) . . Rev. W. O. Carrington (President, AME Zion Ministers' Alliance of Greater New York) in his definition of an orator: "A fellow who instead of saying that two plus two equals four, states: 'When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for a person to take the figure two and to add to that figure a sum of like denomination, I believe that I can say without fear of reasonable contradition, that the result of this process will ultimately and inevitably result in the figure four.'" . . . Illustrating the power of unity . . "Anybody might tackle a single hornet, but everybody will have a healthy respect for a hornet's nest." . . Dryest humor of all issued from Urban League's Lester Granger. . . Most spontaneous laughter was caused by Dick Campbell's especially-penned sketch, "The Watchword Is Forward," showing as it did the human foibles and weaknesses of "handerkchief head" folk of the race, and the embarrassment and discomfort of whites attempting evasively to explain discrimination policies against Negroes.

JUN 27 1942

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To Mary McLeod Bethune go orchids for most ringing appeal of evening . . to Rev. Powell for most militant, fighting speech .. to Rev. John LaFarge (associate editor, America) for most dispassionate, searching analysis . . to Frank R. Crosswaith (chairman, Negro Labor Committee) for most passionate, moving plea . . to Walter White for most eloquent, informed diagnosis. . . to Lester Granger for most matter of fact, down-to-earth treatment . . to the Rev. Thomas S. Harten for showmanship in handling fund-raising, his wit, eloquence inspiring more than 100 folk in audience to give five-dollar bills over and above regular collection . . to Committee's National Director, A. Philip Randolph, the greatest spontaneous applause, lasting fully three minutes, only then ceasing at his plea of the lateness of the hour.

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ORATORICAL GEMS:

We are not against this war. We are too intelligent to be against it. To what avail would it be for us to gain democracy and to lose our country?" (Dr. Lawrence Ervin, meeting chairman) . . . "I want all America to understand that we will never strike our flag. On the contrary, we will eternally protect it with all that we have in courage, in faith, in endurance. At the same time, we want our flag to protect us—at home in our right to produce and live, abroad in our willingness to sacrifice and die." (Mary McLeod Bethune) . . . "To those who say 'The Negro is disloyal'—to them I say, 'we are the most loyal group in America, and it is because of that loyalty that we are demanding a full share of this democracy, for if we did not love democracy, we would have none of it and we would not be gathered here tonight. We would say to hell with the war.'" (Adam Powell) . . . "We are here to repudiate the traitorous elements within our country which regard more highly their prejudices than an ultimate United Nations Victory. We are here to remind our government that it is the denial of rights, rather than the protest against that denial, which is the true threat to democracy and to constitutional government." (Dr. Channing Tobias) . . "Here we stand at last, crying to our native land, give us liberty or give us death." . . (Frank Crosswaith) . . "Even if Japan surrendered unconditionally tomorrow, her capitulation would provide only a brief interlude of peace unless the white world believes and acts without reservation to make certain that discrimination between peoples because of their race, creed or color be abolished." (Walter White) . . "This meeting was not called to embarrass the President or our Government. The fact of the matter is, they have embarrassed themselves and we are trying to help them find a way out." (Rev. Eldridge) . . "Yes, we love peace. But there can be no peace in America, until there is peace for the black man throughout the length and breadth of the nation—peace for every American citizen from the lowliest to the most high." . . "Tanks, guns, ships, planes, submarines must be built, and black workers stand ready to do their full share. Don't let color prejudice defeat America." . . (Arthur Reed) . . "This meeting tonight is evidence of the fact that Negroes are determined to bury Jim-Crow in the same grave with Hitler's Naziism, Mussolini's Fascism and Hirohito's militarism." . .(A. Philip Randolph).

Most significant, shortest speech was from National Baptist Convention, President D. V. Jemison. Describing a recent trip in Southern States, Jemison recounted that he entered a jim-crow train and was asked by the steward what he wanted.

"I told him I wanted the same thing the other people wanted." Jemison declared to his audience, "and he gave it to me." On this, the Baptist leader ended his minute speech. The audience got the point and cheered wildly.

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Better than a thousand speeches, more dramatic was Dick Campbell's sketch, graphically picturing Negroes being denied opportunity by naval recruiting officers, draft board officials, unions and hospitals (in regard Negro doctors, nurses). Modest Canada Lee in the role of a draftee was eloquent. . . Outstanding musical offerings were Babe Wallace's singing of his own "Song of Dorie Miller," Blanche Thomas' Choral Group's rendition of "We Are Americans Too" and Amanda Randolph's "Brown Soldier Boy." Fess Finlay's orchestra turned in a neat job.

Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

ONE WORD MORE

By RALPH McGILL.

SONG OF INDIA One of the great cults which had grown up in this country was "The Indian Cult." It demanded immediate independence for India and damned England for not granting it.

Admittedly, England's record in India is not as good as it might be. But to argue that India is ready for full and complete independence is to argue dishonestly.



Japan and Germany have great hopes in India. They believe they will receive great help there from Fifth Columnists. The amazing fact is they will receive such help. The German treatment of minorities, and its particular record in Africa where the Negroes were debased and enslaved under German rule, never seems to be taken into consideration.

Germany, with its campaign for the "dominant German race," with all other peoples subject and contributing their labor for the enrichment of the "super race," has to leave to Japan the propaganda that this war will bring benefits to the Asiatics and the brown people generally. Nothing could be more obviously false. The Japanese record in Korea and Formosa and China is clear enough.

The Indians would be much worse off; would possess less liberty and fewer rights, if any, under Japanese or German rule. They must know that. Yet such is the stupid opposition of their leaders there are many who would welcome either Japan or Germany.

There is a well-defined propaganda in this country to make the Negro believe that he should assist the enemies of this country. Some few have sold out in the face of the facts which are that domination by either Germany or Japan would be a calamity without parallel.

250 LANGUAGES Consider the problem of governing India. Or rather, consider the problem of India governing herself.

There are 250 languages in that country. This is literally correct but does not present the real situation. Most of these languages are spoken in the secluded valleys and foothills of the Himalayas. Only 17 or 18 languages are spoken by enough people to make them of any practical value.

JUN 24 1942

In this one country there are more different languages than in all Europe. There are 80,000,000 people in south India who cannot understand others from any other part of the country.

There are in India, which is as large as Europe, omitting Russia, 11 British provinces and 600 native states. Only about 20 of these 600 native states are of any political importance.

Again, there is in India, a set of political and jurisdictional lines which are as sharp and as important as those between the different countries in Europe.

There is more religious tension in India than in any other country in the world.

Hinduism itself is divided into many sects. There also are the Siks, Christians and Jains. They get along fairly well.

But the great Moslem minority, 84,000,000, does oppose the 260,000,000 Hindus with a bitterness and an implacable hatred which is impossible to solve.

The Indian congress, about which so much is heard, is the most influential political organization in India. It claims to speak for India. It doesn't. In 1940-41 the congress had one and one-half million members, a decline of 4,000,000 since 1939. The total electorate was but 30,000,000 out of 300,000000. Of the 1,585 seats in the provincial legislatures the congress has never won more than 705 seats. Fifteen parties divided the others.

The problem of making a federation out of such a situation as 11 provinces, 600 states and a religious division of this sort ought to be argument enough that India isn't ready for independence, but is a setup for some Fascist government which ruthlessly will suppress all peoples and all government by mass machinegun executions.

INDIAN BASES Egypt's fall would mean India's fall. India must be held as a base for the retaking of Burma. We will have to retake Burma.

Japan is sure to attack India sooner or later. She likely will wait until the drive begins against Egypt and will then by-pass India and take Cyelon.

Occupation of India would be a tremendous economic, as well as military, asset to Japan.

India has almost as much iron resouces as the United States; one-third of the world's output of vital manganese; a large supply of cold, and a rapidly developing steel industry.

Not many persons think of India as industrialized in any field except textiles, but she is. India, before the war, was turning out one-sixth as much steel as Japan and that capacity has been expanded.

As for the textile industry, it may be well to note that India ranks second in the production of cotton; that India is first in production of hides and leather, first in the production of sugar, first in tobacco, first in oil seeds, has a monopoly in jute and lac (for making shellac); has one-third of the cattle in the world, three-fourths of the world's mica, and is second to the United States in potential hydroelectric power.

Even so, only a beginning has been made in that vast country. But those are some of the reasons why Japan wants it.

The Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.

World-Telegram Most Rabid Enemy Of Negro People---It Must Be Stopped

By James W. Ford

The World-Telegram is proving itself to be the worst Negro-hating newspaper in America, on a par in quality with the Hearst press.

Proof of this are the most studied outbursts by the World-Telegram against the Negro people calculated to defeat their movements for Negro rights and to hinder their full mobilization into the war effort. This is treachery in a two-fold sense—treason against the nation and the continuation of brutality against the Negro people. This vicious policy of the World-Telegram is playing the game of Hitler in our own midst. When Negro soldiers are proving their loyalty in the armed forces of our country in foreign fields, living up to the best traditions of our nation, giving their lives for its preservation, the World-Telegram is deliberately stabbing these Negro soldiers, the entire Negro people and our nation in the back. It is time somebody got sore about these disruptive and treasonable actions.

An example of Negro-baiting was the recent articles by Westbrook Pegler attacking the Negro press. These articles were syndicated throughout the nation in the Scripps-Howard paper at the head of which stands the New York World-Telegram. Such effrontery is astounding when our nation is at war, when Negro publishers in their recent convention at Chicago pledged their full support and loyalty to President Roosevelt in the nation's war effort.

Now comes another attack by the World-Telegram against the efforts of the Negro people to assume fully their rightful place in American democracy. Frederick Woltman, staff writer of the Telegram, notorious labor-hater and Negro-baiter, in two articles spills out venomous poison against the labor conference of the Negro Victory Labor Committee scheduled to take place in New York on Saturday, June 27th at Fraternal Clubhouse, 48th St. and Sixth Ave., to be followed with a mass meeting on Sunday, June 28th at the Gateway Ballroom, 142nd St. and Lenox Ave. The latter meeting is to be addressed Paul V. McNutt Director of the Manpower Board of the Federal Government.

The World-Telegram through the red-baiting articles of Woltman aims to initimidate groups and individuals who show more than a usual interest in the problems of the Negro people. Who more than McNutt has the responsibility at this time to tell the Negro people what is to be done to break down discrimination, to assure them full rights and to fully involve them in the war effort? The real object of the Telegram and its stooges is to disunite the Negro people, to block their movement for full rights and to separate them from their best friends.

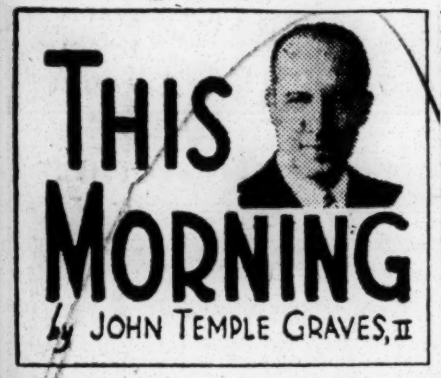
The trade unions are backing the Negro Labor Victory Committee and its conference because wide sections of the trade union movement are recognizing more and more their full responsibility to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Negro workers, to break down bars of discrimination in industry and in trade unions and to help them win and assume their rightful places in the war production program.

Thus the World-Telegram shouting "Red" attacks the Negro people, labor, the government and harms the entire war effort. That is the tactic of Hitler. It is the technique of the fifth column and the defeatists. It is time somebody calls a halt to these tactics when the very existence of our nation is at stake.

It seems that if we mean business in this war, if we intend to win this war, red-baiting has got to stop. Fifth columnists and defeatists have got to stop dividing our people. "If this was is in fact a war for the liberation of peoples," declared Sumner Welles, ". . . discrimination between peoples because of their race, creed or color must be abolished."

Moreover, those who inspired Negroes to red-bait the efforts of other Negroes are of the same coin as Hitler who plays on the grievances of the Negro people in our country to stir up disunity in our midst. The meeting on June 16th at Madison Square Garden set forth real grievances of the Negro people that must be overcome. The grievances set forth at the June 16th meeting, the efforts of the Negro Labor Committee and in fact all movements for Negro rights must be fully supported. Red-baiting aimed at one can only bring disastorus harm to the total effort.

480-1942
Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.



"Our white people would catch the devil and our black people would catch seven devils."

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JUN 3 - 1942

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JUN 8 - 1942

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Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.



"Eternal daughter of the chainless mind,
Brightest in dungeons, Liberty thou art."

JUN 1 - 1942

Vice President Wallace says this is to be the "century of the common man." That is the kind of century we have been trying to have ever since the French and American Revolutions. It will be important to remember to use the same recipes. There are other recipes for the common man which can cook slavery for him along with his food. The American recipe is freedom. The sort of freedom that was being impaired under the sort of capitalism we had before the war but which could be impaired even more under Socialism after the war. Freedom from the regimented life. Freedom from bureaucracy. Freedom from controlled economy. Freedom from trade restraints at home and abroad. Freedom from military aggression. Freedom from monopolistic practice. Freedom from group bullying. And, most important of all, freedom from hating each other so hard we can't make anything work.

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In the sort of hate between capital and labor, New Deal and anti, that had grown upon this nation before the war no economic system on earth could hope to succeed. If the century of the common man is really to be achieved, we have got to manage our disputes henceforth without the awful bitterness, the crippling hate, that existed among us just before this war and still hangs over.

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Another thing we have got to do, it seems to this column, is rehabilitate the legislative arm of our country in public esteem. No matter whose the fault, Congress has been laughed at and abused and scorned too much for the safety of the democratic anti-socialistic state the common man must have if this is really to be his country. If we are to escape the totalitarianism at home which we are fighting abroad, if we are to be spared the controlled economy which means a loss of both political and economic liberty, we must have for the representatives of the people the respect of the people. We must have a legislative arm of government that will not wither as the executive arm grows strong.

JUN 1 - 1942

In England, they say, public health is better than it was before the war. That must be in part because the government has had to concern itself with it more widely as a war measure, in part because sterner and more sensible living has been good for people, and in part because so many have had to learn to be their own doctors and have learned well. In our country we are going to have to learn this, also, to a considerable extent. With so many doctors taken from civil life, the burden on those who remain will become intolerable unless people learn to take care of themselves. One of the great things to learn in this respect—perhaps the very greatest—is to learn how to feed yourself. Most of us are babies still in that department. We don't know how to feed ourselves. We know how to handle the spoon and plate all right, but we don't know what to put into them. We don't know how to eat the things we need to eat to be properly nourished, even when we are able to have those things. And lack of nourishment is coming to be accepted as one of the biggest sources of illness and disease.

JUN 1 - 1942

What folly supreme for the Negro to let himself be misled now by agitators and sentimentalists into attitudes that would rob him of the real momentum attained in recent years, inflaming old hates, fears and rivalries that held him down. The years before this war were for him years not merely of promise but of achievement, even though the fruits may not be realized in full until the war is over. The Supreme Court discovered him in important decisions. The two political parties discovered him, found his vote in crucial states worth competing for and making concessions to. The federal government discovered him, established the New Deal in the interests of an underprivileged group to which he, more than anybody else, belongs.

* * *

Most important of all, the economists have discovered the Negro. They have discovered that potentially he has a purchasing power without which the American mass production machine can't work, and that somehow this purchasing power must be developed through increased economic opportunity for him. This is something that may mean more to the Negro in immediate years to come than all the other discoveries.

* * *

The test of you in this war, it seems to us, is not only whether you go through with the deeds and deprivations for which the war calls but whether you do it in a spirit that keeps you fit to associate with your fellow citizens. If you do your duty in such a state of depression and bad temper that you are a psychological menace, then the world and its war might be better served if you failed your duty enough to laugh a little.

Asheville, N. C. Citizen
June 5, 1942

THIS MORNING

By John Temple Graves II

"Our white people would catch the devil and our black people would catch seven devils."

* * * *

A gratifying indication that the negro race has not been diverted from its duty to this country in hours of trouble and danger are the negro leaders who are beginning to come out against the agitators and who, while holding to their ambitions for their race and their sense of inadequacies in the treatment presently given it, put first things first and consider the country's need now above all else. William Pickens, for ex-



ample, long-time field secretary of the National GRAVES Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who was dropped from that sadly misled organization because he praised the (segregated) all-negro 99th Pursuit Squadron of the Army Air Corps at Tuskegee Institute. In a recent letter to Editor Virginius Dabney, of The Richmond Times-Dispatch, he made this fine analogy: "We of all races are all on one ship, the United States. If any enemy wants to sink that ship, even if we have been fighting all over it, only idiots would debate whose business it is to keep the ship afloat and sailing."

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"If any minority people in any nation at any time anywhere ever needed common sense" he declared, "the American negro needs it in this emergency. Of course his country is not a perfect country, and of course it has not been just to him. But only a fool of the black race would exchange American democracy for European fascism. A black American sounds like an idiot when he says that nobody could make American conditions worse for its negro citizens. German fascism would make it 10 times worse in the first 10 months . . ."

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"The negro is not 'satisfied' with American conditions," William Pickens continued, "but that does not mean that a sane American negro wants to import something much worse than American conditions. Besides, we can improve conditions in America—we have improved conditions in America—and we are this minute improving conditions in America. Our religion, our Legislatures and our courts are all implements for improving conditions, even though slowly. But if the enemies of the United States could take charge of this country, our white people would catch the devil and our black people would catch seven devils . . ."

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* * * *

Even though Walter White and the sectors of the negro press that go along with him may be as loud, agitational and off-key as ever, sane voices are being lifted now and they are more representative of the race and of the realities of the situation than the noisy ones can ever be.

* * * *

From Beale Street in Memphis, George Washington Lee sends us his latest book about that storied locality. It is called "Beale Street Sundown." "A leader among the people of his race and a foremost authority on their history in central states of the South" is what The Memphis Commercial-Appeal calls Lieutenant Lee (he was one of the 10 negroes selected from Tennessee to go to the Officers Training Camp at Des Moines during the First World War and later he won a citation for bravery in the Argonne). Our pleasure in reading his book is going to be multiplied by what its author wrote on the fly-leaf: "For Mr. John Temple Graves, who lifted a hand as ancient as the sun in defense of the negro."

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
June 3, 1942



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Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
June 1, 1942



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Atlanta Ga Constitution
January 22 1942

48c-1942

SILHOUETTES

By RALPH T. JONES.

He Talked Good Sense.

This is a story about a couple of Negroes. But don't be afraid. I'm not going to try and put it in dialect. Just tell the story and leave you to imagine the idioms and inflections for yourself.

I overheard them talking while waiting for a street car. Wore overalls, both of them, and my guess would be they worked at filling stations or some automobile service shop.

The conversation had to do with the war, naturally. And one of them said something like this:

"I'm getting plumb sick of all these drug-store colonels and cracker barrel captains. Always shooting off their mouths about what they'd do—and why don't the Army do this and the Navy the other. Me, I'm satisfied to leave it to those whose job it is and who know. Uncle Sam knows what he's doing. You can bet on that."

The other asked him why he wasn't in uniform, himself.

"That's another thing Uncle Sam knows about better than me," was the reply. "I'm ready and willing to go to war any time. But I figure Uncle Sam knows better when he can use me to the best advantage than I do. He'll be coming along, one of these days, and giving me a tap on the shoulder and he'll say, 'Boy, I've got a gun for you and I want you to do a little shooting and fighting.' And, man, will I go and do some fighting, when my turn comes!"

Then he reverted to his first thought:

"But these street corner generals is what makes me sick. Talking so biggety. Why, if anyone sniped the branch of a tree over their heads, they'd hightail it for the nearest dugout so quick all you'd see would be the smoke. No, it's better to keep your mouth shut and let Uncle Sam do his part of the job and just be ready to get in the fighting when he says he'd like to have your help."

Good horse-sense, that conversation seemed to me.

A Mother's Prayer.

Received a letter this week from the Georgia mother of two boys, both in the Navy. She is a resident of an agricultural county, far from any large city.

The final paragraph in her letter is particularly fine. She writes:

"I am not praying for God to just bring my boys back, but that this will be the means of drawing us closer together and to God, for I know if it is His will they will come back."

That paragraph puts, in few words, the spirit of the real American mother.

After all, while thoroughly understandable, there is a slight touch of selfishness to those of us whose sole prayer is that our son, or brother, or father, may come safely back from the war. For we know that many of the boys who go will not come back. And if, by prayer or other method, we could assure the safe return of our own loved one, would not that mean that the son of some other mother would die instead of him?

Let us, rather, hold high our heads in pride that we have sons to do their part and let us pray as does this Georgia mother, rather than the simple, a little selfish, prayer for their safe return.

Undesirable Persons.

Another paragraph from the same letter:

"This is one reason I am writing you. I would just like for you to say a few words about the person that goes around saying he is enjoying this war because he thinks we will have 40-cent cotton and the form of prosperity that war brings. He doesn't worry me but some mothers just can't stand it. . . ."

If there are—and there must be a few or she wouldn't write of it—Americans so crude, so selfish and so disloyal, as to openly express such sentiments as she attributes to them, they ought to be forcibly gagged for the duration.

Of course, regardless of their origin or past, they are not, truly, Americans. They are alien in spirit to the America we know and love.

The war profiteer is just about the lowest form of life that crawls, but the profiteer who brags about it and says he is "enjoying the war" is lower than others of his ilk.

Wise folks, like my correspondent, won't let such remarks worry them, but there are, as she writes, "some others who just can't stand it."

Nor should they have to. There should be means for suppressing such callous cruelty and crass disloyalty.

Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

FAIR ENOUGH

By WESTBROOK PEGLER.

FEB 13 1942

Vulgar Bores

CHICAGO, Feb. 12.—Having recently acknowledged the huge ability of the American man of big business and his value to the community in time of war or peace, I might add that he is, in his moments of social relaxation, the most poisonous and vulgar bore on earth, with a penchant for incoherent oratory larded with the catchwords of the hour, stupidily dirty and aged locker-room jokes and timeworn songs, drunkenly done. A genius in his line, which is big machinery and the development of markets to absorb wares produced in the mass, he ought always to remain in character for the sake of his prestige instead of which he rather fancies himself as a combination of the late Will Rogers and all the personality wags in dinner jackets whom he has heard in the night clubs and cannot resist the temptation to be droll in his clumsy, witless way. The result is appalling and the unfortunate waiters, sulking behind the pillars, go out and blab to the chauffeurs, who tell the cops and service station men what paltry oafs these masters are and the word thus gets around.

Even at little lunching parties or dinners within their own circle, men who have been seeing one another in business day after day for years arrive at a point where one of their number who is, by some intuition, toastmaster of the occasion, presently will tinkle his glass with a butter knife, clear his throat and, after one joke in Swedish dialect and one in Italian or Irish, each inevitably arriving at an unclean climax in a bedroom or toilet, begin to introduce as speakers of the occasion all the others clockwise around the board.

FEB 13 1942

All Are Deluded

All these men may be tremendous doers in the manufacture of motor cars, vacuum cleaners or vital articles unknown to the public which go into the great machines that make machines but, with the exceptions only of old Henry Ford and one other whom you may personally nominate to prove the rule, they all suffer from a delusion that they are wits, raconteurs and even humorists and not too bad in close harmony, either, given a low ceiling and three or four rounds of what it takes to loosen them up. Dialect is a tricky medium even for the best professional entertainers, but your business genius at his fun recklessly deals in such subtle tongues as Negro, German, Scots, Spigoty, Chinese, Japanese and the two versions of the English which are the cockney or gorblimey and the drawing-room or, as he thinks, bloody blighter.

The scenarios are not more than three in number, all incredibly nasty and so dully familiar to every man that the boresome narnative never is relieved by the climax. Politeness, however, calls for roars of mirth during which the speaker prepares to explain how this light digression illustrates a point in his argument which has no conceivable relation to the tale just told.

FEB 13 1942

They are at their incredible worst when relaxing from their cares in Palm Beach or Miami Beach and strangers in their midst, who have heard big names or seen them in the national ads for years, find it very hard to reconcile such personalities, observed under such conditions, with the achievements which these dull people undoubtedly have wrought. Great men, giants among the American people they undoubtedly are, when working at their jobs, but taken at play they propagate that very low opinion which has had so much to do with the sullenness of the men at the machines in the plant.

All Want To Orate

Oratory is an art, though a low and insincere one, but men with no gift of expression may be seen twitching in their chairs and penciling little notes on the cloth, awaiting their turn to rise and stammer meaningless nothings about nothing.

For plain filth, inexcusable and stupid, nor Hemingway, nor Farrell, nor Steinbeck can excel the cleanest of them when they are making merry and yet, in their normal moods, at work or in casual conversation with no circle for an audience, they are interesting men whose achievements prove their stature.

FEB 13 1942

Perhaps these social faults are immaterial, but it must be remembered that they made a very unfavorable expression on the hot-eyed world-shakers of the New Deal who knew nothing of business or its mighty men and undoubtedly were responsible for the belief in Washington that such funless clowns must be impostors getting by on advertising alone.

Telegraph
Macon, Georgia

The Circle

FEB 22 1942

By Eugene Anderson

BRUTAL MURDERS IN PAST —The slaughter of Mr. and Mrs. Perdue recently in their Bibb county home for the supposed purpose of robbery recalls to Pulaski county people and to others in different sections of the state similar efforts through murder to get money.



ANDERSON

At various times in the past, people became afraid to entrust their money to banks, preferring to hide cash somewhere about the home, or on the person. This habit soon became known in the community, and it created a temptation some evil people could not resist.

An old man riding to his home below Hawkinsville a half century ago was supposed to have in his ox cart the proceeds of the sale of a couple of bales of cotton. Late in the night passersby found his body near a road bend in a small pond through the edge of which he had tried to drive his steers. He had been slain and his money had disappeared. Some young white men not far from his home were suspected, and a long, costly murder trial resulted.

Miss Emma Caldwell, Telegraph correspondent at Hawkinsville, remembers the Miller case, in which two Negroes forced their way into the home of Mr. and Mrs. Miller, nine miles west of Hawkinsville, struck down Mrs. Miller, and as she was losing consciousness she heard her husband say, "Don't do that." The home was ransacked, and the Negroes left, though when consciousness returned Mrs. Miller thought the thieves were still in the house. She lay almost breathless in fear until morning. Her husband was dead, but she recovered enough to crawl to a neighbor's to give the alarm. The Negroes were caught and executed. For a long time people feared to live in the Miller residence, but later it was bought by Mr. and Mrs. Frank Bragg, who reared their family in the home.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
March 27, 1942



"A little child shall lead them . . ."

* * *

This was the theme, beautifully taken, of C. W. Hayes, supervisor of Negro schools, when a new American flag was lifted at the East Lake Negro School here in the sunshine of last Tuesday afternoon. A gift of Col. and Mrs. Ross C. Smith, the flag was presented and hoisted by their 4-year-old granddaughter, while the little colored boys and girls stood by in solemnly rehearsed ranks, singing their patriotic songs, reciting their original verses, loving their country in the nothingwithholding way of their youth and their race. Principal Edna Tucker, their teacher, summed up what everybody felt when she spoke of a love that ennobled this scene, put trees somehow on the treeless hilltop, grass in the grassless yard, brave paint on the shabby two-room building.

* * *

The flag was upside down when they hoisted it, but it was quickly righted. Many other things were made right, too, in this little ceremony of homely glory. They were made right by being exposed to an attitude of simple love and affirmation.

* * *

Looking on was Miss Hazel Glessner, state chairman of Approved Schools for the Pennsylvania Daughters of the American Revolution. And Mrs. Samuel L. Earle, Alabama's chairman. Their thoughts must have gone back to Crispus Attucks, the giant Negro whose death in the Boston Massacre of 1770 has been counted the first in the struggle for American liberty. Crispus Attucks, the Negro who loved this country enongh to die for it even though he was a slave! The struggle for American liberty goes on. It will always go on. But there are times when it is served best by loving and affirming. Times like this hour when all Americans have so infinitely more in common than apart.

* * *

A little child shall lead them! Every maturity of mind, method, organization, weapon and will is needed if we are to win this war against the slavery that beggars all others. But unless there is in addition, somehow, a simple love that will accept this country as a little child accepts it, putting aside doubt and debate until the great one is solved, the victory which will free us again for the unfinished tasks of freedom, may be long delayed.

* * *

In spite of the ringing editorials that circle back on themselves we prefer the straight stuff of The Montgomery Advertiser on the recent blitzkrieg against labor. Especially this: "Whatever may be the importance of the time-and-a-half payments for overtime, it is not important enough to justify the ruthless destruction of the American people's faith in their government and in their president at this hour!"

* * *

One of the nation's greatest editors, who happens to be also one of its finest orators, speaks to the Alabama Education Association tonight. He is Herbert Agar, of The Louisville Courier-Journal. You won't have to agree with Mr. Agar wholly on the matter of certain domestic crusades while a war threatens the whole arena of crusade to applaud him for the patriot he is.

* * *

Our heart goes out today in gladness for Dr. Henry Willingham, even though he won't invite us to his party. Twelve days ago he was just the collector of internal revenue and very unhappy about it. But now, and for the duration of the convention, he is the teachers' friend—and happy as a lark. He expects to have been visited by more than 2,500 before the bell rings.

* * *

C'est la guerre! There is a war on. And more than 100 army divisions of dollar bills are loafing in the Alabama state treasury when they ought to be out fighting Hitler on Alabama's educational front.

* * *

If the fact that education in a democracy at war is an essential war service can be proved to some people only by putting our school teachers into military uniforms, this column's observation of the "marms" who are here this morning is that they would look lovely in khaki. Or crinoline.

* * *

There is a war on. And in spite of strikes and profits, bungles and boondoggles, holdups and holdouts, complacency and bureaucracy; in spite of the part truth with which everybody is accusing everybody else—America is getting into the war at last like hell-broke-loose.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
March 28, 1942



"Save me from my friends and I can face my enemies . . ."

* * *

In the hearts of great numbers of Negroes in this country there is a patriotic love as simon-pure as any on earth. That was plain in the great mass meeting at the auditorium the other night. And that is as it should be. Nowhere else on earth has the Negro progressed so far or been promised so much. In spite of all the discriminations, injustices, hypocrisies, exclusions, denials, there is no better place anywhere to which he might turn. Nor is anyone anywhere more threatened by Hitlerism. If slavery comes back to this planet it is the Negro who is most sure to be one of the slaves. In the United States, while the Negro is still comparatively poor and underprivileged, he has improved his station more extensively and rapidly than any group in the land. The improvement has been accelerated lately with all sorts of court decisions in his favor, all manner of political maneuvering for his vote, an increasing economic competition for his trade.

* * *

But even though he has good reasons for his patriotism, the Negro deserves extra credit for showing so much of it against odds. He deserves credit for showing it against the agitators who are taking this as a time to stir him up, against the false friends who betray him by telling him he is betrayed, against the sentimental friends who will never say no to him in his own interests, against the cowardly friends who will take no stand for him in particular even, though loving him in general, against thieving friends who cheat him in his own name. The enemies of the Negro in America are old and well-known. They can be met and defeated, for they have been already on many fronts. It is the friends, the false or misguided friends, whom he has most to fear, it seems to us. The friends who give him false cues, who make such a good living "leading" him or "aiding" him that they refuse all perspective, the friends who are so professional they prefer being on his side to helping him.

* * *

Thank God for all the sensible, patriotic Negroes in this land who are going their way without regard to such friends! Thank God especially for those who have no ear for "friends" who tell them this is their great time, their shining opportunity to right all their wrongs and realize all their ambitions! This is nobody's great time, it is a time of war.

* * *

Against discriminations in war jobs our Negro Americans need every protection they can get. They need the commission which the president has at work on their behalf. They need to stand up for themselves in the confusions and changes of these times, just as do certain other groups, just as do all of us in one way or another. But more than this they need to put aside the fools and professionals who are telling them that this country has no value for them unless it is immediately made over for them.

* * *

They need to separate themselves, as most of them do, from such talk as that of Roy Wilkins, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who vowed in Detroit the other day that "the American Negro is just about 'fed up' with talk of democracy and now demands some action."

* * *

"Fed up with democracy!" The Communists are working as hard as they know how to encourage just such talk. The Japs and the Germans are happy to hear and encourage it—it is part of their war policy, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation found evidence recently of a Negro fifth-column group in St. Louis, sponsored by Japs, which goes in for just such expressions.

* * *

The United States of America is worth fighting for by its Negro citizens. Worth fighting for not for any perfection achieved here but for the only process on earth that has a promise of perfection. Worth fighting for not because it has given all men their due but because no men know a "better 'ole." That the great majority of our Negro citizens feel this way about it is proper and to their credit.

* * *

Now that the prairie fire is just about extinguished which was set when someone carelessly dropped a lighted match in Oklahoma and H. V. Kaltenborn kicked the local flame all over the country, let's not forget the lesson too soon to escape another fire in an opposite direction. Let's not let disclosures of war profiteering on the part of some companies and officials set us to burning capital up this week as unjustly and disruptively as we burned labor up last week. Let's take it from Nelson and Knudsen that while all of us need to watch our steps and work harder than ever, neither capital nor labor nor anybody else is betraying the country or stopping it from getting into the war now like hell-broke-loose.

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.



MAY 8 1942

Naming this column "one of the Negro's best Southern friends," The Danville (Va.) Register commends to its readers arguments used here against those sectors of the Negro press and leadership which are using the war to demand that all the Negro's wrongs be righted at once and whose agitations for the impossible are endangering the war effort and the real promises developed for the race.

48c-1942
Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.

THIS MORNING



by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

AUG 25 1942

"And I stood upon the sands of the sea, and I saw a beast rise up . . ."

* * *

The famous Thirteenth Chapter of Revelations is approaching its month of testing. The biblical soothsayers who have found in it the whole story of Hitler (who is the beast) and his war have only one interpretation for the passage, which declares: "And power was given unto him to continue forty and two months." Forty-two months from September, 1939, is March, 1943, as anyone can see. Maybe this is what Chairman May, of the House Military Affairs Committee had in mind.

AUG 25 1942

The only trouble is that this same chapter of Revelations was used on the other World War, and that war ended several months late. But maybe the Bible meant that four Winters are all the German people will stand for. That was the case before—and the fourth Winter is coming now.

* * *

"It uses the technique and even the material of the debunkers for a purpose exactly the opposite of theirs: to restore our conviction of human greatness," writes Malcolm Cowley in the New Republic of Howard Fast's new book about George Washington. "The Unvanquished." To restore our conviction of human greatness! It was partly for loss of that conviction that our democracy was grown so sick before this war. That Mr. Cowley accepts the need of its restoration is an event. Perhaps, in spite of his unfavorable review of another current book, 'Fair is Our Land," he may learn to accept even the need of faith, affirmation, appreciation, plus signs in our American psychology. Perhaps he is traveling the robust way of other liberals and humanitarians now, learning to speak of greatness and of beauty without having his fingers crossed. Perhaps he is about to understand that you do not compromise your dislike of littleness and your war against ugliness by taking unalloyed delight in their opposites.

AUG 25 1942

Maybe it is Wendell Willkie who is being groomed for the Joseph place in feeding the world when the war is over? Mr. Willkie ran for the presidency as a great business executive, and he has turned out to be a great democrat and humanitarian. Some may feel that his capacities as an administrator are still to be proved, since his job as president of Commonwealth & Southern was one that called more for pleading and representing than for executive talent.

* * *

A man who ought certainly to be considered for the Joseph job or a great part in it is Gilchrist B. Stockton, of Florida, now serving in the navy. Mr. Stockton was a special agent of Hoover's in Belgium with the American Relief Commission during the last war, served later as aid to Ambassador Page in London, then as aid to Adml. Sims there, and was subsequently placed by Hoover in charge of food distribution for German-Austria. When Hoover became president in 1928 he remembered Mr. Stockton's distinctive services and talents and made him United States Minister to Vienna. No other qualified American, we dare say, is so experienced in what the Joseph job would call for as Mr. Stockton is.

AUG 25 1942

* * *

Eugene Talmadge has a good chance of being renominated in Georgia Sept. 9. Even though 97 Georgia newspapers are against him and only 18 for him, he has Mrs. Roosevelt on his side. If only she realized it.

* * *

Federal officials who, for reasons of their own, are making a hush-hush matter of the recent change of policy in United States Employment Service practices as regards race differentiations and who are even trying to make it out that no change has taken place—have their heads in the sand. The news is out. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in its current release, quotes a letter it addressed to the president last Wednesday protesting "the recent directive issued by the United States Employment Service which gave permission to state and local offices of the uses to fill orders specifying race, creed, color or national origin unless local state laws prohibit filling discriminatory orders."

AUG 25 1942

Naturally a public knowledge that the administration, while still concerned with getting the Negro a fair share of the war jobs, has made concessions to the Southern position on segregation, does the administration no good in certain Northern quarters. But it does it immense good in the South. It will help to beat Talmadge, for excellent example.

Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dudley Glass

SEP 8 1942

The tumult and the shouting dies, as Mr. Kipling remarked.

This is the day before election day. To be meticulous, nomination day. What else counts in Georgia?



I have not checked on the last minute addresses of the rival candidates, but I trust neither Mr. Talmadge nor Mr. Arnall will issue a "canard" which I understand is an attack delivered too late to be effectively answered.

Up to this moment neither candidate has accused his opponent of poisoning his mother-in-law, kicking a bird dog or burning a neighbor's barn.

Mr. Arnall has had a distinct advantage in the race. He has no record to shoot at. True, he has been reported to have been a good attorney general, winning his appeals to higher court. But what the devil does old Bill Huxem down in Dooly or up in Fannin care about that?

Mr. Talmadge, on the other hand, has been vulnerable. He has a record to shoot at. Every man who has been long in office and tried to do things must go up against that. How much of Gene's record is good and how much is bad I'll leave to the political analysts. Personally, I consider Mr. Talmadge neither a reincarnation of the Saviour nor a devil whose horns are concealed beneath a slouch hat. I think he is an able and sometimes shrewd politician whose weakness is his bullheadedness. Friend of mine who is a staunch Talmadge supporter says Gene is so bullheaded that when he makes a mistake he could easily slide out of he just won't let anybody tell him.

On well, tomorrow will tell the tale.

SEP 8 1942

At Uncle Remus' Feet

A few days ago I saw two little girls—the pigtail age—sitting on a stack of newly sawed lumber and watching a white carpenter and two Negro helpers build an addition to a house.

I wasn't within hearing distance but I could imagine the number of questions they were asking and the answers they were receiving. Even if the white man was a grouch the Negroes wouldn't be. Nearly every one I've known has had a liking for children. I've rarely known one who wouldn't stop work to talk to them—on my time paid by the day.

But I couldn't help thinking how much these two little girls were gaining by an hour or two with working folk. It's an opportunity that doesn't often come to city children.

Work has always fascinated me—as an observer. Some of my happiest hours were spent in blacksmith and carpentry shops,

Dull Before Storm; Tomorrow Will Tell the Tale

getting in the way. Or in sitting beside a shoe repairer or a tinsmith. When a sign painter came to our village once I followed him from job to job and helped him mix paints. He even let me block in some of the big letters he'd outlined—though I suspect he touched them up a bit after I'd gone home to supper.

Children learn a lot from folk like that—and mostly it is good. There are profane and foul-mouthed men in all the trades—and professions. But usually they're pretty decent when children are about.

Joel Chandler Harris knew his stuff when he told how the little white chillun from the big house sat open mouthed at the feet of Uncle Remus and listened to his tales. It would be fine, I think, if every little boy and girl could find an Uncle Remus to tell them stories. But I'm afraid he passed out with the oxcart.

SEP 8 194

Desk Tacticians

Thousands of Americans, safe at home, are clamoring for the opening of a "second front" somewhere in Europe.

I, too, wish we could start something on the continent that would force the Nazis to get busy in the west and thereby weaken their attacks in Russia. But that's just a wish, not advice to the generals.

I have been working, more or less, with newspapers since Harry Thaw shot Stanford White, which occurred some time back.

But it would never occur to me to descend to the basement and tell the pressmen how to speed up their presses. Because I don't know the first thing about presses and I value my life. I don't know why, but I do.

We read frequently of the mistakes the British have made since the beginning, at Munich. Mistakes of statesmen, mistakes of generals. Our American statesmen made mistakes, too. In not permitting the nation to get ready.

But who are we, the great army of sit-at-desks, to plot strategy for the men who have been trained for it?

SEP 8 1942

I am no sports expert but I have been informed that Coach Alexander, out at Georgia Tech, has always possessed an enthusiastic corps of volunteer assistant coaches. Even the best of dogs have fleas to annoy them. I have never heard that Alex permitted this expert advice to revolutionize his system of training a team. Sometimes his team has won. Sometimes it has lost.

But I am of the well considered opinion that if the grandstand volunteer coaches had taken on the job Georgia Tech couldn't have licked the Ocilla High school team on any given date.

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.

THIS MORNING



by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

"Latin America—we shall create a new Germany there . . ."

AUG 24 1942

The prevailing temperatures and declarations in Brazil make a certain confusion for readers of "Mein Kampf." Things are not going as written down by the Little Black Moustache. "We shall not land troops like William the Conqueror and gain Brazil by strength of arms. Our weapons are not visible ones." Perhaps, though, the invisible weapons of which Hitler wrote are the rattlesnakes of the Atlantic which have been sinking Brazilian ships, drowning Brazilian citizens and soldiers. In any event, it is good for us to remember and for Brazil to remember that Latin America has honorable mention in the ambitions of Adolf.

* * *

"An expert," according to a faithful observer, "is one who avoids the small errors as he sweeps on to the grand fallacy." An expert is Germany's fuehrer as he spends on losing gambles the long results of his nation's careful and explosive military science.

AUG 24 1942

Something to be circulated around Georgia between now and primary day by those who want to see that state spared the shame and trouble of another Talmadge administration is a new ruling of the United States Employment Service in regard to "discriminatory specifications" by employers. A major source of racial irritation among Southern white people and of political capital for Talmadgites has been this agency's refusal to make race distinctions in filling requests not only for factory workers but for office ones. Nothing has contributed more to the suspicion that the administration was determined not merely on fullest use of available manpower but on social reform in the South in the very midst of the war effort. Now comes a new Operations Bulletin (No. C-45), dated July 1, 1942. Under Section Five of this (according to loud complaints in the Northern Negro press) it is provided that "if the employer refuses to eliminate discriminatory specifications, referral will be made on the basis of his order, providing the jobs to be filled are on essential industry."

AUG 24 1942

This represents a definite and significant change of policy and a helpful facing of the facts on race relations in the South. Without eliminating orders and agencies needed to obtain for the Negro a full place in the war production picture, it accepts the fact of the South's attitude on race segregation. That is a practical step in the interests of everybody concerned, and of the war effort as a whole. It needs to be made known throughout the South. It will do much to discredit the agitators of the white man, the wild alarmists, the wildly alarmed and those who seek political advantage in the current racial tension.

* * *

Some of us who remember affectionately the gentleman who, from 1928 to 1933, was Lt. David N. Mauseman, of the Birmingham Ordnance District, read with interest the other day a piece in The Philadelphia Record under a streamer which ran like this: "He Spends Almost $2,000,000 Here in a Day." The story was of Col. David N. Mauseman, "who is delivering Philadelphia-manufactured weapons to the troops at the rate of $41,000,000 a month, signs his name to contracts for $1,000,000 or more." A few years ago Col. Mauseman was chief of the Philadelphia Ordnance District. "From that comparatively small enterprise," says The Record, "he has become boss of Philadelphia's biggest business, which, at the moment, is war." There is a picture of the colonel which shows beyond a doubt that he is the lieutenant. The eagles look fine.

AUG 24 1942

Alabama's Walter C. Hand, too busy in Washington with his United States Coal Commission job to come home for a vacation this year, writes friends here of the pride with which he read in Washington newspapers last week the story of Tom Borders, Billy Lewis and Kent West—the Alabama boys who played such fighting leads in the first all-American air attack on Occupied France.

* * *

"Where American Faith Lies Deep" was the title of a piece in last week's New York Times Magazine. The "where" is the rural South. And the author is none other than that distinguished dramatic critic, Mr. Brooks Atkinson. Proving that Mr. Atkinson is not only a critic but a scene-shifter. He has shifted his seeing considerably since he reported that woeful lack of war spirit in the South.

AUG 24 1942

Who is going to be the American Joseph afted this war and feed the world's starving as Hpover did in 1918-19? Henry Wallace might be the man, for he has an experience and a deep humanitarianism that would fit him for the task in many respects. But he would hardly leave the vice presidency (or the presidency) for it.

Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

FAIR ENOUGH

By WESTBROOK PEGLER.

AUG 31 1942

NEW YORK Aug. 30.—When we say that an employer doing a job for the government must not discriminate against an applicant for work on the ground of race or religion, we discard merit, ability, demeanor and reliability as chief considerations and make race and/or religion the controlling qualification, which are the very things that we are trying to eliminate from consideration in the hiring of workers. When we have done this we must say to a worker of one group, whom he will presume to be a superior man in all respects, that he can't have a certain job for which he is peculiarly desirable, because, in the rotation of jobs, it happens to be the turn of a man belonging to another group who may be just mediocre, a whiner, a loafer and a demoralizer. In other words, Mr. A is disqualified on racial or religious grounds in favor of a much less worthy individual and may be set to brooding against the system and then against the group, racial or religious, to which the successful applicant belongs. That is no way to abate intollerance. That is the way to aggravate it.

Aggravates Intolerance

In a sense, political belief already is regarded as a qualification in private industry because, as we know, if some big employer were to say that he would hire none but Republicans that would be construed as coercion in labor relations and an attempt to impair the political freedom of the people involved. And so it would be.

But if we came to the point of insisting that he must apportion his jobs faily on the basis of Communist votes in the past local or regional election, we recognize the political test ourselves while trying to abolish it. But we might easily come to that if we accept the principle of proportionate hiring based on race or religion. It is just a half-step further in the same direction.

AUG 31 1942

Only Wants Fairness

A good man doesn't want to get by or be retarded on such considerations, he just wants fairness and will stand on his ability. Of course, in view of some recent utterances by Mr. Biddle, the attorney-general; Mrs. Roosevelt and Elmer Davis, on the subject of Communism in the United States, I think an American employer should be allowed to bar Communists. The government, itself, nominally, at least, bars them from its own employ. Mr. Biddle officially declared the Communist party to be hostile to our government, which certainly is good reason to discriminate against Communists, and Mr. Davis adopted as his test the attitude of any individual up to and immediately after Hitler's attack on Russia. If they were isolationists and appeasers and called this war a fight for the British imperialism up to June 22, 1941, but switched over and demanded American participation against the Nazi aggressor on June 24, they are Communists to him. It is a convincing test, though, because the party burned its rolls, it is impossible to prove membership by any record.

I see no reason why a private employer should be required to employ an enemy of the country whom the government thus identifies as such and still less why any government agency should consider itself bound to compel that enemy's employment under any act intended to protect the collective bargaining rights or political freedom of genuine Americans.

AUG 31 1942

Would Bar 'Em All

Naturally, even in pre-Pearl Harbor days, I would have barred all Nazis and Fascists also from public and private employment here. Membership in the Bund would have been my test as to Nazis, but the Fascists were more of a problem. They had no such organization as the Bund and were mostly just emotional and bombastic fools without stamina and courage. The most conspicuous of them, a political padrone in New York, took down his medal from the Duce and quit like a Black Shirt in Spain or Albania when we got Italy's declaration of war and threw it in the basket. He was never more than a cheap racketeer at worst.

AUG 31 1942

Henry Ford has been accused of and condemned for hiring one or more Nazis before Pearl Harbor, but at the same time, as today, our government compels big employers to do business with union officials who qualify as Communists by Mr. Davis' test and as enemies of the United States by the statement of Mr. Biddle.

Some day, if our side wins this war, we will get all our rights and liberties back, we hope. When that day comes, a man must be entitled to do his best, to be hired, promoted and retained on his job on his own merits, regardless of his race, religion or politics. If it is wrong to discriminate against him because of his color or his conscience, it is just as wrong, and it amounts to the same thing, to discriminate against him because of the next man's color or conscience. Character, ability and ambition are not proportionate. They are very erratic in human beings and if you deny the better man a chance to capitalize his worth you injure something very fine in him and arouse something very ugly.

48c-1942

'News', Chicago 'Trib' Betray U.S. Secrets

JUN 24 1942

Leak Chokes Off Source of Navy's Information About Japanese Plans

JUN 24 1942

By KENNETH G. CRAWFORD
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 23.—The McCormick-Patterson press still is publishing vital information to our enemies and getting away with it.

JUN 24 1942

The Justice Dept., making use of the facilities of the FBI, has thoroughly investigated the latest instance of censorship violation by the papers of the group—the Chicago *Tribune*, the New York *Daily News* and the Washington *Times-Herald*.

But the Department has decided not to take action against any of the newspaper executives or employes responsible. High Navy officials had demanded drastic measures as a precaution against further leakage of military secrets through the columns of these newspapers.

The article to which the Navy objected was printed in the *Tribune*, the *News* and the *Times-Herald* on Sunday, June 7. In Chicago and New York, it appeared under a Washington date line. In Washington, it was printed as a local story under the headline:

U. S. Navy Knew In Advance All About Jap Fleet; Guessed There Would Be Feint on One Base, Real Attack on Another."

Navy Pipeline Closed

The headline in the New York *Daily News* was:

JUN 24 1942

Naval Chiefs Knew Strength of Enemy.

The article related that the U. S. Navy was fully prepared for the Japanese attack on Midway early this month because it was informed in advance of the approach and make-up of Japanese Fleet units. Ships comprising the Japanese force were described and even named.

Infuriated, Navy Dept. officials turned the case over to the Justice Dept. with a demand for investigation into the sources of information tapped by the McCormick-Patterson press and, if possible, action against those responsible for using the material.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) disclosed, according to reliable reports, that the Chicago *Tribune* got the story and passed it on to the *Daily News* and the *Times-Herald*.

The *Tribune's* source was not in Washington, as the date lines tried to make it appear. The source was either on the West Coast or in the Pacific.

The source apparently was a Navy document. Whether it was given by a Navy officer or acquired some other way is not generally known, although the FBI may know.

JUN 24 1942

The vital facts of the case have been common gossip in Washington for several days. Reporters were asked not to disclose them until the investigation was completed. Now the investigation has been completed and the decision against prosecution made.

William D. Mitchell, former Republican Attorney General, was appointed a special assistant to Attorney General Biddle to handle the case. This was done to counter in advance the charge of political persecution that inevitably would have been made had Col. Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the *Tribune*, been called to account for printing the story.

In any case, it was decided that the facts did not warrant any Government action. The powers of the censor are legally uncertain. The Office of Censorship depends primarily o nthe voluntary co-operation which most U. S. newspapers gladly give it.

The code contains this provision:

"That nothing be published of movements of U. S. naval ships in American waters of the Pacific or tactical disposition of naval forces indicating any prior knowledge of enemy movements or strength, or of enemy ship locations, movements or identities in American waters of the Pacific, other than that which is contained in the official communiques of the Navy or War Depts. of their commands."

JUN 24 1942

'Tribune's' Second Offense

This is not the first time the Chicago *Tribune* and its affiliates have divulged information useful to the enemy. Shortly before Pearl Harbor, when it had become obvious that war between the Axis and the U. S. A. was inevitable, Chesly Manly, one of the *Tribune's* Washington correspondents, wrote in exhaustive detail about the Army's secret war plans.

His information obviously came from War Dept. sources and its secret nature was apparent on its face. This leak was investigated at the time and may still be under investigation. However, several copies of the document from which Manly got his information were in existence and it is understood that the identity of Manly's informant has never been definitely established.

The Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.

Defeatist Press Bares War Secrets

"The McCormack-Patterson press still is publishing vital information to our enemies and getting away with it," PM declared yesterday in a Washington dispatch.

Although it was clearly established that the Chicago Tribune, the New York Daily News and the Washington Times-Herald all published secret naval data on Sunday, June 7, Attorney-General Francis Biddle, head of the Department of Justice, "has decided not to take action" against any of the papers, the dispatch stated.

"The article related that the U. S. Navy was fully prepared for the Japanese attack on Midway early this month, because it was informed in advance of the approach and make-up of Japanese fleet units," PM stated. "Ships comprising the Japanese force were described and even named."

And this, mind you, in face of the official code of the U. S. Office of Censorship, familiar to all newspaper publishers, which requests the press to publish nothing about movements of American naval ships "or tactical disposition of naval forces **indicating any prior knowledge of enemy movements or strength, or of enemy ship locations, movements or identities"** other than the information contained in the official communiques of the War and Navy Departments.

JUN 24 1942

For some unexplained reason, it appears, Attorney General Biddle did not handle this important investigation himself. Perhaps he was too busy trying to deport the patriotic labor leader, Harry Bridges. The investigation was turned over to a former Republican Attorney General, William D. Mitchell. "This was done," according to PM, "to counter in advance the charge of political presecution that inevitably would have been made had Col. Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the Tribune, been called to account for printing the story."

We just wonder: Is Biddle trying to be the Petain to some dark-hourse American Laval?

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.



"Where the common sense of most
Shall hold the fretful realms in awe . . ."

* * *

All over Alabama and the South now you can hear atrocity stories. Stories of this and that oppression of the black man by the white, of one act of aggression and another against white people by black. The wise ones of both races will remember that even when these stories are true they are not always typical of anything. They are odds and ends of racial fevers that always come at an inflammatory time. Wise ones know, too, that the stories grow with telling.

* * *

The overwhelming majority of the white people and colored people of this community and the South have common sense. Too much common sense to listen any longer to the demagogues, exploiters, race-haters, and scared-to-death drum-beaters who are agitating the white man, to the professionals, sentimentalists, traitors, Communists and plain-ordinary-fools who are agitating the black man. The majority of our colored people do not expect to have segregation abolished now and are not demanding it. Neither are they asking anything other than to be allowed to go on working with the white man in war times as they did in peace times. Similarly the majority of the white people do not really believe the colored people have become so belligerent that only a show of deadly force can stop them. Yet here we are moving towards trouble for everybody simply because a few loud, hard, feverbrained leaders have gathered enough following to begin pulling the props away from the majority of us.

* * *

If trouble comes it will be the Negro who will suffer most—and longest. But the white man will suffer, too. The white people and the colored people of this community and region need each other. They are going to be living side by side here a long, long time. The simply have to get along. And, with all their differences, they can indeed get along if they will listen to common sense and keep in mind the things they have together.

* * *

Many influences have been brought to bear to quiet the agitators of the Negro or destroy their influence. This column believes these influences have had a considerable success. The need now would seem to be for influences to quiet the agitators of the white man and point out the vicious circle it makes. There is no need for the South to go through another crucifixion of race trouble. Now is the time for all men of good will and common sense, white and black, to resolve that no such crucifixion shall come.

* * *

And it won't come if our colored people will remember one thing and our white people one thing. It won't come if our colored people will remember that in a South where from a third to a half of the whole population is colored the race problem can never be settled in the same way or by the same leaders as in the North where the Negro population is relatively small—only 4 per cent of the total in New York, 5 in New Jersey, 4 in Indiana, etc. And, of equal importance, if our white people will remember that Southern politicians who can succeed in no other way can still succeed by raising the Negro issue, that it is an issue on which almost anybody can beat almost anybody and by that token irresistible to political demagogs.

* * *

If the majority is really to rule in this part of the country now—the majority of both races—it will rule against having the hell of race trouble brought upon us by agitators, professionals and sentimentalists on one side, demagogs and wild alarmists on the other. No matter what Mrs. Roosevelt and Gov. Talmadge propose, we are still masters of our fates here, and we can use the mastery to be spared such a fate.

* * *

Speaking to the Executives Club of Chicago last Friday and talking to many of the members afterwards, we found no hang-overs from the isolationism with which The Chicago Tribune identified the Windy City before America's entry into the war. We didn't even find anybody who had been an isolationist as late as a year ago. But we found most of those distinguished gentlemen as interested as we are in making sure that the American system for which we are fighting this war survives this war. And that can be done only if (1) our liberals stop turning socialist and (2) our business men being turning liberal.



"Where the commonsense of most
Shall hold the fretful realms in awe . . ."

* * *

All over the South advocates of the white man are being brought or restored to leadership because of agitators of the Negro. Georgia isn't the only place where a Talmadge is being given fresh power by a Mrs. Roosevelt. And the great majorities of us—white and black—know that neither the Talmadge way nor the other way has any hope of settlement for the most difficult race problem with which any people anywhere ever had to deal. The great majorities of us have no will either for this hateful interruption to a war effort that should be supreme or for this sure trouble which is being brought upon us by unwise and intemperate extremists on both sides.

* * *

Absolutely nobody but the agitators themselves can gain from this gathering situation. Happily the common sense of our people is coming to the fore at last. Temperate men are making themselves heard in counsels of moderation and a sane facing of the facts. The busy tellers of atrocity stories on both sides are not being listened to so eagerly. People are coming to understand that their whole peace and their whole function in this war effort are threatened by exaggerated interpretations the stories get.

* * *

"I have read with full approval your views on recent race relations developments," writes Senator John H. Bankhead, whose liberalism is weaponed always with sturdy common sense. "I am enclosing a letter which I have addressed to Gen. Marshall, chief of staff of the United States Army." The letter is a document as weighty for the South as was the recent statement of another Southern liberal, Mark Ethridge. Calling Gen. Marshall's attention to "increasing indications of a difficult race problem in the South" and citing the "stationing of Northern Negro soldiers to do military duty in the South" as a principal source of trouble, Senator Bankhead wrote that "the best friends of the Negroes in the South are very much concerned about the growing anxiety that race conflicts may break out and lead to bloodshed. Our people feel that the government is doing a disservice to the war effort by locating Negro troops in the South in immediate contact with white troops at a time when the race feeling among the Negroes has been aroused and when all of the energies of both the whites and the blacks should be devoted to the war effort . . ."

* * *

Senator Bankhead then made this sensible and constructive proposal to Gen. Marshall: "If you feel obliged to have Negro soldiers in the South as the result of social or political pressure, can't you place Southern Negroe soldiers there and place the other Negro soldiers in the North where their presence is not likely to lead to race wars?"

* * *

Like Mark Ethridge, Senator Bankhead is not passing judgment on race issues. He is simply facing facts and proposing that action be based on facts. And that is all that sensible and patriotic men can do at a time like this. The greatest emergency in the history of this land exists. And with it the greatest need of attitudes which permit our people to work together rather than to be divided and conquered. Unlike the extremists, Senator Bankhead is not raising an issue. He is trying to prevent one. That is what all of us must try to do. For it can be done if our majorities will refuse the leadership of these extremists who do not represent us but merely draw us in hateful and hopeless directions.

* * *

The way of moderation. The way of fact-facing. The way of refusing to accept this cup of race trouble. We tried to speak for it in this column last Tuesday, and messages of agreement are proving in their number and quality how possible and right an ideal it is. From Alabama's famous R. J. ("Bob") Goode, of Gastonburg, for example: "My appreciation for and complete agreement with your column of July 28. I think someone with a little common sense needs to pour some oil on the troubled waters. Whether fool or knave, the one who stirs up this racial issue at this time performs no service to our people." From famed William F. Feagin, right-hand man to Benjamin Meek Miller, comes similar total agreement with views expressed here and with the need of having them expressed. Our own beloved Dr. Henry J. Willingham writes: "That column rang the bell. Keep it up. There is a great deal at stake in our future relations between the races here in the South."

* * *

Judge Romaine Boyd writes: "Recent events recall the wisdom of your talk over the Town Meeting of the Air a year ago in which you appealed for unity and the subordination of social agitation and the aims of selfish minority groups to the inevitable business of winning the war in which you foresaw that America would be involved. What a difference it would have made if Washington had been more in accord with those courageous and patriotic views of your Town Meeting talk."

48c-1942
World-Telegram
New York, N. Y.

Fair Enough

By Westbrook Pegler



Some time ago a Negro boy whom I have known about three years came to New York with his regiment and telephoned his uncle, who is one of my close friends, to say that he had a few hours in town before embarking for an unknown destination, somewhere oversea. The boy is only 18 years old. He is an orphan and a volunteer soldier who might have waited for the draft and might have tried to make himself indispensable at a bench or lathe in some war factory. He enlisted last fall on his own decision from motives that make him a worthy comrade-in-arms of Butch O'Hara or Colin Kelly or Douglas MacArthur and to the approving and proud surprise of his uncle and aunt, who are his only living adult relatives. He had lived with his old grandmother in the outskirts of Jacksonville, Fla., until she died, in a region which must have been a ramshackle, smelly slum if I know my Jacksonville, as I certainly do.

His uncle then brought the orphan to New York and put him into a suburban high school for a term or two, where he did all right. Then abruptly, he quit and got work at a succession of such jobs as are available to Negro boys. He was now on his own and free to go helling around the drinking joints of Harlem until all hours and to get into trouble and, in some reckless or accidental adventure, establish a permanent police record as a bad actor, if he felt so inclined.

* * *

But last fall he enlisted and was sent to a number of army places before he found himself back in Florida driving a big truck. He didn't tell me, he didn't have to tell anyone because everybody knows that, although he was an American soldier in the uniform of his country, in Florida he still found himself in a class below that of the most treacherous undiscovered traitor of the German Bund and barred not only from the haunts of the white civilians whose very lives he had volunteered to defend with his life, but forbidden even to buy a sandwich or a glass of milk in a white restaurant.

Nevertheless, at the very moment of embarkation for a voyage through dangerous waters to face other dangers oversea, he not only was uncomplaining but happy and anxious only lest his uncle worry about him.

Now, assuming that this boy comes back from the war to a victorious country, what status will he come back to? Will he be niggerized again and restricted to menial jobs, Jim-Crowed and driven back to the dreadful ghettos of our cities or will he be treated as an American?

I doubt that consciously this boy has any idea that in fighting the foreign enemy of his country and of all freedom he is fighting a special fight of his own people for a decent measure of opportunity and consideration from the white Americans. But shame, if no other force, should compel the white American to face at last the fact that this boy and his people are the victims of a dirty deal that simply cannot go on. He cannot be asked to fight. His patriotic offer of his life cannot be accepted in human decency if, when it is all over, he is to be barred absolutely from all decent and pleasant surroundings for his home by reason of his race, barred from the trades and the factories and, in politics, only exploited as a club in the hands of one faction to beat another.

The injustice to the Negro people of the United States is more a matter of superstition, tradition, ignorance and indifference than of conscious cruelty in the hearts of the white men. They live among us, but we do not know them. Except when they erupt and riots result, we ignore their existence. We accept foreigners from Europe and organize leagues to protect their rights, we welcome them into all our residential districts with no more restraint than that of snobbery and all our professions and trades are open to them. But the Negro who was born among us and fights for the United States when war is up is told to stand aside because he is a Negro.

Although my recent adventure with the Negro press has subjected me to some spiritual violence, I am glad I provoked the subject because the experience has made me realize what awful conditions our indifference has put upon these fellow Americans. If I were a Negro I would live in constant fury and probably would batter myself to death against the bars inclosing my condition. I would not be a sub-American or a subhuman being, and, in docile patience, forever yield my rightful aspiration to be a man, to work, to progress and to move out of the slums; yield even to strangers come from other countries, including even strangers who had fought against me in the wars.

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.

THIS MORNING



by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

'The Marines have landed and have the situation in hand."

* * *

Echoed from a hundred shores and all their brave days, this famous word has its crowning fame now as the Marines make the greatest landing in history. Montezuma and Tripoli will have to move over for Solomon. It has been a job for men and for leaders of men—and both have been in action. When the final story can be told it will include ghastly tolls of flesh and blood, ships, planes and guns, but it will be a story of glory and it may be Chapter One in the Re-conquest of the Pacific.

* * *

As America goes to the attack—in Orient and Occident—it is good for our people to be full of hope, full of aggressive confidence, lifted with a will to win and to have done as quickly as possible with this monstrous interruption to freedom's way.

* * *

A salute to Maj. George Fielding Eliot for saying with felicity and authority yesterday what we have been saying for so long without either. "Let us be of stout heart," he wrote against all the advice of doctors. "Germany can lose the war this year either by failing to attain a sufficient measure of success over Russia, or by failing to obtain a breathing space of a result thereof. We can lose the war this year only by deliberately throwing our hopes of victory away." The great difference between the German position and ours is summed up by Maj. Eliot thus: "It is true that Germany must win a decisive success in 1942, or all is lost—for Germany. It is false that we must defeat Germany in 1942 or all is lost for the United Nations. Germany cannot stand any prolongation of the war except under conditions vastly better than those of 1942."

* * *

Is the awful lesson of India burning itself into our American imaginations? Are the American groups which think the war a shining occasion for bettering their lots observing how India has played with that philosophy into the hands of an enemy who can enslave her far more than can the British with whom she insists on quarreling? Are our domestic crusaders listening to the dreadful sounds of civil strife in New Delhi and Bombay, and to the other sound, more dreadful yet, of demoniac Japan at the Indian frontier waiting to oppress Gandhi's people as the British never did at their most oppressive.

* * *

Assistant Editor Holland of this paper hit a mighty nail on the head yesterday about cotton. "In the trade of the postwar world," he wrote, "there certainly will be a big place for cotton, one of the world's greatest raw materials. If the objective of equal access to markets and raw materials is attained—and it can be attained—cotton will have a greater place in the world's industry and trade than ever before, undoubtedly. That is a significant prospect for the cotton-growing South." Amen and amen! King Cotton is getting new prime ministers every day. Chemistry is one. The promise of lifted trade barriers among nations is another. New economy in production will be still another. And perhaps the ranking one of all will be the growing appreciation of the fact that in the raw material economy of the future the crop must be held more important than the stand, seam, well or deposit, the annually and infinitely replaceable thing more employable than the one limited or slow in supply.

* * *

These are days for being immoderate—but in one direction only and that is the direction of Germany and Japan. In all other directions, if this one is to be sharp-pointed, Americans need to be moderate.

* * *

Moderation among the white people. Moderation among the black people. And fact-facing by both. "The Negro as a race," writes one of the race's best editors, C. W. Rice, of The Negro Labor Review, Houston, Tex., "must cease listening to agitators about what we haven't got and think more about what we have and how to hold and protect it. We must not blame all white people for what some do. Nor should the white people judge the loyalty of the race by the loose talk and actions of some few Negroes. There are still those in both races who are unaware of the seriousness of the war and perhaps won't ever realize it unless another Pearl Harbor incident occurs in their home town . . ."

* * *

Our idea of one of an appalling change war has brought about, one so immense we can't yet believe it, is Judge Feidelson's statement that he hasn't noticed whether the ladies are bare-legged. Why, time was when the Judge—but it's too long a story for what is left of this column today.

Atlanta Ga Constitution
July 26, 1942,

TEXT AND PRETEXT

By M. ASHBY JONES

THE AUDIENCE.

It is just as unfair to say "the Jews crucified Jesus," as to say "the Georgians lynched a helpless Negro." It is true that those who composed the mob at Golgotha were Jews, and those who composed the mobs who tortured and killed Negroes without a trial, were Georgians. But the mob at Golgotha was very far from being all the people in Palestine, and only a small minority of the people of Jersualem. And the mobs of Georgia have never been more than a minority even of the community where the crime was committed, and they were far from representing the people of Georgia.



Nothing is quite so terrible in its blood lust and its unreasoning cruelty as the hysteria of a mob. The psychology of a crowd often leads men to do things, which they would never do individually. A mob nearly always is manipulated by a demagogue, who appeals to some primitive prejudice. Often it is an appeal to that which is in itself good. The lynching mobs in the south have been called upon to protect "the virtue of our women," until our most representative women publicly refuse to be represented by such a shameful travesty upon chivalry. So those who manipulated the Jerusalem mob appealed to the sacred traditions and sentiments of the people in defense of their religion.

While the mob is seldom, if ever, a majority of a community, it is for the time a dominant minority. For the time the lawless emotions of a community are mobilized, and the better sentiments and sympathies are cowed and silenced. So as Jesus dragged His cross through the narrow streets, there were thousands of people looking on, who were totally out of sympathy. Such was the group of women, whom the record says "wept" as they beheld this pathetic parade of cruel injustice.

Feeding Emotions.

Jesus instantly reads the meaning of the women's tears. Like all the rest of that great crowd of onlookers which lined the streets, or peered through half-closed shutters, they had left whatever tasks engaged them to find out the meaning of the shouting, and watch the procession. They would shed a few tears, and when the parade had passed by wipe their eyes and return to their tasks. It was the effect of a drama upon an audience. There is the instinct of an audience in all of us. It is the desire to see the vital experience of people dramatized, without feeling any sense of responsibility.

A play only involves our emotions for a moment. The emotions have appetites, and while the choice of food differs with the cultivation of our tastes, there is a primary desire in all of us, to be thrilled by the sensational. So an audience is ready to weep or applaud, criticize or approve, with no conscious responsibility for translating its emotions into solving problems or remedying evils. The significance of an audience is that people—who are mere onlookers—whether at a play, or viewing the experiences of real life, they leave the drama with a sense of moral complacency.

Jesus in one revealing sentence—"Weep not for me but for yourselves, and for your children"—takes these women out of the audience, and involves them as actors in the drama. He is saying, "The essence of this drama is not to be found in the effect which it has on me, but what effect does it have on you?" The suffering which Jesus must undergo in this unjust execution is not comparable to the tragedy of a people who could allow such a miscarriage of justice.

November 11th, 1922, the city of Washington staged a most spectacular parade in honor of those who had died in the first World War, and those who had dared death "to make a world safe for democracy." It was a brave show. The President and his cabinet, and the commanding generals reviewed the parade from a stand. Rank after rank of the boys who fought in France marched by, some with the marring marks of the battle upon their bodies. As the parade halted for a moment, a keen-eyed reporter, discovered at the very end a vehicle with the bowed and broken body of Woodrow Wilson, paying his last tribute to the boys whom he had commanded. In the light of a quarter of a century of history, it was the most tragic picture in the story of our republic. A throng of women gathered about the car and wept.

Woodrow Wilson, with his challenging plan of the League of Nations for a permanent peace for the world, had been rejected. Our country had begun its fatal descent into the slough of "normalcy," as we left the other nations to begin their downward march toward a yet greater slaughter of mankind. By the revealing truth of these after years, well might our great President have turned to those women with the words of Jesus upon his paralytic lips: "Weep not for me, but for yourselves, and your children."

The essential truth here is to be found in the fact that in the drama of life there can really be no more audience. Each one of us plays a part in the final denouement. All social and political conditions are the result of the combined contributions of sentiments, convictions and acts of all the people. Once again our beloved nation faces a supreme opportunity. Now we call it "total war." Then there can be no audience. Those who try to be mere onlookers at a world drama, are our enemies. But there must follow this world war a world peace, in which America will be challenged once again to lead. We cannot, we must not, try again to withdraw to a seat in the audience, watching the world plunge again into the abyss of war, dragging our sons of another generation with them.

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.

JUL 21 1942

THIS MORNING



by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

"Where lies the land to which the ship would go?
Far, far ahead, is all her seamen know.
And where the land she travels from? Away,
Far, far behind, is all that they can say."

* * *

Far, far ahead lies the oil of the Caucasus. Far, far behind are the old folks at home, living on synthetic stuffs and waning hopes. And always the planes roar and the guns rattle and the boots tramp with a sound of last chance. Hitler has shot the works. It is a big shot. But to date it hasn't been quite big enough. If it doesn't turn out to be—then we can end this war against Germany sooner than we think by trying harder than we know how.

* * *

When the very arena in which we Americans seek our advancements, conduct our crusades, wage our competitions and exercise our rights against each other and mankind comes to be in danger, then we Americans are bound in all common sense to subordinate advancements, crusades, competitions and rights while we save the arena. That was what Hugo Black, man of many crusades, had in mind when he told the "Southern Win-the-War" meeting in Raleigh the other day that the people of this country must give up the luxury of "quarreling among ourselves over differences, however important, which do not directly relate to the cause for which we fight." Justice Black's words must have pleased some of those who attended this meeting more than they did others who attended this meeting.

* * *

Something else that interests us in these comments by the one-time Klansman who has turned out to be one of the smartest, most devoted and soundest men on the United States Supreme Court bench is that they are another expression of his progress towards acceptance of certain things as more important than the games we play here in America. If the games are to go on as productively as they must, a thing that must be held superior to them is the rules of them. Another, of course, is the arena in which they are played. When Hugo Black was the passionate crusader of other days, he indicated no great enthusiasm for these superiorities. But more and more, as the wise and humanitarian judge, he is coming to do so now.

* * *

"The interest of Alabamians in Georgia politics," thinks Editor Gould Beech in The Montgomery Advertiser, "is confined to the hope that Eugene Talmadge will be retired. Alabamians, generally speaking, are neutral as to who does the job." Speak for yourself, Gould, and for us. But don't forget that there are plenty of Alabamians who are being led to believe Eugene Talmadge is a white knight against the Negro and the New Deal and who, openly or in hiding, are for him for his own fanatical-demagogic sake. They ought to be ashamed of themselves, and so ought the people who have agitated the Negro enough to give Gene this shining chance.

* * *

Here's hoping that the pastoral evangelism to which Dr. J. M. Broady is going to give his golden time from now on will find enough field in Birmingham to be exercised here as well as elsewhere. Absent from the city when his retirement from the pastorate of the Sixth Avenue Presbyterian Church was announced, we give him this belated but heartfelt salute for 30 years of service to God and man among all of us here. His personality, his deeds, his loving and helping and comforting and attending, are printed through all eternity upon this community.

* * *

Editor Santford Martin, of The Winston-Salem Journal, agrees that Dramatic Critic Brooks Atkinson, of The New York Times, spoke out of turn when he accused the Southern states of a certain want of war fever. Col. Martin points out that there may indeed be certain aspects of the war in which the South is less interested than is New York. Because the South is a less likely target for air and other attack than the national metropolis it "may be a bit too complacent about civilian defense measures," he thinks, but he takes his stand for this region as entitled in all the statistics, votes and volunteerings to be called "The Fighting South."

* * *

Gentlemen, this is war! The Stevens Hotel in Chicago, biggest in the world, scene of more political smoke-filled rooms than any other, is to be taken over Aug. 1 by the United States Army as a training school. And so is the Congress Hotel.

* * *

There may never be a perfect motion picture but the one they have made of "Mrs. Miniver" comes as near as possible. It is important for its meanings, arts and expressions of the civilization we are going to save now if we can. It is important for the impetus it gives every heart to sacrifice for things as precious as we and England own. And it is important for being as absorbing, charming and thrilling a story as we have seen on the silver sheets in many a day.

48c-1942
Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

White Newsman Gives U. S. Something to Think About

DETROIT, Mich. — (ANP) — Drawing aside the mask of insincerity and apathy so typical of the attitude of the average American toward Negroes, W. K. Kelsey, widely known newsman and student of race relatons, last week gave Detroiters a heart-to-heart talk in his column, he Commentator, published in the Detroit News.

Almost without parallel in American journalism, Commentator Kelsey's revealing article shunted aside the hypocrisy of the whites, dealt a body blow to the old bugaboo of miscegenation and social equality, and declared that science has proved that the so-called "white supremacy" is a myth, pure and simple.

LOT TO LEARN

Writing on "This America," Commentator Kelsey stated, in part:

"There are a lot of Americans who have a lot to learn about America.

"For instance, there are those boys at Dodge truck plant of the Chrysler Corp., who walked out because some Negroes were sent to the plant to work beside them. They were wrong on two counts.

"They were wrong because the constitution of their UAW-CIO union recognizes distinction between Negro and white; and chiefly they were wrong because the constitution of the United States of America recognizes no such destinction.

"The UWA-CIO believes in the American constitution, in American democracy; believes that a man's a man, for a' that, as Bobby Burns once remarked when he took a slap at the British aristocracy.

"It is impossible to be fundamentally American, to believe sincerely in the American democratic principle, and hold, also, that the American-born Negro, the American-born Chinese, or any other American citizen whose complexion is different from that of the majority.

QUARREL WITH SCIENCE

"You may hold that though this is American doctrine, it is nevertheless mistaken.

"You may insist that the white race is superior, and must be recognized as such. If you do, you start a quarrel with the scientists. . .'Science is pretty careless of long-nourished popular beliefs. It aims at truth, no matter how unpopular the truth may be.

"And science holds that there isn't a nickle's worth of difference between racial capacities . . .

"The white immigrant had the advantage of our free schools, and they were good ones. But what about the native American Negro?

"His greatest numbers were in the South. What kind of schools did he have access to?

"Few, and bad schools. Before emancipation, almost none; there was no object in educating the slave beyond the training of his muscles to do the work required. Besides, if he learned to read, he might get subversive ideas.

"After the slave had been freed and made a citizen, the story differed but little.

"It was not entirely the south's fault; that whole section had been impoverished and disorganized by the war, and it was natural for the white land-owning taxpayers to look out for his own family before he did anything for the Negro.

"Therefore the Negro got what was left over, and that was not very good. He did the dirty and heavy work, and was underpaid, and it was as much as he could do to stay alive.

"Did that fact lick him? It did not. He produced leaders who knew that for the colored race a great part of the answer lay in education.

FOUND SCIENCE RIGHT

"Somehow, by heroic efforts, they founded schools and colleges. And they proved that what the scientists said was correct; that the Negro could absorb education as well as the white, and could implement it as well as the white.

"In mental capacity racial difference didn't count for a fig.

"But in the back of the Caucasian mind, and not vey far back, lay two obnoxious ideas—miscegenation, and social equality.

"The former was all right, if it was forced on the Negro by the white; the mulattos, quadroons and octroons didn't get that way by using hydrogen peroxide.

"But the other way round was all wrong. Every self-respecting Negro today will tell you that either way it's all wrong.

"The Negro doesn't ask for it, doesn't expect it, doesn't want it.

"But when it comes to social equality, as distinct from political equality, which the law already recognizes, he means to get it, and he means to obtain it by the same means that the poor and underprivileged white man got it —by proving himself worthy of it, and by gradually overcoming the prejudice that stands in his way.

THE OPPOSITION

"Where do you see the oppsition to this demand? Among the more enlightened citizens? Or among those who are in economic and to a considerable extent already in social competition with the Negro?

"Some day, after we have shown our faith in the East Indians, and the Chinese, and the blacks in Africa, we may demonstrate our faith in American democracy, and make it real."

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.

THIS MORNING



by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

Commenting against Mark Ethridge's recent statement and this column's endorsement of it, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People says we don't "understand the real feelings of millions of Negroes in the South and the North who believe strongly that the worldwide war against totalitarian brutality must include also the wiping out of restrictions based on race and color in America."

* * *

But what Walter White and those in high place who give him his courage don't understand is that there are two sets of "real feelings" involved. One is the white man's. Right or wrong, segregation is a thing Southern whites are not going to give up now. Those who goad Southern colored people into demanding its surrender are simply making trouble for them and compromising their very real hopes of advance. The Southern Negro has to get on with the Southern white man. Those from far-off places who get him into big trouble with the Southern white man can never "advance" him. And trouble is brewing. That is why those of us who know we are friends of the Negro so bitterly oppose the suicidal tactics of the N. A. A. C. P. and the sections of the Negro press that support them.

* * *

These tactics seem to include now not only misleadership but deceit. Turning on Mark Ethridge because of his fact-facing statement, the N. A. A. C. P. speaks of him as "former chairman of the president's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, now back in his editor's chair at Louisville," and says he "made the statement in a recent editorial." Mr. Ethridge, of course, is still a member of the committee and his statement was made at an open hearing before the committee.

Telegraph
Macon, Georgia

Such a World

'Henderson Axe' Hits Just Owner The Harder . . .

* * *

Dealers Are Most Affected by Loss Of Attractiveness In Real Estate as An Investment . . .

* * *

Negro Soldier Will Bring Me Jap as Reward for Ride To Ball Game . . .

—By W. T. Anderson—

FOUR NEGROES were in a dog-trot, scurrying down Walnut street toward the ball park.

"It sho is nice of you, white folks," said the large black boy as they accepted my invitation to ride to the ball game. "You, know, sir," we was just a-hurrying trying to get down there to see the first ball come over the plate—and here you comes along and saves us all that running."

"Umh-hunh! Sho is" exclaimed the other in enthusiastic endorsement of their spokesman.

"You know, white folks," continued the spokesman, "I am going to join the army tomorrow — yes, sir, done sent for me and I'm sho happy to get in there, too. I wants to git me a Jap all by myself and for my own. And, sir, you know what I'm going to do for you in appreciation of this nice ride? Well, sir, I'm goner get you a Jap, too, and I'm sho going to bring him home to you on my shoulder —one I killed myself. I ain't no hand to be shooting at somebody I can't see. I am goner wait until I can see the white of his eyes, and then I'm goner let him have it, and then I'm goner get him and bring him home to you right here in Macon, Ga., toting him on my shoulder and lay him down in your office, for your own Jap. Yes, sir!"

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, PA.

The Horizon

IN WHICH THE WRITER TAKES HIS STAND—PREFERRING AN IDEALIST LIKE WALLACE TO A REALIST LIKE MR. PEGLER.

BY P. L. PRATTIS

THE battle is on between the idealists and the realists. On the one side we have such idealists as the Roosevelts, the Wallaces, the Willkies, the Welleses, the Deweys, Biddles, Ickeses, and so forth. On the other side we have such realists as the Bilbos, the Talmadges, the Peglers, the Connallys, the Rankinses and ingrained national habit.

The issue between the contending forces is simple, very simple. The idealists reduce the issue to race and color. They believe the world is at war today because in the past one race or color has sought to take advantage of, or exploit, another race or color. In some instances whites have exploited whites and colored peoples have exploited colored peoples; but, in most instances, the whites have taken advantage of colored people and have rigidly assigned them an inferior position in world affairs. The idealists say that we ought to try to do away with systems of exploitation of anybody and that we ought to try not to make color or race a reason for robbing weaker people. They also say that we ought to recognize the fundamental equality of all people and that WE WHITES should discontinue thinking we are so darned superior to everybody else. In plainer words, they want prejudice to be abolished.



Mr. Prattis

The realists insist that the line taken by idealists is poppycock. They rather infer that the impulse to exploitation and prejudice based on race and color are instinctive—as imperative as hunger. They are determined to fight for exploitation and racial and color prejudice, while the idealists plead against it.

It must be conceded that the idealists have launched an attack on well known, strong positions of the realists in this country, especially, and abroad.

JUN 27 1942

PEGLER DANGEROUS

THE so-called realists have always had the subterranean press with them. There are literally hundreds of furtive sheets which plug away weekly throughout the country to maintain the position which the white man has chosen for himself as the lord of creation. But, more recently, the so-called realists have launched a counter-attack against the "idealists" and "visionaries" in the more respectable daily press and from the public platform. The die-hard believers in "white supremacy" and the pelf of prejudice are determined to close any gaps in their ranks made by such as Willkie, Wallace or Welles.

Not the meanest of these so-caled realists, but the most dangerous, is liable to be Westbrook Pegler. Pegler is not dangerous because he may harbor a prejudice based on race or color. I believe that Pegler has his share of prejudice, but I do not believe he has as much as Talmadge, and I do not believe the texture of his prejudice is the same. Pegler is dangerous because he gets into millions of American homes every day and has a chance to try his sales talk out on mothers, fathers and CHILDREN. Pegler is dangerous because, in addition to being smart, he has a conceit of which he is proud. Pegler is dangerous because he makes a profession of searching always for the evil—never for the good. Pegler is dangerous because he is sold on his own logic; when, as a matter of fact, he is one of the most logically illogical men writing for the American public. Pegler is dangerous because it is all too obvious that his talent for writing, his conceit, his processing methods with social garbage and his entree into American homes are all being used by men behind the scenes who give him a job to do which they couldn't do—and would be ashamed to do—in public. They pay him well and applaud him in private.

SPOKESMAN OF PREJUDICE ON THE MARCH

JUN 27 1942

IT is Pegler who takes advantage of a free press to label the Roosevelts, the Wallaces, the Willkies, the Deweys, the Welleses and others, political hopheads and idealists. He terms their pleas against exploitation and for interracial brotherhood so much bunk. He insists that white Americans are going to stick by their prejudices, regardless. Pegler led the first sally in the counter-attack. The Scripps-Howard papers, for which he writes, are following closely behind him. Independent writers in the ranks of the realists are sharpening their pencils and oiling their typewriters. The first step in the propaganda barrage loosed by the realists has been to label the opposition idealists and visionaries. The suggestion is that those who fight against racial and color prejudice are weak-minded and impractical.

SCIENTISTS ARE IDEALISTS

I AM for the idealists and the visionaries. I do not consider them weak-minded or impractical. If I were against idealists and visionaries, I would have to be against most religion and most science. I would have to start out by renouncing Christianity and all its ethical concepts. When I had cleared myself of all the convictions to which my spirit clings, I would have to dig my toes in and have it out with idealists and visionaries in other fields. I would call the man who first contended that the earth is round, a visionary. I would dub old Da Vinci who first thought of the possibility of an airplane a visionary. I would label Pasteur an idealist. I would smear the inventor of the incandescent lamp a visionary. I would repudiate the inventor of wireless and the radio as an idealist. I would call the first attempts of Ben Franklin to harness lightning the antics of a visionary. In fact, I would have to label all the contributions to our civilization which were beyond the grasp of common men but were reached by men who strove for them, the products of visionaries and idealists. How the common herd laughed at the first steamboat, the first train! There were Peglers in that common herd.

INVENTIONS SYMBOLIC OF FAITH AND WORK

I SHALL line up with the Wallaces, the Welleses, the Roosevelts, the Willkies, these visionaries and idealists. I know their way is the way of the Golden Rule. And I know that the Golden Rule is as far from being a fact in the lives of men today as the airplane, the wireless, the telephone and sulfanilimide were two centuries ago. But these latter things have become facts in our lives. They are the symbols of the faith and work of men who led and toiled in the physical world. Da Vinci, Galileo, Newton, Bacon, Franklin, Fulton, Edison, Marconi were all idealists and visionaries. Why should interracial brotherhood be harder to achieve than was the job of imprisoning lightning in a bottle? Maybe it can't be achieved today, tomorrow. But is that a reason for not striving for it? Four hundred years after Da Vinci envisioned the first airplane it became a fact. Maybe four hundred years after the scientists of man's spirit, even such idealists and visionaries as Wallace and Willkie, have caught a glimpse of brotherhood, it may become a fact in the lives of man. I believe it may. The Peglers, the realists, don't. Therein the issue is joined. You, too, will have to take sides.

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.

AUG 2 1942

THIS MORNING



by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

"Before the hills in order stood,
Or earth received her frame,
From everlasting thou art God.
Through endless years the same . . ."

* * *

Totally, in whole heart and full voice, they sang the old song at Vesper services in the great assembly hall at Bay View, Mich., the other Sunday evening. "O God, our help in ages past—Our hope for years to come—Our shelter from the stormy blast—And our eternal home . . ." They sang it in a worship without stint or question, a worship which not even the most religious of that religious group could have employed a year ago. Listening to them in that land of maple and beech and hemlock and birch and rolling hills, beside those cool waters of blue Lake Michigan, we thought of the 67 years in which the Bay View Assembly has been developing from the original Methodist camp meetings, of the multiplications of service and association and establishment between the first presidency of Dr. J. H. McCarty in 1875 and the one so graced and well executed by Dr. Hugh Kennedy today, and of how exceptionally good it is in this time of war that God should be worshipped so fervently in that beautiful vacation land.

* * *

Bay View's annual assembly of religious and secular talks and fine music owes its existence to the desire of Methodists in Michigan to have a camp ground after the pattern of Martin's Vineyard and Ocean Grove on the Atlantic coast. But as we lived their life with them there for two days last week we were thinking more often of Plymouth Rock, of the Pilgrim Fathers landing beside the great waters on a shore of noble rocks and trees, coming there to worship God in their own way.

* * *

To worship God in their own way. In the years since the Pilgrims came, especially in the years just before this war, Americans have sometimes been so aware of the "in their own way" part of that coming that they have overlooked the "to worship God" part. Those Pilgrim fathers came here to worship God. That was the great point of their coming, not the fact that the particular way of worship they preferred was denied them across the sea. The "way" was of importance only because the desire to "worship" was sure. It was the worship that counted. It may be that out of this war, its soul-searchings and challenges, our people are going to go back to first things in this and many other respects. First things in religion, in democracy, in labor unionism, in free enterprise, in regionalism and in racial expressions.

* * *

We have been so engrossed in the business of getting our own way of worship that we have forgotten to worship. We have been fighting so hard for more democracy that we have failed to use the democracy we have. We have been so deep in battle for labor's rights that we have forgotten how those rights must be employed for quality in workmanship and for character and responsibility in those who work. We have gone into action so hard against threats to free enterprise, by the New Deal or something else, that we have failed in the spirit of free enterprise ourselves in a necessarily changing world. In the South we have denounced Northern and national discrimination against us as a region so roundly that we have overlooked the need of exercising ourselves as a region, expressing the best that is in us here. In the same South we have become so exercised over what we have conceived to be racial threats or racial injustices that we have failed in the great task of making ourselves excellent and constantly improving and contributing members of the well-known human race.

* * *

The Wendell Willkies spent the Summer of 1937 at Bay View, we learned. We met there Mrs. Albert Bledsoe Dinwoodie, widow of the late president of Tulane. And Mrs. Thomas W. Marshall, widow of the vice president, back for the first time since she had spent a Summer there with her husband 20 years ago. She told us how much she regretted the destructive things the great Indianan had said in his life the one to be remembered most should be "what this country needs is a good 5-cent cigar."

* * *

A visitor with the patriotic pageant his people are staging in Atlanta; we was famed Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman, founder of the Oxford Group and leader of the current "Moral Rearmament" movement. His associates call their pageant "You Can Defend America." It is extraordinarily popular everywhere. When Dr. Buchman told us of the excep-

AUG 2 1942

tional interest in it he didn't think the asked him if he did religious than any South more religious other part of the country. He agreed but said that could be a bad thing as well as a good. "For example," he said, "when we make an appeal in the South, the response is likely to be an old-

rne 48c-1942
Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.

Guild Cheers Blast On Defeatist Press

(Special to the Daily Worker)

DENVER, Colo., June 23.—Delegates to the ninth annual convention of the American Newspaper Guild in session here applauded today a demand that steps be taken to check the activities of the appeaser and defeatist press of the United States "in the interests of the war and victory effort."

The call for action came from A. J. Isserman, General Counsel of the American Newspaper Guild, who, in a vigorous speech barbed with sharp references to those whom Vice-President Henry Wallace has characterized as "saboteurs of the mind," charged that publishers hostile to the war and victory program were seeking to conceal their pro-Axis line behind phoney talk about "freedom of criticism."

The convention today also heard a stirring speech by Monrce Sweetland, national director of the CIO Committee for American and Allied War Relief. It also named Dillar Stokes, a reporter for the Washington Post and member of the Washington Guild as recipient of the Heywood Broun Memorial award for "the best job of the year in the Broun spirit." The prize—a check for $250, is based on a newspaper series which, in the words of the award commmittee, "contributed to the conviction of the anti-Semitic German agent, George Sylvester Viereck, to the conviction for perjury of George Hill, secretary to the notorious congressman Hamilton Fish, and to the revelation that the rantings of the notorious Congressman Clare Hoffma were being used as propaganda to weaken American unity."

ASSAIL DEFEATIST PRESS

Mr. Isserman, in denouncing "the insidious, lying approach of some American newspapers," said that the use of vital war material in the production of news print, ink and printing equipment, and metals such as zinc (used for photographic reproductions) raised the basic question as to whether the people of the U. S. had not the obligation to determine whether newspapers were using this material in the interests of victory—or defeat.

"The publishers have taken the correct positions," the speaker added, "that the newspaper business is an essential war industry. But this definition obviously does not apply to newspaper sabotaging the war effort by disrupting the home front, raising false issues and sowing racial discord."

Explaining that no concrete program had as yet been outlined by the Guild for coping with the defeatist press, Mr. Isserman suggested the possibility of a government board consisting of Federal representatives, the publishers, trade unions and the public.

Col. Robert McCormick of the Chicago Tribune will, of course, shout about 'the freedom of the press' if a plan is perfected for curtailing the use of newsprint to papers hostile to the war effort, Mr. Isserman said. "But that," he concluded midst applause, "will have no validity, the press is an instrument of war and might well rate equal priority with guns, tanks and planes."

ALLIED RELIEF

Mr. Sweetland, in his address on work of the CIO Committee for American and Allied War Relief, thanked the Guild for its work in this field and outlined a number of practical suggestions for "intensifying and coordinating the activities."

"The CIO is working, fighting and giving for victory," he asserted. "The CIO is working furiously on the production line — performing the most amazing job in industrial history in the production of steel, textiles, rubber and aluminum, in jeeps and tanks and planes and munitions." He estimated that almost 80 per cent of the Nation's war production, outside the transportation field, is done by CIO men and women.

"The CIO is fighting," he added, citing the fact that "between 300,000 and 400,000 men have left our mines and offices and mills to go into the Army, Navy and Marine Corps." Mr. Sweetland pointed out that the third great responsibility which the CIO has just begun to assume is "organized giving—giving an hour's pay a month for the duration to the USO and the Red Cross and Navy Relief, to our heroic brothers in China and Russia and Britain. The CIO has already become one of the largest, if not the largest, regular contributor in the Nation to the essential war relief organizations."

The CIO representatievs also tcld the Guild delegates of recent allocation of funds to the families of AFL men—about 12,00 building workers—who were taken prisoners at Wake and Guamby the Japanese, and of bundles of necessities sent to these men in Japanese prison camps.

The Guild convention thus far is not "dramatic" in the ordinary sense. But its drama is of a higher order, for the sessions are characterized by earnestness of deliberation and an apparent unity of spirit behind the war against Hitlerism. Before the convention adjourned it is expected to consider resolutions on war activities, the defense of Harry Bridges and international trade union unity.

Because of the anticipated absence of "fireworks," the convention is getting limited coverage by the press. For the first time in the Guild's history there is no representative from the Editor and Publisher, trade organ of the newspaper industry.

Guild delegates were shown the town today. With the Denver Local as host, Guildsmen were taken on an auto drie into Denver's mountain parks. The convention will adjourn Friday following selection of the 1943 convention city.

Star of Zion
Charlotte, N. C

The Negro Press

It is a dastardly and cowardly thing which Westbrook Pegler and some of his sympathizers, notably the Hearst papers, have attempted to do: to stigmatize certain outstanding Negro newspapers as being disloyal and engaging in subversive practices. This infamous libel is all the more reprehensible when it is realized that white newspapers, with but few exceptions, have ignored the commendable achievements and important activities of Negroes to the extent Negro newspapers have been absolutely indispensible in telling the story of amazing progress which Negro Americans have made. Moreover, Negro newspapers have had to wage a relentless fight for the right of Negroes to work and fight for the preservation of our nation and democracy, because white newspapers the nation over have been consistently silent on this battle, with a few notable exceptions like the Louisville Courier-Journal and the Chicago Tribune, to mention just two.

Life Magazine, in its June 15 issue, while portraying a vivid and gratifying picture of "Negroes at War" takes a "dirty dig" at Negro newspapers by saying "The sensational Negro press has done its best to magnify affairs such as this (referring to clashes between whites and Negro soldiers in the South) into 'race riots,' but there is every indication that cooperation and friendly feeling between the races is higher than ever in the Army."

To this we reply that if that cooperation and friendly feeling between the races is higher than ever," and we believe it is, it is almost wholly due to the persistent fight of the Negro press, which promoted and brought it about rather than hinder it. The white press has done little enough.

White Press Shirks Responsibility

"Weekly Review"

The letter from Lester B. Granger, Secretary of the National Urban League, to the Pittsburgh Courier sums up the general effect of Pegler on the Negro Press:

Westbrook Pegler's comments on the sins of the Negro press (World-Telegram, April 28, 1941) are ill-informed and misdirected. The most loyal supporter of Negro journalism must admit its serious faults. Any intelligent and honest critic, however, will recognize that these faults, if not mere reflections of those to be found in the American newspaper filed generally, grow from the peculiarly adverse conditions under which Negro Americans live.

If Negro newspapers over-emphasize racial discrimination as practical against their readers, it is because the white press generally shirks its own responsibility by keeping silent. Not a dozen important dailies in the United States even pretend to report honestly and fairly the oppressions of America's white majority against the citizenship rights of Negroes. If the Negro editor seems sometimes to try to extenuate a Negro's infraction of the law, it is because the white press almost invariably magnifies discrimination or ignores the real facts.

If a Negro newspaper, hard pressed for advertisers, accepts contracts from business houses of doubtful repute, its sin is hardly as serious as that of the white daily carrying a breaking ad from an employer or a help wanted ad marked "White Christian only." If the effect of "lucky stone" advertisements contradicts the Negro editor's appeal to the intelligence and racial pride of his readers, this by no means matches the impudence of a Westbrook Pegler pretending to have any concern for or understanding of the unbearable problems which confront and confuse Negro citizens in an imperfect American democracy.

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala

THIS MORNING

by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

"All is not gold that glitters . . ."

* * *

And neither is all German that goes round and round in the basin of the Don. The advantage for the Allies in the V made by Rostov, Stalingrad and Voronezh is that if Hitler fails to gain Rostov and Voronezh, he is sunk, done for, finished, cooped-out. But if Timoshenko fails to hold them he is merely in a lot of serious trouble. Defeat for the Russians in this cup of the Don would be very bad, but defeat for the Germans would be fatal. The Germans are doing a lot of winning. The Russians are advertising the German winnings as loudly as they can. But all is not gold for Von Bock in the Don Basin. There are things to be accounted for, complicatjons that can become calamities. Once before in this war a tide turned against Hitler after he had taken Rostov.

* * *

Something else England and America to consider in the second front matter is that even if they think the Russians can hold without one, they may need for post-war days the prestige of having come to Russia's aid successfully at a crucial moment.

* * *

One by one Southerners who have befriended the Negro are being forced to the point of view that this is no time for righting all his wrongs overnight and that Northern agitators who try to persuade him it is are his enemies. Judge Feidelson, of these papers, points out that the Negro is not the only one who wants for many things in this country (the white share-cropper is one, for example). The judge deplores the radical, uncompromising demands of certain Negro leaders and agrees that "this is no time for reformers to insist on the immediate appearance of a new heaven and a new earth."

* * *

"You speak of subordinating advancements, crusades, competitions and rights' to the winning of this war for America," writes the Rev. Dr. W. G. Henry, of the First Methodist Church, of Anniston, "What do you include in 'crusades?' A statement from you would clear up that point. We include in the crusades we oppose while the war goes on every one that divides Americans from Americans, every one whose ends, however noble, cannot be attained now without disruption and dispute in the face of the enemy. We do not, of course, include purely spiritual crusades.

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June 18, 1942

THIS MORNING

by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

Sooner than we think—by trying harder than we know how.

* * *

Possibly this year, probably next year, surely the year after—that is when Winston Churchill is saying this war will end, according to Dorothy Thompson. As hope of ending multiplies there will come to many thoughtful Americans a wonder if the war is going to last long enough and cost us sacrifice enough and wash us clean enough to be worthy of the dominant place that will be ours. Will we have suffered enough to be saved as we need to be saved from the sicknesses into which we had let our democracy fall, from the stupid self-centerments, from spiritual minus signs, from pathological hates, from lack of conviction among our literates and too many convictions among our illiterates, from open minds into whose openings nothing came, from a lost spirit of adventure, a lost soul for God?

* * *

Our sometime friend G. V. Timmons, of Carrollton, will have none of this soft stuff about being kind to Germany after the war. "Yours for a Germany divided like Gaul of old into three parts," he proposes, "and over one part let the Czechs rule, over another the Poles, and over the third part—the Jews!"

* * *

Dr. Gallup says 79 per cent of the American people feel that our chief enemy is not the German people as a whole but the German government. The implication is that the majority of our people do not want a peace that will attempt to punish the people of Germany. In this there is hope of the only sort of peace that can last, one that is scientific, world-minded and just. But there is no promise, we trust, of another wanton overlooking of the German people's fatal weakness for taking orders from military gangsters. With no punishment in mind but only the preservation of peace against still another war in this century, something is going to have to be done to guarantee us all against this excessive "orderliness" in Germany which lets them take orders from a Wilhelm and a Hitler for destruction of the world.

* * *

At a recent study session on war questions for editorial writers at Harvard Mark Ethridge, a member of the president's committee on fair employment practice, was quoted as saying that in Birmingham there was less discrimination against the Negro in war jobs than in any other industrial center. If that condition still exists it should be a factor for good will and patriotic cooperation in the hearings which open today.

* * *

If there is hostility in some quarters to this committee on fair employment practice as it meets here this morning, who is to blame? If an objective which only the most selfish offender can in reason oppose is opposed, whose is the fault? If an inquiry so plainly in the public interest gives a signal to the worst enemies of the Negro and to a little Fascist-minded local political trade journal, on whose shoulders is the responsibility? The Fair Employment Practice Committee is not concerned with segregation or any other of the long-standing problems of race relations in the South. If it attempts to concern itself with such things there are reasons to believe that some of its members will resign. It is concerned solely with the proper and necessary business of getting for the Negro his just share of the war jobs and of the training which qualifies him for those jobs. Who among us has any objection to that? It is as important for the war production as it is fair to the Negro. It has nothing to do with our race problems as such. And yet there are hateful whisperings, ugly and dishonest pretensions that this is some sinister plot against Southern order. Who is to blame?

* * *

Well, Eugene Talmadge is to blame, for one. And so are all the other demagogs who are now or may soon be using the Negro question as a political prop, agitating the white man against the black for their own political ends.

* * *

But equally and more to blame —and we hope the members of the president's committee who are here today will consider the fact—are the agitators of the black man against the white, and the sentimentalists who string along with them. Because of the tragic insistence of certain Negro leaders on making this time of war and national crisis a time for insisting that the Negro question be settled overnight in the Negro's favor, for accomplishing the immpossible, for stirring up the race as it has not been in all its American history, such reasonable and right efforts as this one against war job discrimination are exposed to the hostile exploitation of Fascist-minded political groups and to holdover passions of our chronic race haters. These are the ones to blame most—Walter White and the other professionals and sentimentalists who have used this war as a time for dividing rather than uniting our people, for misrepresenting and obstructing the genuine patriotism that exists among the masses of our Negro citizens.

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.

THIS MORNING

by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

"The day is gone, and all its sweets . . .

"Sugar in your coffee, sir?" the pretty waitresses ask at the Sherman Hotel in Chicago, and the tone of voice is an invitation to say no. "Yes, please," you say. But that does not close your case. "One or two lumps, please?" they ask. You have still another chance to save sugar. "Two, please," you say—for one is less than none in your tooth. But you feel as if you have failed twice to win the war. In other Chicago hotel dining rooms the procedure is less trying. You are given no such torturesome choices. The waiter comes by with a sugar bowl and if you say you take sugar he just dishes a spoonful—one—into your cup.

* * *

The trouble with doing without sugar too much is that you develop such a craving. It is like the craving for chocolate in France during the other World War. This writer can remember spending hours roaming the shops of Mars-sur-Allier, desperate for one bit of chocolate. Sometimes you would feel the same way about an orange, too.

* * *

One by one the domestic crusaders come to understand that there is only one crusade now and that our people must not be divided against it by professional champions of this or that. Here is that fuzzy-wuzzy of the Fighting Lone Star State, for example—Maury Maverick—talking the only possible way a patriot can, when he spoke recently in Greensboro, N. C. "We don't have time to bribe any minority or majority religious or racial groups as such, to bribe businessmen with big profits, to promise farmers more than they are entitled to, to coddle workers on wages and hours—and if we do all these things to induce them to be good Americans, as God is my judge we will be bribing and lying and arguing on the parapets of defeat when the conquerors come, and to the horror of defeat will be added the shame of not dying like men . . .

* * *

Amen and amen! The Number One-and-Only problem of America, of the Negro, of labor, business, the farmer, the school teacher, the South, the North, the Gentile, the Jew, all of us, is the man with the little black moustache who has betrayed mankind as it has not been betrayed in 1912 years. Two long years of saying this has enabled us to do it with our eyes shut.

* * *

JUL 24 1942
JUL 24 1942
JUL 24 1942
AUG 18 1942
AUG 18 1942
AUG 18 1942
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BACK of the NEWS

— by —

ROSWELL C. LONG

My Philosophy

I allus argy that a man
Who does about the best he can
Is plenty good enough to suit
This lower mundane institute,--
No matter if his daily walk
Is subject for his neighbor's talk,
And critic-minds of every whim
Jest all git up and go fer him . . .

I've knowed some to lay in wait,
And git up soon and stay up late,
To ketch some 'feller they could hate
For goin' at a faster gait.

My doctern is to lay aside
Contensions and be satisfied:
Jest do our best and praise or blame
That follers that, counts jest the same.
I've allus noticed grate success
Is mixed with troubles more or less,
And its the man that does the best
That gits more kicks than all the rest.

James Whitcomb Riley

Ford At Seventy Nine

Have to hand it to Henry Ford. At seventry nine he seems to have a philosophy of the American Way that clicks. Says he wants all of the industrial workers to keep one foot on the soil through the back-to-the-land plan of decentralization of living quarters. He says too after the war we must find plenty of work for all our people and adequate distribution of the world's goods. Hope he will give us a new small car on the order of the Jeep for after-the-war passenger travel.

Flying Cargo Ships

With the Russian debacle and the Nazi's assurance of supplies for a long war, we just as well face facts and get ready to fly our supplies to the myriad fronts of the war. Wiar more than four hundred ships already sunk and the prospect that the sinkings will continue; with many of our landing places in the hands of the enemy, let's fly our men and supplies across.

Iceland The Old And New

Book by explorer Stefannson on Iceland ,to be had from the Library, unfolds the amazing story of the oldest republic in the world, a nation for a thousand years that is now coming into its own through modern communication, trade, education and scientific living. This book is most adequate in its description of the country, the people, the industries and the political development of the country. Soon as the war is over let's go up on a visit. Sounds interesting.

Early Settlers

Reading of the trials of the early settlers in Iceland reminds me of the story told the other day by a traveling salesman. In a store on business he noticed the unusual attention paid to a customer by the clerk. The salesman suggested that it must be the minister, or the leading lawyer or doctor of the town. "No, that is one of our early settlers" said the clerk. "But he's mighty young for that," said the salesman. "By early settler, I mean he settles his bills on the first of every month" said the clerk. Not a bad idea.

Want To Keep Young?

If you want to keep young always try helping other people. Here are a few suggestions: help with the milk fund,—there's a bottle for that purpose in most of the stores. Or see the health office about helping with tonsil operations for underprivileged children. Or talk to the Director of Recreation about doing something for less-chance children. Know where there's a wheel chair for sale? Help us get one for certain aged people. One church in town would like to buy a chair if you will tell us where to locate one.

Avoid Racial Hate

Was impressed with the deep reverence and sincere worship of the Morris Chapel congregation last Sunday night where I went as guest-minister. Seems that there is too much rumor and gossip by an irresponsible element in both white and negro races about what might happen between the races. This town is too good, and the relation between the races has been too harmonious for us to fall victim in war time to a very small minority seeking to promote trouble. Go straight to Chief Hunter with your rumors. He and his men understand the situation most thoroughly.

Standing The Heat?

Mark Twain's characteristic remark that everyone talks about the weather but nobody does anything about it, is not altogether true. Lots of people are licking the heat by a calm philosophy of life that takes the hot and cold as it comes. To keep from stewing try reading a book—say Franz Werfel's new one, "Song of Bernadette." Saw one the other day that tells the truly remarkable story of "Thornwell Orphanage, Principle and Product." It is biographical in content, and most readable. Some just rest. Others visit the neighborhood. Don't forget your church.

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala



"Blessed is the man who expecteth nothing, for he shall not be disappointed."

* * *

That is the operating principle of the professional pessimists about this war. They are afraid to let the public hope for an earlier-ending-with-harder-trying because they fear the public reaction if this hope should be frustrated or delayed. Also, they say, the sale of War Bonds drops off every time there is too much hoping. No matter what the prospects of victory and war's end, it is better for the vital job of War Bond selling that the public not believe the war will be victoriously over tomorrow morning or next Saturday night.

* * *

They are right, of course, but there is another side. If excessive optimism can hurt the sale of bonds, so can excessive pessimism. If people think the war almost over they may think bond buying no longer necessary, it is true. But—on the big other hand—if they think the war is going to be a "long, long struggle," that it may last 10 years, that misery is going to multiply and life grow so hard that every man will have to be more and more for himself, they are at least equally likely to let the bond sales graph decline.

* * *

It is a matter of degree. And in this column's continuing opinion, where the degree is not strained, optimism is a better diet for our people than pessimism. It is in the pulse and hearts of Americans to do their best under spur of great hope, of a will to win so strong that it acts as a heartfelt certainty. Chairman May, of the House Military Affairs Committee, was unwise when he not only said the war would end "probably in 1942 and unquestionably in 1943," but also intimated that his prediction was based on a "military secret" obtained since this Summer's German drive against Russia began. He spoke too definitely, his dates were too near and too unqualified, and his official position gave his talk about "military secrets" an unfortunate turn. But his optimism was no greater, really, than that already expressed by such men as Cordell Hull and Lt. Gen. Arnold, of the Army Air Forces. (Gen. Arnold, when he returned from England last month, stated publicly that the war might be over sooner than expected).

* * *

Churchill himself, according to Dorothy Thompson, stated before the Libyan defeat, that the war would be over "possibly in 1942, probably in 1943, and certainly in 1944." Chairman May went him one year better on the "certainly" and "probably." And he made his statement after Allied troubles in Egypt and Russia had lessened its credibility. Also, his talk of "military secrets" made his optimism estimation pretend to more authority than it probably had. Insofar as the statement has been taken as an example of the harm that a misleading sort of optimism can do, the international rebuke it has brought was deserved. But insofar as it has been seized as an example against the optimism-in-general which both psychology and military facts suggest for the American people, the outcrying was unfortunate.

* * *

It is still true that the war may be won sooner than we think if we try harder than we know how. And a public conviction to that effect ought to sell more, not less, war bonds. Certainly a conviction to the contrary could discourage sales.

* * *

Rommel may be on his way to Alexandria, but for the moment it seems more likely that he is en route back to Tobruk and points westerly and waterly. A fortnight ago when he entered Egypt this column suggested that if the extension of his lines and endangerment of his supplies and exhaustion of his forces should result in an eventual defeat in Egypt more total than could have been given in Libya, the British might be permitted to say they had planned it that way. We didn't mean quite that, of course, for the British would hardly have planned to lose 50,000 men and dismiss Gen. Ritchie and suffer all the other radical things that have happened to them in this last Libyan-Egyptian turn-about. But we did mean, and continue to mean, that the very nature and extent of German successes might eventually aggravate their defeat. More and more the fact of this becomes obvious.

* * *

"It would be just your fool luck to have something big happen next Tuesday," writes Albert Fortin from Montgomery. If this is the way Mr. Fortin wishes to speak of the calm military and psychological science which have persuaded us of a sensational Allied gesture to be made on Bastille Day, we forgive him.

* * *

Josephus Daniels and Frank Graham have called a Southwide mass meeting at Raleigh tomorrow to put the South more totally into this war. We haven't accepted our invitation because we don't know whether the idea is to emphasize the patriotic duty of Southerners to forget domestic differences and crusades in favor of sacrificial efforts to win the war—or just the opposite. If the idea is the old sophistry that the way to win this war is to right somebody's wrongs here at home in the war's critical midst, we are against it even though these very fine Southerners are for it. Another name for righting home wrongs while a war goes on is quarreling and dividing at home while a war goes on. With that name the suicide is obvious.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
July 24, 1942



"All is not gold that glitters . . ."

* * *

And neither is all German that goes round and round in the basin of the Don. The advantage for the Allies in the V made by Rostov, Stalingrad and Voronezh is that if Hitler fails to gain Rostov and Voronezh, he is sunk, done for, finished, gasped out. But if Timoshenko fails to hold them he is merely in a lot of serious trouble. Defeat for the Russians in this cup of the Don would be very bad, but defeat for the Germans would be fatal. The Germans are doing a lot of winning. The Russians are advertising the German winnings as loudly as they can. But all is not gold for Von Bock in the Don Basin. There are things to be accounted for, complications that can become calamities. Once before in this war a tide turned against Hitler after he had taken Rostov.

* * *

Something else for England and America to consider in the second front matter is that even if they think the Russians can hold without one, they may need for post-war days the prestige of having come to Russia's aid successfully at a crucial moment.

* * *

One by one Southerners who have befriended the Negro are being forced to the point of view that this is no time for righting all his wrongs overnight and that Northern agitators who try to persuade him it is are his enemies. Judge Feidelson, of these papers, points out that the Negro is not the only one who wants for many things in this country (the white share-cropper is one, for example). The judge deplores the radical, uncompromising demands of certain Negro leaders and agrees that "this is no time for reformers to insist on the immediate appearance of a new heaven and a new earth."

* * *

"You speak of subordinating 'advancements, crusades, competitions and rights' to the winning of this war for America," writes the Rev. Dr. W. G. Henry, of the First Methodist Church, of Anniston, "What do you include in 'crusades?' A statement from you would clear up that point." We include in the crusades we oppose while the war goes on every one that divides Americans from Americans, every one whose ends, however noble, cannot be attained now without disruption and dispute in the face of the enemy. We do not, of course, include purely spiritual crusades.

* * *

"I may be entirely wrong," writes President C. W. Daugette, of the State Teachers College at Jacksonville, Ala., "but I feel very definitely that the people of America should devote their thought, time and energy to winning the war and not to discussions of the type of peace after the war. We may never have any more peace, certainly shall not have any if we lose the war. . . . Your column is read by so many people that if you can see this matter as I see it, you can do a great deal of good along this line . . ."

* * *

Isn't it a matter of degree, Dr. Daugette? Certainly it is folly to use up in peace talk now time or any energy that can possibly be put into war making. But there is time which can go into peace planning without in the least interfering with the carrying on of the war at best pace. And this column believes such time is well spent. In the first place, one of the troubles after the last war was that we were not prepared for the peace when it came, failed to make the scientific, world-minded and just thing of it that might have prevented another war. In the second place, there are measures in which the nature of the peace we plan affects very directly the nature and success of the war we wage.

* * *

Now comes Harvard's President James B. Conant to pile Ossa upon Pelion. Not only are we to avoid being too hopeful about the end and the winning of this war but, also, we are not to be too hopeful about the world after the war has been won. We should "proceed cautiously," he told his graduating class last June against "painting too rosy a picture of the world or even of the United States after the war is over." The trouble with this advice, it seems to us, is that the ones who need it won't take it and that the one's who need exactly the opposite will take it too well. The impractical dreamers who already are hard at work talking about a world made over in sweetness and light in which everybody can be trusted to be good and the spirit of brotherhood and peace will wash all wickedness away from world affairs—won't be deterred by Dr. Conant. And the practical men, who are faced with a practical possibility at last of building a marvelously better world, will be encouraged by Dr. Conant to indulge their chronic suspicion of all better-world-making. It isn't the dreams that are being dreamed today that are dangerous. It is the fact that the wrong men are dreaming them. They must be dreamed by clear-headed, sure-handed men, not by vague sentimentalists. And Dr. Conant's pessimism may tend to prevent this necessary shift in dreamers.

World-Telegram
New York, N. Y.

Fair Enough

Some of our people seem to need reminding that human nature has not been repealed and that it is still legal in the United States to hold and express racial and religious prejudice and that if you try to suppress such feelings by force, whether through government action or boycott, you will almost certainly run into difficulties. I am not arguing in favor of such prejudice, or in favor of discrimination, for I believe I am almost innocent of such meanness and envy the man, if such there breathes, who is absolutely so. But you can't stamp it out by compulsion and any attempt to do so is itself a resort to coercion of the mind and bad business any way you look at it. It is a police invasion of the realm of conscience.



Why in the world does anyone want to dust off such a topic at this time, says you?

Well, I tell you. Although intolerance is a bitter thing and often has been played as a racket, those who try to suppress it are usually very intolerant themselves and many of them also make a racket of their opposition. The greater the pressure you bring to bear on the man full of hate to make him stop hating, the madder you make him and the louder he yells the bill of particulars which he holds against the object of his hatred. You slap him into jail for hating, or on some charge which is a mere pretext, such as loitering or parking by a hydrant, and you martyrize him and he becomes a career man. Moreover, people just naturally hate and have a right to and, unfortunate though the fact is, it still goes as it lies.

* * *

Discrimination is very bad against some elements of our people, but it exists everywhere in some degree and is practiced and upheld by some of the very people who yell loudest against it. For instance, the Communist papers and the Newspaper Guild, which is always partial to the Communist line, can howl bloody murder against a publisher of a standard American newspaper who refuses to hire a reporter because he objects to the reporter's politics, especially if the reporter is a Communist. They can even set the law and the Labor Relations Board on him for that if he admits the discrimination. But the Communist paper wouldn't think of hiring a reporter who wasn't a cardholder in the party and would can him on the spot for writing anything off the line. There you have discriminators ready to raise the devil with others who practice discrimination.

If you go in for proportional employment as a means of defeating discrimination you invite several kinds of trouble. In view of the fact that there are so few Communists among us, under the proportional system, the Communist paper would have to employ non-Communists at the rate of say, maybe, 20 to 1.

* * *

If you were to go down the line through all phases of employment, you would have to classify and segregate our groups more rigidly than ever in order to make sure that each group got its fair share of work. When you do that, you set them firmly and distinctly apart and stop all progress toward natural understanding and nondiscrimination. You start by saying that a man must not be rejected on racial or religious or political grounds and very soon you find he must be accepted because of his racial or religious or political distinction regardless of his general qualifications and inevitably to the injury of some other individual who has more ability but doesn't happen to be the type next in line.

It should be remembered that when Hitler was just coming along and pretending to be just a little bit anti-Jewish he restricted the Jews to a proportionate rate of opportunity in the professions and in the schools and that this rule was condemned instantly and vociferously by those very liberals who are now beginning to experiment with proportionate employment in this country. Later on, of course, Hitler went in for his cold pogrom, but the discrimination was first established in the proportionate system.

To any group which suffers from discrimination this system will have initial attractions, but a look a little way ahead will show that it leads straight to complications of a kind which are included among the evils that this war is being fought against.

By Westbrook Pegler

48c-1942

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
May 8, 1942



"Wit and wisdom born with the man. . . ."

* * *

When the great Delta Council holds its seventh annual meeting today at Cleveland, Miss., some will prefer the speech to be delivered by Assistant Attorney General of the United States Thurmond Arnold. Others will want the one by Oscar Johnston, president of the National Cotton Council of America. But as for us, give us the speech to be delivered by the third notable on the program, "the Hon. Hugh M. Comer, vice president of Avondale Mills, Sylacauga, Ala." Every time Hugh Comer branches out like this many of us here in his home state find ourselves thinking how far indeed he could branch if he had the inclination. Rare personality, coupled with so much to go with it in the way of executive ability and social mind, makes him a natural in public life, with the sky the limit.

* * *

Having had a great governor named Comer once, Alabama is going to want another some day. And Donald won't pay any attention.

* * *

People who think talk of Hitler's killing himself is just idle dreaming of an idle dreamer should note that similar talk appeared yesterday in the column of that professional hard-boil, Mr. Westbrook Pegler. He wrote of a time "when Germany goes down . . . and Hitler jumps off his mountain or cuts his throat." Our big point, however, is not that this talk is well-founded but that it is fascinating. Try it and see. Try thinking whether you would prefer having Hitler jump off his mountain or cut his throat—and see how fascinated you are with either alternative.

* * *

The foolish, the fatuous and the fatalistic—merrily they rode but not any more. No more do they suspect Tire Conservator Frank Rushton of calamity howling for seeing the trouble so clearly from the start and going in action against it with such energy and imagination that his tire conservation plans are getting attention all over the country and his "I Want a Ride Club" idea may become a part of the history of the war.

* * *

Ronald Hood is going to war. He has been commissioned a senior lieutenant in the navy, will surrender his desk as city editor of The Age-Herald as soon as his moving date comes. Somehow we feel that it will be a more cheerful, intelligent and sociable war with Ronald in it. All the other faithful reporters here whose city editor he has been will feel the same. Lt. Hood comes of a navy family but we hope he won't forget what a membership City Editor Hood had won in the newspaper family. We printer's devils want a claim check from the navy on this. We expect Adml. Hood back after he has finished up Hitler and Hiro.

* * *

As arrant, constitutional, chronic and outrageous a case of complacency towards this war as we have yet happened on is that of the honeysuckle that is doing its stuff all over the highways and by-ways with no thought for either Hitler or Hirohito. Even Dean Ivey Lewis, of the University of Virginia, in whose botanical science honeysuckle is just a weed, and an obtrusive one at that, might be willing to admit that it smells mighty peaceful and sweet this Spring. In fact there just isn't any sweeter smell in the bottle.

* * *

Naming this column "one of the Negro's best Southern friends," The Danville (Va.) Register commends to its readers arguments used here against those sectors of the Negro press and leadership which are using the war to demand that all the Negro's wrongs be righted at once and whose agitations for the impossible are endangering the war effort and the real promises developed for the race.

* * *

Dozing last night in our strategist's arm chair we dreamed again our dream of last Summer, a dream of 10 or 15 British raids at one and the same time on the western coast of Europe, spread all the way from Norway to Spain, and the Germans not knowing but that any given raid might be a real invasion, and having to concentrate therefore at each point forces whose sum total would be something enormous, and no raid costing much in men or arms or ships, and perhaps one raid—if it became exceptionally successful — the place of a genuine invasion follow-through.

* * *

The question now arises, what is Jefferson County to do about its own Mark Hodo and the top vote he gets every time he runs for anything? For the time being it is enough to have him in the Legislature again (especially if they make him speaker), but such popularity as has been proved twice in succession now suggests the presidency of the United States or something.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
May 2, 1942



"Save him from his friends . . ."

* * *

Many imagined or pretended "appeasers" of the Negro who are really his agitators and enemies operate under one fallacy so dangerous it needs emphatic pointing out. It appears even in an article on Negro patriotism by famed R. H. Markham in The Christian Science Monitor. "This Negro loyalty," he writes, "in spite of rope, torch and guns in city streets, is not mere words . . ." It isn't mere words, true. The Negro's patriotism is the genuine article. But the merest of words are Mr. Markham's about "rope, torch and gun." He implies that these are typical of Negro treatment in America. That is a ghastly untruth. There are instances of them, all too many, but they are not the ordinary lot which professional and sentimental champions are making them out to be. Discrimination, yes, and denial of economic opportunities, and cheating and underprivileged—but not "rope, torch and gun." One lynching in Sikeston—among a nation of 140,000,000—is that the "rope" to which Mr. Markham refers as if there were hangings on every other tree in the land? It is cruel, vicious, dangerous nonsense, preached and played up until many actually believe it.

* * *

And a solemn truth is that white people are being aroused against colored (in the South, at any rate) as well as colored against white. We know this from letters and messages we get, from partisan periodicals we see, from many conversations in course of travel. Champions of the Negro who seize on some isolated atrocity story and circulate it as if it represented something typical don't realize that enemies of the Negro are circulating their own atrocity stories of Negro misbehavior. It is something for some of the professionals to think about as they go to the point of treason in stirring up the Negro now against his country.

* * *

It is something, too, for sentimentalists to consider as they single the Negro out for special solicitude and discussion, making him more race conscious at a time when he should be more country-conscious. Both sentimentalists and professionals persuade themselves that they are trying to appease an unrest already existing, but more than half the unrest is their own making. The true friend of the Negro at a time like this when passions are gathering on both sides and war psychologies make all sorts of excesses possible is the friend who encourages him to think of his country, not just of himself, to think of a country which has carried him farther than he ever went before and which promises him more when the war is won—unless Hitler wins it. It is ghastly to think of the evil that can come to this nation and most of all to its Negroes if this hot race consciousness in the very midst of a supreme national crisis continues to be encouraged by professionals and sentimentalists.

* * *

From Editor Virginius Dabney, of The Richmond Times-Dispatch, who is both a Liberal and a liberal and one of the best friends the Negro ever had, comes the best statement yet against those who are using the war crisis to demand that all the wrongs be righted at once. Agreeing with this column's long contention, Editor Dabney writes: "The race has made great advances since its release from slavery, and it will make many more, if it pursues its objectives wisely and sanely. But nothing could set it back more disastrously, and more certainly prevent legitimate and much-needed improvements in health, education, living standards and welfare than an attempt to force immediate revolutionary revision in customs and practices which have grown up over decades and centuries of usage. The small minority of Negroes who make such a revolution the price of enthusiastic cooperation in their country's fight for survival, are their own and their race's worst enemies . . ."

* * *

Mr. Dabney doesn't hem-and-haw and generalize. Specifically he names the agitations of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its magazine, Crisis, as well as two leading Negro dailies, The Pittsburgh Courier and The (Harlem) Amsterdam Star News. And he quotes the now famous letter of Tuskegee's wise and sane President F. D. Patterson against these agitators.

* * *

Some who agree with the position taken by Mr. Dabney and this column tell us that, nevertheless, such things were better not discussed. But old-fashioned hush-hush policies don't work when agitators on both sides accept no hushing. Nothing is more important to the South now than that the patriotism of our people and the genuine good will between races which exists in real measure here be protected from these professional and sentimental agitators. Most of us of both races love our country and have no quarrel with each other. This is a time of times for staying that way.

* * *

Having had now what we consider a vitally necessary say, we shall take pleasure in discussing other and happier matters hereafter, for the most part.

Asheville, N. C. Citizen
May 22, 1942

THIS MORNING

By John Temple Graves II

"Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies, My cup runneth over . . ."

* * * *

And what a table it is, this America. Nothing that may be missing from it makes it less than the most bountiful and blest in all the world. To be able to say, as millions have now, in thanks and prayer that "I am an American" is to speak of a cup that runneth over. There are times when it is important, if we hope to progress, that we examine our country with critical eyes, give first emphasis to its problems, its unsatisfied needs, its relative service, to one of us against another. But there are greater times, and this time of war is the greatest of all, when it is important that first emphasis go to the worth of what we have, to our American process which leads towards perfection even if it has not yet brought us there, to blessed measures in which even the lowest and least attended of us is better off than he could be anywhere else in this torn and troubled world.



GRAVES

* * * *

"I am an American!" That is the proudest, happiest, most promising identification any mortal man can give himself today.

* * * *

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People," wrote Editor Virginius Dabney in The Richmond Times-Dispatch recently "has been responsible for many important and justifiable advances on the part of the Negroes, but the manner in which it has stirred Negro citizens, and particularly Negro soldiers, to demand the complete wiping out of all racial differentiation overnight, is one of the chief reasons why there is such inter-racial tension among us, and why some Negroes are indifferent to America's war effort." Amen! The professionals and the sentimentalists, between them, have been making the Negro pay more for his friends than for his enemies.

* * * *

One bad result of these agitations of the race is that a certain prejudice is created against real and proper things that need to be done for the Negro now and can be done. And even against very useful contribution of the race to the war. All of us who try to be true friends of the Negro need to remember this, and not to be turned from an aid and sympathy that needs especially to be given in this time of trouble for everybody and, perhaps, an extra much for some of the Negroes. That is what wise and sane President Patterson of Tuskegee must surely have in mind when he writes this column that the Negroes of America "must move forward in the spirit of interracial amity as we attempt to preserve the privileges we have and to work for greater opportunities in the future. In many instances the fervent desire to be of maximum usefulness requires that we work against certain handicaps which are definitely limiting the Negro people in their effort to give freely of their talents, whatever they are, in the present all-out effort to defend our nation . . ."

* * * *

"Just how far to go in this is a question that is not easy to answer: I am hopeful that reasonable gains shall be made in a spirit of understanding on the part of those who are unselfishly working for a full expression of American democracy. Certainly we want gains that will be permanent, so that when the war effort is over there will not be recriminations and throw-backs which will arouse hatreds with painful results."

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
May 13, 1942



"Never have so many gained so little with so much . . ."

* * *

With this paraphrase of Churchill, Maj. Gen. Stephen Fuqua discussed recently in Newsweek the immense distance between Hitler and victory now in spite of all the successful battles and campaigns and all the expenditure of his country's manpower and wealth. "No leader ever won so many battles and remained so distant from his goal," thinks the general. Seven years of giving a nation's whole economy to building of a war machine. Three years of using that machine to take whatever was left of life and treasure. And now—nothing. Infinitely less than nothing. One more chance this Summer, perhaps, but when that fails—defeat imposed on long denial new misery on old sacrifice, cruel failure on awful investment.

* * *

Maybe Hitler will not be given a chance to kill himself after all.

* * *

Listening to Churchill Sunday afternoon it was possible to hear between his matchless lines the beginnings of the victory speech he will make some day. Will his oratory live up to the occasion when victory comes as it did when days were darkest, and again when tides were turning? It will have to, for there is no other comparable orator on our side.

* * *

A gentleman after our own heart and prophecy is Dr. Seale Harris. Addressing the Kiwanis Club yesterday in the opening effort of Nutrition Week, he predicted the war would end after next Winter because the Germans would not have been able to defeat Russia and would refuse to endure the malnutrition, cold and killing any longer. Hitler, he thinks, will not take flight as the kaiser did but will either kill himself or be imprisoned by his own people. Dr. Harris told this writer afterwards that he considered Hitler distinctly the psychological type to commit suicide in circumstances of a totalitarian defeat.

* * *

Dr. Harris speaks with something more than the constitutional optimism and pessimism into which we newspaper people are divided. He was in Germany and Austria after the last war, studying the physical and mental condition of the people, the starvation and the psychological results of it.

* * *

It is harmful and unfair to think of all or even a majority of the Negro press as engaged in wanton agitation in the midst of this crisis which threatens the Negro more than any other American. There are a few leading periodicals so engaged, true, and a number of party-line smaller ones following, but in great numbers of Negro periodicals there is as fine a patriotism and common sense as is to be found in the white press. Editor Robert Durr, of The Weekly Review, for example, gives much of his current issue to what his race is doing for its country now rather than what it is demanding of its country, and his own column is a fine appeal against agitators of both races, a reminder of the much more that can be accomplished here in the South by good will and joint action. In this he lines himself up with such outstanding Negro leaders as President Patterson, of Tuskegee, who deplore the present agitating as much as they applaud and join in efforts for a fair deal in war production work and training.

* * *

Dr. William Bean, associate to Dr. Tom D. Spies in the world-famous nutrition work at the Hillman Clinic, addresses the Exchange Club today on the Nutrition Week program. What a strange world this has become and what a strange war it is staging. What Dr. Bean has to say to the Exchange Club in Birmingham on what people here eat will have eventual echoes in the Coral Sea, Burma, England, the Russian fronts. Total war is like that.

* * *

Whatever the eventual number of jobs Houston Cole handles or leaves oiled and operating while he goes on to new ones, Alabama has reason for pride in a gentleman who has become so successful and experienced at civilian war work that Uncle Sam keeps drafting him for every big new phase that comes this way. Mr. Cole has turned out to be a natural at the new and special war tasks which call not for business ability alone or public administration alone but for a combination of both. If the much-discussed "Managerial Revolution" of which Mr. Burnham has written ever comes to pass, we may be certain that it will be men of this type who will be the "managers."

* * *

Do Metropolitan stars sing even better in the South than elsewhere because of the hospitality? "Put yourself in their position," writes Metropolitan President George A. Sloan in a letter to this column about the recent Southern tour. "You are singing from the stage before an audience including many people who have entertained you in their homes that afternoon, or who have asked you to come in and join them for supper after the performance. It is the most natural thing in the world for you to sing your heart out under such circumstances. And that is what the Metropolitan family does in the South . . ."

48c-1942

Age-Herald

Birmingham, Ala.



"To act according to nature and according to reason . . .

* * *

Nature and reason both are against the charge that the great Carnegie-Illinois Steel Company has violated the priorities rule. Reason is against it because for such a company there is no sufficient incentive; too much to lose, too little to gain. And nature is against it, too, the nature of a man—John Lester Perry. Those of us here who know and love him know there is no finer citizen, patriot, business man and all-around human being anywhere in this country. His public denial of the priorities charge against his company is enough for us in his old home town of Birmingham, he may be sure. It isn't necessary to know the inside story of the affair to know that the accusation against Carnegie-Illinois is not likely to stand.

* * *

It is not conceivable that the topnotch business men who run the War Production Board are guilty of any sort of persecution of the steel companies. But it is perfectly conceivable that some minor official snapping at some "ill-considered trifle" is responsible for this unhappy incident.

* * *

That "unhappy" is the name for it is obvious when it is considered how great a share of this nation's whole war effort is being carried by this immense company and how destructive of morale both within and without the company such accusations are. "Unhappy," too, for the pain and embarrassment the incident must cause such a man as John Lester Perry whose nature it is to hold nothing back in utterly loyal service and whose Americanism is so native and fine that the great job he is doing for his country must absorb him like none other in all his useful career. There is no more American story than the one of his life. There is no more splendidly American a gentleman in high place.

* * *

The Saturday Evening Post travels far. At Tallahassee, Fla., the other evening we heard Felix Morley's defeatist article discussed by students at the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College (for Negroes) at an open meeting after a lecture. They were wondering about this master race talk of his, and some of them were given food for troubled thought by the implication that the yellow race must be permitted to rule the Far East, even if the Japs be the dominant nation.

* * *

These students were an inspiration, nevertheless. With all their intelligent questioning of circumstances relating to the war and all their awareness of limitations on their own democracy and liberty, they are nevertheless splendidly near to something total in their love of America, in their desire to serve their country rather than be served by it at a time like this, in their sense of things given to and done for their race in America, in their estimate that it is to preserve what we have rather than to get something more that this war is being fought, in their appreciation of recent advances in the legal and political and economic position of their race which amounts to no mere promise but need only a successful end of the war to materialize into very real advances, and in their understanding that neither for them nor for any of the rest of us is there a "better 'ole" anywhere.

* * *

President J. R. E. Lee, his son, J. R. E. Lee, Jr., Dean Southall, Prof. Fisher and many another leader at Florida A. & M., belong to and live in the fine tradition of Tuskegee which Dr. Patterson is preserving, the tradition of orderly rather than agitated progress and of emphasis always upon self-improvement.

* * *

You don't have to be tough to win the common people. Andrew Jackson won them, true, but Old Hickory wasn't the only one and there have been more of the other kind. There was Woodrow Wilson, the "pale, lean scholar of the White House." There is Franklin Roosevelt, the Harvard aristocrat. And there was Thomas Jefferson. In a book which makes the Sage of Monticello come alive as perhaps none other has before, Saul K. Padover shows the nation's first man of the people a man of great shyness and gentleness, sensitive to criticism, hating public appearances, living like an aristocrat but thinking and feeling like a democrat. Entitled "Jefferson" and published recently by Harcourt, Brace & Company, the book adds much to the picture of the man whose dream this war is about.

* * *

Election of J. Craig Smith to the presidency of the Alabama Cotton Manufacturers Association reminds us all that this young man whom so many of us know as friend and good fellow is also one of the arrived and still arriving men of the South. As vice president of Avondale Mills he is making his common sense, vision and executive ability count for both his company and his country. Which is what his Uncle Donald Comer has always done.

Age-Herald

Birmingham, Ala.



Carroll Kilpatrick pointed out effectively in yesterday's Age-Herald the wanton aspect of discriminations against Negroes in defense work when they constitute so large a source of needed manpower, especially in the South. So long as this discrimination continues, whether labor unions, employers or vocational schools are responsible, it constitutes an injustice so stupid and costly that it needs all the protesting and agitation it can get from whites and blacks alike. Fortunately the government itself is doing much to improve the situation with the activities of the president's committee on fair employment practice. It means much to the Negroes of America that they have at Washington a government more partial to them than any since carpet-bagger days, and infinitely more honest and intelligent than the ones of those days.

So partial is the administration to the Negro that while it is willing to suppress as subversive the magazine Social Justice through which Father Coughlin has approached treason with his mouthings against this country and his appeals to race, class and religious hate, it has taken pains to ignore thus far the almost equally vicious and possibly even more disruptive literature put out by a certain element of Negro leadership. The very fact is evidence of the little excuse for and need of such leadership.

Birmingham, Ala., Age-Herald
April 18, 1942



"But when the blast of war blows
in our ears,
Then imitate the action of the
tiger:
Stiffen the sinews, summon up the
blood . . ."

* * *

Days of defeat and falling back, of waiting, wondering, and being afraid, days of humiliation, hatefully defensive days—they are almost over now. We have Secretary Stimson's word and many another, as well as the plain sense of our finally developing military positions. How long and where we do not know, but we know that soon the attack will be ours and that when it begins the whole spiritual face of affairs will change for us. Americans were never made for such negatives as they have had to endure in this war so far, nor for other negatives into which they fell in years before the war when they made their democracy sick.

* * *

The affirmative, the plus sign, the clean sweep, the all-out, the confident, winning and brave—these are to be ours again. Our much-talked and rarely had "100 per cent" is going to be real arithmetic. Our awful introspections are going to be turned objective. The problems and home-hates that have made pathological cases of so many of us are going to be forgotten for performances, forward-marchings in directions of Tokyo and Berlin. We are going to attack!

* * *

Too bad for Hitler that back trouble should so have spoiled this war for him. Because of back trouble he couldn't enjoy his conquests of France, the Low Countries, Greece and the Balkans. Always there was that itching consciousness of a kick from Stalin. And now that he is getting himself together for another try at Stalin, he has to be made back-sides-conscious by France. He can't trust the French. What is more, he can't think of a sure way to use his power over France to make France behave. There is only one Laval, and so many millions of Frenchmen.

* * *

Just when the word "quisling" had got itself comfortably settled in the dictionary as a term for a particularly sneaking form of treason in defeat, it has to get up and give its place to the word "laval."

* * *

Carroll Kilpatrick pointed out effectively in yesterday's Age-Herald the wanton aspect of discriminations against Negroes in defense work when they constitute so large a source of needed manpower, especially in the South. So long as this discrimination continues, whether labor unions, employers or vocational schools are responsible, it constitutes an injustice so stupid and costly that it needs all the protesting and agitation it can get from whites and blacks alike. Fortunately the government itself is doing much to improve the situation with the activities of the president's committee on fair employment practice. It means much to the Negroes of America that they have at Washington a government more partial to them than any since carpet-bagger days, and infinitely more honest and intelligent than the ones of those days.

So partial is the administration to the Negro that while it is willing to suppress as subversive the magazine Social Justice through which Father Coughlin has approached treason with his mouthings against this country and his appeals to race, class and religious hate, it has taken pains to ignore thus far the almost equally vicious and possibly even more disruptive literature put out by a certain element of Ne-

gro leadership.

* * *

So finely American a gentleman as Judge Sparks is entitled to be quoted with something considerably more ringing on the subject of religious tolerance than came from him in his recent address to the Kiwanis Club here. True he said the religious issue had no place in the campaign. And his denial that he has injected it is not to be questioned. But neither did Chris Sherlock bring it in either, even though he has had much to say about it. Nobody who knows Alabama believes that a Catholic can run for office here without bitter opposition on religious grounds from a very considerable number of people. Even if Mr. Sherlock tries for all the votes he can get on a basis of sympathy for himself in this situation and of protest against religious intolerance, he can be sure that he will have many more people voting against him than for him on the grounds of his religion.

Judge Sparks can afford to do more than wash his hands of this ugly situation, it seems to us. He can afford to say something ringingly American about it and against those who would let a slightly different way of worshipping the same God determine their politics.

Birmingham Ala Age-Herald
April 21, 1942



O beautiful for patriot dream
That sees beyond the years
Thine alabaster cities gleam,
Undimmed by human tears . . ."

* * *

With brave words and giving, the colored people of Birmingham saluted their country Monday evening. From all their walks and ways, sponsored by all their finest organizations, they poured forth their hearts in allegiance and love for America, for the American process which has taken them farther than they ever went before and will take them farther yet if this war is won right. The best traits of their race (and every race has special virtues) are uppermost in the simon-purity of patriotic emotion of which they are capable in times like these. For nothing withholding responses they have no equals when given a chance, and it is for such responses that America is calling all of its sons and daughters now.

* * *

One hundred and seventy-two years ago a gigantic Negro named Crispus Attucks was killed in the Boston Massacre. It was the first blood in the struggle for American liberty, and a monument on Boston Common today attests it. Crispus Attucks was a slave.

* * *

There is no story of a greater progress than the men of Attuck's race have written in years since 1770. The fact that the story is still far from complete does not detract from the marvel and immensity of it thus far. The land for which the slave fought and died is so infinitely more worth it to Negro peoples of America today that it is good to know how many of them understand it and are able, when their country is in supreme crisis, to put aside thoughts of getting for thoughts of giving, to ask only to survive and to serve, to postpone all other crusading until the very arena of crusade is saved.

* * *

"I believe," wrote President James E. Shephard, of the North Carolina College for Negroes, in a recent letter to The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, protesting discrimination against the Negro in defense jobs and the armed services, "that the American Negro is instinctively and incurably American. In spite of the immemorial denials of so many democratic blessings to him, he will be loyal because he knows that at our worst he has higher hopes here than any other land will offer him at its best." This goes for all American groups. There is not one of them, no matter how poorly treated in comparison with the others, which is not better off in this land than in any other on the face of the earth. There is not one of us anywhere that knows a "better 'ole."

* * *

In wartime this thought needs stressing. Especially in time of a war that endangers all crusades by threatening the very arena of crusade. If America goes down, it is not likely that any group will go further down than the Negro. If human slavery, in one form or another, is restored to this planet, the Negro is sure to be one of the slaves.

* * *

True patriotism, of course, asks for no balance sheet. And the patriotism this column has experienced in numerous recent encounters with Negro people in the South is true. But if there were indeed to have been drawn up some sort of balance sheet of Negro affairs in this country at the time of the war's outbreak last December, it would show assets richly exceeding liabilities.

* * *

For one thing, the Negro has been discovered by the Democratic party. That party, having won the Negro vote three times, will always be a bidder for it now. And when the Negro vote comes to be valuable enough to be competed for by the two parties, the fact alone involves a new future for the Negro. The Negro has been discovered, too, by the courts. Supreme Court decisions in the months before the war made history. The decision for equal pay for school teachers, for equal graduate facilities, for equal travel facilities, and against lower court convictions where Negroes were excluded from juries represent enormous forward steps and immense advancements in years to come, even though the advance can be slowed by any sharp aggravation of race relations now in a South which seems to be honestly seeking adjustment to the decisions. And most of all, the government at Washington has discovered the Negro. It has put the alphabet to work for him. Since the Negro as a class is the most underprivileged it is he who has received most in benefits from the New Deal and will profit most from the social and economic measures in years to come as these are consolidated and adjusted.

* * *

The Negro in America does not have democracy, or opportunity, or liberty, to the extent that white Americans have these things, it is true. His struggle for them will go on when the war is won. But while the war is still to be won, and while it continues to be a war between a process towards liberty and one towards slavery, his ability to love and fight for this country as it stands is as proper as it is praiseworthy. There is no perfection here for him, or anybody, but there is the only process on earth that leads that way. And the direction is what counts now.

Age-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.



"The cattle are grazing,
Their heads never raising,
There are forty feeding like one . . ."

MAY 6 - 1942

They are grazing many forties strong on famed Hugh MacRae's famous Invershield Farm near Wilmington, N. C. They do not raise their heads the whole year around. Come dry September, bleak December, thin February, blasted March, they go on grazing in fields that go on being green. Long ago Hugh MacRae began saying that "the South will come into its own when its fields are green in Winter." And long ago he began experimenting with grasses that would provide this year-round grazing. As livestock began to become an indicated destiny for the South, as aristocracies of cotton began to make way for nobilities of herds and hay, Mr. MacRae's dream became more royal, his experiments more worth while. And now that war has sharpened every economic urge, put a "must" on all the "mights" that be, this grand old man's vision and work are getting new attention and deserving even more.

MAY 6 - 1942

There's a trick in it, and the current number of The Progressive Farmer lets you know. You take a broad calendar and juggle across it big helpings of lespedeza, sudan grass, Johnson grass, bearded barley, white dutch, manganese bur clover, Southern bur clover, crimson clover, Wiliamette vetch, red clover and Biloxi soybeans. Stir thoroughly and, presto, you have year-around grazing, you have fields green in Winter, you have the South's most promising agricultural enterprise given full boon of a climate which is the South's greatest advantage in that enterprise, you have this time of war need served, and you have the manifest destiny of the post-war South approached.

MAY 6 - 1942

Since we are not exactly a farmer, this recipe of ours for year-around grazing may not be as intelligible to some of our farmer friends as it is to us. They can read about it in better language and more scientific detail in The Progressive Farmer. Or they can write Hugh MacRae himself. Address him at Wilmington, N. C., care of any citizen.

* * *

On the list of Southerners who have gone North and made immensely good, Victor Hanson reminds us, should be Samuel W. Reyburn, chairman of the board of the Associated Dry Goods Company, with headquarters in New York. This is the system which owns Lord & Taylor and the leading department stores in so many of the more important American cities. Mr. Reyburn was born in Hot Springs County, Arkansas, in 1872, graduated from the public schools there and the University of Arkansas. He began his career as a laborer in a sawmill and clerk in a railway freight office.

MAY 6 - 1942

Hitler should be able to understand the Allied action at Madagascar. He used to be that way himself. Way back in the beginnings of this war before Russia slowed him up and pulled him down he used to beat his enemies to the jump in just this way, get there first with the quickest trigger, stand on no nerves or niceties where something vital to his cause was concerned. Democracies can't be that way right off, but when they do get that way they go on indefinitely.

MAY 6 - 1942

* * *

What worries this column is how America and Britain are going to fight this war together without terrible and perhaps fatal misunderstanding resulting from the fact that what Americans speak of as "all-out" Britishers call "all-in" and that we may be led by this on some occasion to think our Allies are all washed up when they are really just beginning to fight. Why they say "all-in" when they mean "all-out" is hard to explain, unless it is that they are the sort of people who have to be all-in before they can go all-out.

* * *

Only one "V" is entitled to its capital letter and it's victory in this war. That is the "V" for victory over slaveries Hitler and Hirohito threaten. Any other "V" is an imposter, stands only for division in the face of the foe. Domestic crusaders who persuade their people they can fight two wars at once may call it a "Double V" but it is really a "Double X." They are double-crossing their country in its hour of supreme demand.

* * *

When and if Pvt. Aubrey Harwell, Jr., who has just completed 13 weeks of infantry training at Camp Wolton, Tex., and is about to begin an officers' training course, gets a bar or two on his shoulders the gold or silver is going to shine mighty bright to a gentleman named Aubrey Harwell, Sr., who has been telling us about him.

48c-1942
Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. Pegler Makes A Discovery

EDITOR'S NOTE—The article below, was written by Mr. Westbrook Pegler, and appeared as his syndicated column in 181 American daily newspapers on July 17th. The Article is commented upon in our editorial columns.

Some time ago a Negro boy whom I have known about three years came to New York with his regiment and telephoned his uncle, who is one of my close friends, to say that he had a few hours in town before embarking for an unknown destination, somewhere oversea. The boy is only 18 years old. He is an orphan and a volunteer soldier who might have waited for the draft and might have tried to make himself indispensable at a bench or lathe in some war factory. He enlisted last fall on his own decision from motives that make him a worthy comrade-in-arms of Butch O'Hara or Colin Kelly or Douglas MacArthur and to the approving and proud surprise of his uncle and aunt, who are his only living adult relatives. He had lived with his old grandmother in the outskirts of Jacksonville, Fla., until she died in a region which must have been a ramshackle, smelly slum if I know my Jacksonville, as I certainly do.

His uncle then brought the orphan to New York and put him into a suburban high school for a term or two, where he did all right. Then abruptly, he quit and got work at a succession of such jobs as are available to Negro boys. He was now on his own and free to go helling around the drinking joints of Harlem until all hours and to get into trouble and, in some reckless or accidental adventure, establish a permanent police record as a bad actor, if he felt so inclined.

But last fall he enlisted and was sent to a number of Army places before he found himself back in Florida driving a big truck. He didn't tell me, he didn't have to tell anyone because everybody knows that, although he was an American soldier in the uniform of his country, in Florida he still found himself in a class below that of the most treacherous undiscovered traitor of the German Bund and barred not only from the haunts of the white civilians whose very lives he had volunteered to defend with his life, but forbidden even to buy a sandwich or a glass of milk in a white restaurant.

Nevertheless, at the very moment of embarkation for a voyage through dangerous waters to face others dangers oversea, he not only was uncomplaining but happy and anxious only lest his uncle worry about him.

Now, assuming that this boy comes back from the war to a victorious country, what status will he come back to? Will he be niggerized again and restricted to menial jobs, Jim-Crowed and driven back to the dreadful ghetots of our cities or will he be treated as an American?

I doubt that consciously this boy has any idea that in fighting the foreign enemy of his country and of all freedom he is fighting a special fight of his own people for a decent measure of opportunity and consideration from the white Americans. But shame, if no other force, should compel the white American to face at last the fact that this boy and his people are the victims of a dirty deal that simply cannot go on. He cannot be asked to fight his patriotic offer of his life cannot be accepted in human decency if, when it is all over, he is to be barred absolutely from all decent and pleasant surroundings for his home by reason of his race, barred from the trades and the factories and, in politics, only exploited as a club in the hands of one faction to beat another.

The injustice to the Negro people of the United States is more a matter of superstition, tradition, ignorance and indifference than of conscious cruelty in the hearts of the white men. They live among us, but we do not know them. Except when they erupt and riots result, we ignore their existence. We accept foreigners from Europe and organize leagues to protect their rights, we welcome them into all our residential districts with no more restraint than that of snobbery and all our professions and trades are open to them. But the Negro who was born among us and fights for the United States when war is up is told to stand aside because he is a Negro.

Although my recent adventure with the Negro press has subjected me to some spiritual violence, I am glad I provoked the subject because the experience has made me realize what awful conditions our indifference has put upon these fellow Americans. If I were a Negro I would live in constant fury and probably would batter myself to death against the bars inclosing my condition. I would not be a sub-American or a sub-human being, and, in docile patience, forever yield my rightful aspiration to be a man, to work, to progress and to move out of the slums; yield even to strangers come from other countries, including even strangers who had fought against me in the wars.

Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

TEXT AND PRETEXT

By M. ASHBY JONES

THE AUDIENCE.

It is just as unfair to say "the Jews crucified Jesus, as to say "the Georgians lynched a helpless Negro." It is true that those who composed the mob at Golgotha were Jews, and those who composed the mobs who tortured and killed Negroes without a trial, were Georgians. But the mob at Golgotha was very far from being all the people in Palestine, and only a small minority of the people of Jersualem. And the mobs of Georgia have never been more than a minority even of the community where the crime was committed, and they were far from representing the people of Georgia.



Nothing is quite so terrible in its blood lust and its unreasoning cruelty as the hysteria of a mob. The psychology of a crowd often leads men to do things, which they would never do individually. A mob nearly always is manipulated by a demagogue, who appeals to some primitive prejudice. Often it is an appeal to that which is in itself good. The lynching mobs in the south have been called upon to protect "the virtue of our women," until our most representative women publicly refuse to be represented by such a shameful travesty upon chivalry. So those who manipulated the Jerusalem mob appealed to the sacred traditions and sentiments of the people in defense of their religion.

While the mob is seldom, if ever, a majority of a community, it is for the time a dominant minority. For the time the lawless emotions of a community are mobilized, and the better sentiments and sympathies are cowed and silenced. So as Jesus dragged His cross through the narrow streets, there were thousands of people looking on, who were totally out of sympathy. Such was the group of women, whom the record says "wept" as they beheld this pathetic parade of cruel injustice.

Feeding Emotions.

Jesus instantly reads the meaning of the women's tears. Like all the rest of that great crowd of onlookers which lined the streets, or peered through half-closed shutters, they had left whatever tasks engaged them to find out the meaning of the shouting, and watch the procession. They would shed a few tears, and when the parade had passed by wipe their eyes and return to their tasks. It was the effect of the drama upon an audience. There is the instinct of an audience in all of us. It is the desire to see the vital experience of people dramatized, without feeling any sense of responsibility.

A play only involves our emotions for a moment. The emotions have appetites, and while the choice of food differs with the cultivation of our tastes, there is a primary desire in all of us, to be thrilled by the sensational. So an audience is ready to weep or applaud, criticize or approve, with no conscious responsibility for translating its emotions into solving problems or remedying evils. The significance of an audience is that people—who are mere onlookers—whether at a play or viewing the experiences of real life, they leave the drama with a sense of moral complacency.

Jesus in one revealing sentence—"Weep not for me but for yourselves, and for your children"—takes these women out of the audience, and involves them as actors in the drama. He is saying, "The essence of this drama is not to be found in the effect which it has on me, but what effect does it have on you?" The suffering which Jesus must undergo in this unjust execution is not comparable to the tragedy of a people who could allow such a miscarriage of justice.

November 11th, 1922, the city of Washington staged a most spectacular parade in honor of those who had died in the first World War, and those who had dared death "to make a world safe for democracy." It was a brave show. The President and his cabinet, and the commanding generals reviewed the parade from a stand. Rank after rank of the boys who fought in France marched by, some with the marring marks of the battle upon their bodies. As the parade halted for a moment, a keen-eyed reporter, discovered at the very end a vehicle with the bowed and broken body of Woodrow Wilson, paying his last tribute to the boys whom he had commanded. In the light of a quarter of a century of history, it was the most tragic picture in the story of our republic. A throng of women gathered about the car and wept.

Woodrow Wilson, with his challenging plan of the League of Nations for a permanent peace for the world, had been rejected. Our country had refused to take part in the final denouement. Now we call it "total war." Then there was the slough of "normalcy," as President Harding called it, into which we left the other nations to begin their downward march toward a yet greater slaughter of mankind.

By the revealing truth of these after years, well might our great

Once again our beloved nation can really be no more Each one of us plays the final denouement. and political conditions of the combined con- sentiments, convic- cts of all the people. there must follow this world war

a world peace in which America will be challenged once again to lead. We cannot, we must not, try again to withdraw to a seat in the audience, watching the world plunge again into the abyss of war, dragging our sons of another generation with them.

Age-Herald

Birmingham, Ala.

THIS MORNING



by JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II

"It was said of him that he was more pious than the pope."

* * *

What business men are going to need in their post-war task of saving the free enterprise on which our democracy depends may be public representatives who are less, not more, conservative than themselves. That will mean some new talent in publicity directors, politicians, lawyers, journalists and association executives acting for business. Many of them now are more reactionary than the men they represent, and that won't do if free enterprise is to be saved. For it can be saved only by defenders liberal-minded enough to be doctors as well as defenders, to mend ways as well as preserve them.

* * *

We thought of this the other day, when we read a statement by a big business man which few of the lawyers, publicity men, etc., representing business would have made. "Until business men show heart and sympathy as well as efficiency and show a genuine desire to reduce the anxieties and problems of the workers in this country," declared famed Julius H. Barnes, onetime president and chairman of the United States Chamber of Commerce, "they will continue to be distrusted and ignored on the public questions for which their experience and judgment is peculiarly suited. And they will be voted out of influence accordingly in a democracy that requires only 51 per cent to name its officers and pass its laws." Many business men feel as Mr. Barnes does, we believe. But not many of the gentlemen who represent or speak for them are interested in that angle.

* * *

If business men would examine more critically the things said and done in their name many of them would never be said or done. At a famous convention of the American Legion in Boston in the early 1930's a resolution was passed that the Legion deplored "the practice of politicians of thinking up things to demand in our name." The Legion didn't take the resolution seriously enough really to discourage the politicians but it was a wonderful idea. Business men might adopt it in earnest to the extent of being much more analytical of many of the things demanded in their name or opposed in their name.

* * *

This is not to reflect on the fine intelligence and character of many office-holders, attorneys, publicity directors, association officers and editors representing business. It is only to say that there is such a thing as being "more pious than the pope" and that these gentlemen often outdo anything the business men they serve would do on their own initiative.

* * *

They seize on some issue which would have no attention otherwise and which is of no importance if left alone, make a fighting cause of it, build up immense feeling about it among their business clientele, go into grave council about it until the history of a thousand years seems to hang on its outcome. When so treated the issue does become important in the sense that, having built it into a challenge and a test, it has to be won if possible. But it may never have been worth winning and the net result may be only an unnecessary multiplication of antagonism among an American people who must somehow go adventuring again together if any economic system at all is to succeed.

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And then there are the elaborate, torturesome plots in which some of these gentlemen engage for their clients—and engage their clients. Complicated maneuvers are set in motion to gain an end which might be had better in a simple approach or may not be worth having. Plots are made to thicken, whispers are exchanged in childish earnest, strings are pulled, secret conferences are held, rooms are darkened, sophisticated dealing is done with unsophisticated ardor and an atmosphere of masterly behind-the-scenes-stuff is created. It would be fun if it were not so often a playing with fire—as, for worst example, when the Negro question is dragged in by people who don't care a hang about it but see in it a chance to discredit the New Deal in places where it could not otherwise be discredited.

* * *

The job of saving the free enterprise system from socialism after this war is too vital and too much the American business man's job, it seems to us, to be undertaken without a checkup by business men on agents or representatives who deal with the public in their name or interest.

Constitution

Atlanta, Georgia

ONE WORD MORE

By RALPH McGILL.

ONCE I SAW HUEY Some years ago I was in New Orleans and went around and saw Huey Long, Kingfish of Louisiana.

Huey was a card. He did not like the newspapers. He called them "them lying newspapers." Huey would put over a steal of money or would smear the innocent person. If the newspapers criticized him he would call them liars and threaten them.



Huey was a card. I went to see him about the university football team. Someone had told him I knew something about a football coach he was interested in hiring.

"I got to get a coach for my team," he said. "I don't care how much he costs just so he can win. My team has got to be a winner."

He would talk about "my university" and "my team up at the university." It was his team, too, and it was his university.

He hired the professors and he hired the football coach. He had a board of trustees. They didn't amount to anything. When the collapse came and they started hunting for Huey's president of the university, Jim Smith, they found out he had printed some bonds without asking the board.

All the time Huey had been sitting back and cursing the newspapers.

He had the university, he had all the state machinery, and he had the courts. It was his state. Three or four of the newspapers refused to give in to him. Every time one of them was critical, Huey would curse "them lying newspapers."

A lie to Huey was anything that disagreed with what he said or did. If they didn't agree with Huey they were liars. "Them lying newspapers." Huey was a card.

HUEY'S BODYGUARD Huey had some of the state patrol on guard for him. After Huey got to be senator he never traveled without them.

Huey was a card. He barred reporters from the hostile newspapers from his office. He wouldn't give them any news. Huey said they wouldn't print the truth.

What he meant was they wouldn't print as truth what Huey said. Huey said a lot of things.

He swore he'd get "them lying newspapers." His bodyguard loved it. They knocked cameras out of the hands of news photographers and slugged a reporter or two. Huey loved it.

He kept right on preaching. He hired a few preachers to go over the state and preach for him. He kept telling the small farm people he was for them. He used to sit in his office and laugh about how easy it was to fool the poor people. They were so eager to be helped. They would listen to anyone who wanted to help them. That was human nature.

The average farmer has had a raw deal. The average tenant farmer or sharecropper, hungry and half sick and trying to send his kids to school so they could get along better—Huey whooped it up for them. They paid a lot more attention to Huey than they did to the Farm Security Administration workers or to the government health workers. Huey hated Roosevelt and he told them to pay no attention to the lying newspapers but to believe in him, Huey Long.

He was a card, was Huey. He kept his name in the papers. He was always doing something sensational. He started up all sorts of campaigns. He controlled the courts, the judges, the juries, the schools—he got it all. He had the King cursed the newspapers that kept printing the facts, that refused to bow down and let him censor what they had to say. He said they printed lies. And all the time he was lying.

Well, he was a card. I can see yet. He had an easy way. A lot of well-meaning people believed some of his lies. He was a card. He got so he didn't mind what he said about his foes. He would say anything about them. He said some had Negro blood, and others were of illegitimate birth. He'd say anything and about "them lying newspapers."

You'd like a swell book about Huey and his crowd. It's called "Louisiana Hayride."

THEY FOUND OUT LATER When Huey Long had been buried, the people began to find out that the newspapers hadn't been the liars, after all. They found out that Huey had lied to them.

The newspapers had been taking a lot of abuse from Huey and his crowd. But, when the truth did come out so that everyone could know, they found out the newspapers had been the ones to tell it.

They took Jim Crown, the good-natured editor of The States, and they took other editors down there, and they honored them. National magazines sent down their best writers to see the men who wouldn't take Huey's lies and print them as truth.

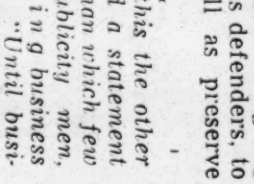
Huey had done them a lot of dirt. He had printed untruths about them. He had had their men slugged. He had cursed them and reviled them.

"Them lying newspapers"—one or two of the reporters and editors had tears in their eyes, when at last the courts sent some of the Long crowd to jail. The others just felt good about it. The world knows now that it wasn't the newspapers of Louisiana that lied. Huey wouldn't give them any news; he cursed them and had their men hit with blackjacks. He'd get 'em, he said. "Them lying

a world peace is which America will be challenged once again to lead. We cannot, we must not, try again to withdraw to a seat in the audience, watching the world plunge again into the abyss of war, dragging our sons of another generation with them.

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And then there are the elaborate, torturesome plots in which some of these gentlemen engage for their clients—and engage their clients. Complicated maneuvers are set in motion to gain an end which might be had better in a simple approach or may not be worth having. Plots are made to thicken, whispers are exchanged in childish earnest, strings are pulled, secret conferences are held, rooms are darkened, sophisticated dealing is done with unsophisticated ardor and an atmosphere of masterly behind-the-scenes-stuff is created. It would be fun if it were not so often a playing with—as, for worst example, when the Negro question is dragged in by people who don't care a hang about it but see in it a chance to discredit the New Deal in places where it could not otherwise be discredited.

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The job of saving the free enterprise system from socialism after this war is too vital and too much the American business man's job. it seems to us, to be undertaken without a checkup by business men on representatives who deal with the public in their name or interest.

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ONE WORD MORE

By RALPH McGILL.

HUEY Some years ago I was in New Orleans and went around and saw Huey Long.

ONCE I SAW HUEY

Kingfish of Louisiana.

Huey was a card. He did like the newspapers. He called them "them lying newspapers." Huey would put over a steal of money or would smear the innocent person. If the newspapers criticized him he would call them liars and threaten them.

Huey was a card. I went to see him about the university football team. Someone had told him I knew something about a football coach he was interested in hiring.

"I got to get a coach for my team," he said. "I don't care how much he costs just so he can win. My team has got to be a winner."

He would talk about "my university" and "my team up at the university." It was his team, too, and it was his university.

He hired the professors and he hired the football coach. He had a board of trustees. They didn't amount to anything. When the collapse came and they started hunting for Huey's president of the university, Jim Smith, they found out he had printed some bonds without asking the board.

Huey had been sitting back and cursing the newspapers." But at last the world knows that it was Huey who was lying.



All the time Huey had been cursing the papers.

He had the university, he had all the state machinery, and he had the courts. It was his state. Three or four of the newspapers refused to give in to him. Every time one of them was critical, Huey would curse "them lying newspapers."

A lie to Huey was anything that disagreed with what he said or did. If they didn't agree with Huey they were liars. "Them lying newspapers." Huey was a card.

HUEY'S BODYGUARD

Huey had some of the state patrol to be senator he never had on guard for him. After Huey got papers from his office. He barred reporters from the hostile newsloved it. They knocked cameras out of the hands of news photographers and slugged a reporter or two. Huey loved it.

He kept right on preaching. He hired a few preachers to go over the state and preach for him. He kept telling the small farm people he was for them. He used to sit in his office and laugh about how easy it was to fool the poor people. They were so eager to be helped. They would listen to anyone who wanted to help them. That was humanity.

The average farmer or sharecropper, hungry and half sick and trying to send his kids to school so they could get along better—Huey whooped it up for them. They paid a lot more attention to Huey than they did to the Farm Security Administration workers or to the government health workers. They pay no attention to the lying newspapers but to believe in him, Huey Long.

He was a card, was Huey. He kept his name in the papers. He was always doing something sensational. He started up all sorts of campaigns. He controlled the courts, the juries, the schools—he got it all. He was the King. And all the time he cursed the newspapers that kept printing the facts, that refused to bow down and let him censor what they had to say. He said they printed lies.

THEY FOUND OUT LATER When Huey Long had been buried, the people began to find out that the newspapers hadn't been the liars, after all. They found out that Huey had lied to them.

The newspapers had been taking a lot of abuse from Huey and his crowd. But. when the truth did come out so that everyone could know, they found out the newspapers had been the ones to tell it.

They took Jim Crown, the good-natured editor of The States, and they took other editors down there, and they honored them. National magazines sent down their best writers to see the men who wouldn't take Huey's lies and print them as truth.

Huey had done them a lot of dirt. He had printed untruths about them. He had had their men slugged. He had cursed them and reviled them.

"Them lying newspapers"—one or two of the reporters and editors had tears in their eyes when at last the courts sent some of the Long crowd to jail. The others just felt good about it. The world knows now that it wasn't the newspapers of Louisiana that lied. Huey wouldn't give them any news; he cursed them and had their men hit with blackjacks. He'd get 'em, he said. "Them lying

He was a card. I can see that yet. He had an easy way. A lot of well-meaning people believed some of his lies. He was a card. He got so he didn't mind what he said about his foes. He would say anything about them. He said some had Negro blood. He said others were of illegitimate birth. He'd say anything and then shout about "them lying newspapers."

You'd like a swell book about Huey and his crowd. It's called "Louisiana Hayride."